

Title	The Irish of Iorras Aithneach, County Galway; Volume I
Creators	Ó Curnáin, Brian
Date	2007
Citation	Ó Curnáin, Brian (2007) The Irish of Iorras Aithneach, County Galway; Volume I. DIAS.
URL	https://dair.dias.ie/id/eprint/982/

The Irish of Iorras Aithneach
County Galway
Volume I

The Irish of Iorras Aithneach County Galway

Volume I

by
Brian Ó Curnáin



SCHOOL OF CELTIC STUDIES
DUBLIN INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

© Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 2007
ISBN 978 1 85500 204 3 (set)
ISBN 978 1 85500 200 5 (Volume I)

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Printed by Dundalgan Press Ltd, Dundalk, Co. Louth
2007

Do na Gaeil a bhí, atá agus a bheas in Iorras Aithneach

Chuireamair aithne ar scata fear lenár linn atá anois san uaigh. Ach maireann siad ina gcuid focal. Rugadar ar fhocail fé mar ba chlocha iad agus chaitheadar leis an gcinniúint iad. Is mó a mhaireann na mairbh sa mhéid dá gcuid focal atá fanta im chuimhne ná sa chuimhne atá agam ar a bpearsain. Fir agus mná na doirne beaga focal úd atá fanta inár gcuimhne. Cad is fear nó bean, tar éis an tsaoil, ach iarracht a deineadh ar an gcinniúint a throid. Dá chalma an iarracht is ea is mó is fear é nó is bean í.

Seán Ó Ríordáin (Seán Ó Coileáin 1982: 2)

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Preface and Introduction

I Preface

I.1 Buíochas

Chuir go leor daoine comaoín mhór orm i mbun na hoibre seo.

I gceantar Iorras Aithneach thar aon duine eile is do Sheán Chúláin agus dá bhean Máire atá mo mhórbhuíochas ag dul, is iad m'athair agus mo mháthair Gaeltachta iad. Bhí na scórtha eile daoine in Iorras Aithneach fáilteach, cabhrach liom ar mhór liom duine acu a lua thar a chéile; tá a n-ainmneacha i liosta na gcainteoirí thíos. Is sibh, a Ghaeil Iorras Aithneach, croí agus anam na hoibre seo, cheartaigh sibh na céadta botún dom, d'fhreagair sibh na mílte ceist agus tiomnaím an chéad imleabhar seo dhíbh le meas agus cion.

Do Bhab Ó hÉilí, Ardmháistir Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara is mé i mbun obair pháirce. Do Chomharchumann Chonamara Thiar a thug cead dom cóipeanna a dhéanamh d'ábhar taifeadta a bhí ina seilbh, ábhar atá anois ar naoi gcinn de théipeanna agam. Do mhuintir Raidió na Gaeltachta, go háirithe Máirín Nic Con Iomaire, Jósaí Cúg, agus Bríd Ní Chúláin agus Máirín Mhic Lochlainn na cartlainne, agus don Leas-Cheannaire Dónall Ó Braonáin faoi chead a thabhairt taifeadtaí a fhoilsiú. Do Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire a rinne ceithre cinn déag de théipeanna a thaifeadadh dhom i gceantar na hAirde i 1995. Do Pheadar Ó Ceannabháin a d'éist le ábhar Caibidil 14 agus a léigh an Foclóir. Don Athair Pádraig Audley faoi chead agus cúnaimh a thabhairt i bhfiosrú dátaí baiste cuid de na cainteoirí is sine. Do Cholm 'ac Dhonncha a bheachtaigh roinnt mhaith dátaí breithe dhom. Do Sheán de Brún a thóig grianghraif agus dhá athair Duncan faoi fhoclóir iascach an Bhéarla.

Don rúnaí, Máire Uí Ghriallais, agus foireann eile i Scoil na Gaeilge, Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh, a thug cóipeanna d'ábhar taifeadta dhom. Do Bhob Quinn faoi chead a thabhairt dom pictiúr a úsáid.

Don fhoireann ar fad i Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann, Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath, go háirithe do Cheann na Roinne is mé i mbun an tráchtais dochtúireachta, an tOllamh *emeritus* Bo Almqvist, agus ina dhiaidh sin an tOllamh Séamas Ó Catháin agus an tOllamh Patricia Lysaght. Do na cartlannaithe Anna Bale agus Simon O'Leary a bhí fíorchabhrach liom, agus do Chríostóir Mac Cárthaigh. Do Ríonach uí Ógáin faoi chead na Roinne a thabhairt dom taifeadtaí agus pictiúir atá i gcartlann na Roinne a fhoilsiú agus faoi na pictiúir a chuartú ann dom. Táim faoi chomaoín acu siúd a bhí i mbun bailithe in Iorras Aithneach agus atá anois ar shlí na ffrinne: Wilhelm Dögen, Séamus Ó Duilearga, Liam Mac Coisteala, Séamas Mac Aonghusa, Brian Mac Lochlainn, Ciarán Bairéad, Proinsias de Búrca agus Leo Corduff. Do Dewi Ifan, Roinn na Breatnaise, Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath, faoi chóip ríomhaire den téacs *Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn* (Semr) a chur ar fáil dom.

Don Ollamh Tomás de Bhaldraithe, nach maireann, a bhí cóir lena chomhairle dom ariamh. Don Ollamh Ruairí Ó hUiginn, Roinn na Nua-Ghaeilge, Ollscoil na hÉireann, Maigh Nuad, faoi chóip d'ábhar tras-scríofa ('Airnéan I(I)') a thabhairt dom ar dhioscaí ríomhaire agus faoi mholtaí i dtaobh Caibidlí 1–4.

D'Arndt Wigger, Bergische Universität, Gesamthochschule Wuppertal, An Ghearmáin, a thug cóipeanna dom de théipeanna a rinne na hOllúna Tomás de Bhaldraithe agus Hans Hartmann sa mbliain 1964 (ábhar 'Airneán I' agus Wigger (2000, 2004) ina measc).

Do stiúrthóir mo thráchtas dochtúireachta i Roinn na Nua-Ghaeilge, Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath, an tOllamh Breandán Ó Buachalla agus don scrúdaitheoir seachtrach an tOllamh Jim McCloskey. Do bhaill eile foirne ag an am, an tOllamh Seosamh Watson, Liam Mac Con Iomaire, agus an rúnaí Caitlín Mhic Clúin. Do Dhiarmaid Ó Sé a léigh dhá chaibidil dom. Do Nicholas Williams go háirithe, a bhfuil mé faoina chomaoín go mór faoi léamh agus ceartú an bhuntéacs, agus faoina chomhairlí luachmhara a chuaigh chun leasa do gach leathanach den saothar. Do Mharion Gunn, Cartlann na gCanúintí, Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath. Do Dhónall Mac Giolla Easpaig, Príomhoifigeach, An Brainse Logainmneacha, a thug leaganacha caighdeánacha na mbailte fearainn dom. Do Tim Robinson a thug cead dom páirt dá mhapa a chur sa leabhar.

Don Ollamh Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, Roinn na Ceiltise, Ollscoil Ghlaschú, a mhol na mílte leasuithe ar an ábhar. Phléigh sé an iomad pointí liom agus spreag lena chuideachta dhíograiseach mé. Is mór atáim faoina chomaoín. Má tá slacht ar an leabhar seo, a bhuí sin dósan go mór mór.

Do mo chomhghleacaithe ar Choláiste na hOllscoile is mé i mbun an tráchtas dochtúireachta: Dónall Ó Braonáin agus Conchúr Ó Giollagáin, a léigh codanna den ábhar dom, agus go háirithe do Bhrian Ó Catháin faoina ndearna sé de léitheoireacht mhion fhíorphointeáilte ar chupla leagan den tsaothar. D'Áine Uí Ghiollagáin a phléigh feiniméan na cainte neamhthraidisiúnta liom.

Do Bhord Rialúcháin Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh in Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath, go háirithe do thriúr stiúrthóirí na Scoile le linn na hoibre: an tOllamh Máirtín Ó Murchú a léigh an saothar ó thús deireadh, an tOllamh Fergus Kelly agus an tOllamh Liam Breatnach. Marach a gcuid tacaíochta ní bheadh an saothar seo ann. Do bhaill foirne na Scoile le linn na hoibre seo, go háirithe an tOllamh *emeritus* Rolf Baumgarten, an tOllamh *emeritus* Pádraig de Brún, an tOllamh Malachy McKenna, Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha, Michelle O Riordan agus Seán Ua Súilleabháin agus do Clare Downham a bhí ina scoláire. D'fhoireann ríomhaireachta na Scoile a thug an-chabhair dom, Andrew McCarthy, Gavin McCullagh agus go háirithe Stephen McCullagh faoin dlúthdhiosca agus mapaí a réiteach agus faoi dhearadh na gclúdach; agus d'fhear eile ríomhairí Eoghan Ó Cathail. Tá mé faoi chomaoín ag Gerard Gormley agus ag a fhoireann i Dundalk Press a rinne cúram slachtmhar clódóireachta.

Tá mé buíoch den Ollamh Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh agus den Ollamh Máirtín Ó Murchú faoi leasuithe a mholadar a chur ar altanna liom (Ó Curnáin 1997; 1999; 2001) a bhfuil ábhar astu le fáil anois sa saothar seo. Gabhaim mo leithscéal leo siúd a chuidigh liom agus a dhearmad mé a lua.

I.II Abbreviations and symbols

For townlands' and general speakers' abbreviations, see I.III below.

◦	in phonetic script, either unaspirated consonant (of p , t , k), e.g. t̥ , unaspirated t ; or unvoiced consonant (of b , d , g), e.g. t̥ , voiceless d
˘	in phonetic script, reduced or weakened sound, e.g. ɤ
˙	in phonetic script, under consonants, it denotes alveolar place of articulation, e.g. ɹ̣
·	between sounds, it denotes syllable division, e.g. eː.əxiː (three syllables), ṇ.ɔ̣ (for its significance in transcriptions from SID, see SIDi xxii–xxv)
ˑ	in phonetic script, no audible release, e.g. t̑hn̑
,	in phonetic script stands for pausa, sometimes boundary between two phonological phrases (the symbol is used for pausa instead of , in later stages of my work)
...	section of untranscribed discourse
:	in verse citations indicates assonance
!	high register source most often song or poetry, preceding speaker abbreviation; the type of source can be indicated in brackets following !, e.g. !(Ams) a song Ams, !(894C) a composition by 894C
!!	sung (indicates a transcription from the singing voice), placed preceding a speaker's abbreviation when the singing may be of relevance to the phonetic form (used rarely, most examples from singing are not so indicated)
/_	in the environment of, e.g. /_N 'preceding a nasal consonant'
/	/ phonemic status, e.g. /x/ the phoneme x
//	// morphemic status, e.g. //-x// the phone x in a morpheme
	in phonetic script, pausa
˘ , ˙	falling and rising pitch, respectively (over phonetic transcription)
#, ##, ###	morphological boundary, word boundary, pausa
≈	approximately equal to, of approximately equal frequency
σ	syllable, 1σ represents 'first syllable', in abbreviated phonological expressions
\$	syllable, stands for σ in some figures, e.g. \$1 'one syllable'
7	<i>agus</i> , common in citations from folklore transcripts of RBÉ
∅	nil, nothing; ∅ not followed by initial mutation
∅perm	not permissible or acceptable to speaker, generally following speaker abbreviation
?perm	decreasing degrees of permissibility: perm, (?)perm, ?perm, ??perm, ???perm, ∅perm
()	in describing variation, a variable is placed in round brackets and its variants are placed in angled brackets, e.g. (sr) → <s> <r> reads '(sr) is a variable where <i>s</i> can be realised beside <i>r</i> as the variant <i>s</i> or the variant <i>r</i> '

4 Preface

< >	a variant, see () variable immediately above
*	two distinct functions: (i) either palatal or nonpalatal; following a consonant (ii) non-attested form, or, in query, impermissible or very doubtful form; placed preceding the form in question
>	before numeral, e.g. > 5, represents more than 5 tokens
>>, >>>	more frequent than, much more frequent than
≥	more frequent than or as frequent as
<<, <<<	less frequent than, much less frequent than
⇒	implies
1, 2, 3, etc.,	following speakers' abbreviation, numerals refer generally to abbreviations for manuscripts which contain material from the speakers in RBÉ, to page or line numbers of published sources, or to numbered tape-recordings; these numbers sometimes stand alone following citations from speakers whose identity has been made clear in the context; double digits following speaker abbreviations refer to the year a form was noted, e.g. S84 noted from S in 1984, 79A 97 from 79A in 1997 1, 2, 3 also refer to person (e.g. verb)
1Conj, 2Conj	First conjugation, second conjugation
1D, 2D, etc.,	First declension, second declension, etc.
1VND, etc.,	First verbal noun declension, etc.
43b	Supplemental material to SID from West Cois Fharraige and Ráth Cairn (Stenson and Ó Ciardha 1986)
46	Material from point 46 in SID volumes I (SIDI, containing lexical maps of Ireland) and III (SIDIII, containing questionnaire responses from Connacht). Point 46 is also referred to as SID.46, whose main informant is my speaker 869P . Numerals following '46' indicate question numbers (e.g. 46.875 refers to SIDIII, point 46, page 191, question 875) or section numbers (I–VIII, pages 194–6) in the selection of texts in SIDIII, point 46
a.	adjective (Vocabulary (Chapter 14), Indexes)
A...	'A' in abbreviation followed by lower case indicates a song title, e.g. Aár below; can be combined with poet's abbreviation, e.g. (Acsb, SGuair) = a version of Acsb composed by SGuair
â, ô, etc.,	long nasalised á, long nasalised ó, etc., in material from RBÉ, e.g. <i>côrtai</i> = <i>kō:rti: comhairtai</i>
A, B, C	in paradigms and lists, refers to more conservative (A), less conservative (B), more progressive (C) forms or usage
Aag	<i>Amhrán Ailfí Gibeans</i> , e.g. 03C , CABI §231
Aár	<i>Amhrán Árann</i> (etc.) by local poet, e.g. sung by 04Bt , CABI §545
Abb	song <i>An Buinneán Buí</i> , e.g. 03St , 43Js , CABI §233
Abcl	song <i>Bruach na Carrtha Léith</i> , e.g. 43Js , CABI §35, cp. §48
Abf	song, in Irish, 'Black '47', sung by 03C
Abfr	song <i>Bean an fhir rua</i> , e.g. 43Js , CABI §§134, 367
ABg	<i>Annála beaga ó Iorras Aithneach</i> , Mac Giollarnáth (1941)
Abl	song <i>An Binsín Luachra</i> , sung by 03S , CABI §8
Abó	<i>Amhrán na Bó</i> , by local poet, e.g. 21Pt
Abr	<i>An tAmhrán Bréagach</i> , e.g. 04Bt

abst	abstract
Abtm	song <i>Bríd Thomáis Mhrocha</i> , by local poet according to 11Ct
Abul	song <i>Baile Uí Lí</i> , e.g. 03S , CABI §21
Acá	song <i>An Cailín Álainn</i> , performed (and perhaps composed) by speaker 03V
Acb	song <i>Cor na Binn</i> , sung by 04Bt (<i>Corr na Binne</i> in CABI §249 recorded in North Conamara; <i>Col na Binn</i> in Ó Gallchobhair 1940: 226–8 (Coolnabinnia, North-West Mayo); <i>Cor na Binn</i> Nilsen 1975: 207–10)
Acdb	song <i>An Caisideach Bán</i> , e.g. 43Js , CABI §12
Acea	song <i>Cúirt Éigse na hAille</i> , composed by speaker 03V
Acgn	song <i>Cuaichín Ghleann Néifinn</i> , e.g. 30Bt , CABI §45
Acgf	song <i>Coinleach g(h)las an fhómhair</i> , e.g. 43Js , CABI §43
àchaí	< axi >, used in chapter on plurals for a variant of the (V:xi) plurals
âchaí	< axi >, used in chapter on plurals for a variant of the (V:xi) plurals
Acl	song <i>Amhrán an Chaisil</i> or <i>Bád an Chaisil</i> , by local poet, e.g. 21Pt
Acm	song <i>An caiptín Máilleach</i> , e.g. 43Js , CABI §547
Acn	song <i>Eanach Cuain</i> , e.g. 19Pt
Acr	song <i>Cat Róise Uí Chuinn</i> , e.g. 05M , CABI §535
Actr	song <i>Cé rabh tú ó mhaidín?</i> , e.g. 05M , CABI §172
Acs	song <i>An Caiseal Steár</i> , by local poet, e.g. 04Bt , CABI §298
Acsb	song <i>Cúirt an tSrutháin Bhuí</i> , e.g. 11Ct , CABI §285
Act	<i>Amhrán an Chuit</i> , by local poet, e.g. 13P
Actb	song <i>Corachaí na Trá Báine</i> , e.g. 894C9 , CABI §219
adj	adjective (also a.)
Adn	<i>Amhrán an Dreoilín</i> , CABI §431
Adód	song <i>Dónall Ó Dálaigh</i> , e.g. 03Vt , CABI §50
Adr	<i>Amhrán an Druij</i> , composed by speaker 03V
adv	adverb, adverbial
Aebi	song <i>Eascann Bhaile na hInse</i> , sung by 03C , CABI §533
Aed	<i>Amhrán an Eideafóin</i> , two songs composed by local poets, e.g. 03V , CABI §310, 312, Mac Coisdealbha (1944)
Aer	song <i>Eidhleanór na Ruan</i> , e.g. 894C , CABI §51
Afl	<i>Amhrán an Flabhairín</i> , composed by 03C
Agdí	<i>Amhrán na nGardaí</i> , composed by 03V
Aíf	religious song <i>Sé Íosa an fíréan</i> , e.g. 05M , CABI §386
Aim	<i>Amhrán na hImeartha</i> by local poet, e.g. 21Pt
Airneán I(I)	<i>Airneán: eine Sammlung von Texten aus Carna, Co. na Gaillimhe I(I)</i> , Hartmann et al. (1996), also ARN
Aln	song <i>Loch na Nia</i> , by local poet, e.g. 11Ct , CABI §628, cf. Denvir (1996: 85–7, 107–9)
Alp	song <i>Leainléidí</i> [< Landlady] <i>na Páirte</i> , e.g. 03Vt , CABI §143
alt	alternates with
alv	alveolar
Amit	song <i>Máire Innis Toirc</i> , sung by 04Bt , CABI §64
Amm	<i>Amhrán Mháire Ní Mhongáin</i> , e.g. 39J , CABI §242

Amnb	song <i>Mainistir na Buaile</i> , CABI §61
Ams	<i>Amhrán Mhaínse</i> , e.g. 04Bt , CABI §241
Angt	song <i>A Neainsín, mo ghrá thú</i> , by local poet, recited by 11Ct
Anl	<i>Amhrán na Luch</i> also known as <i>Amhrán an Fhrancaigh</i> , e.g. 13P , composed by 03V , CABI §614
Aos	<i>Amhrán an Oireachtais</i> , composed by 03V
Apad	<i>Amhrán Pheigín</i> ‘Audley’, by local poet, CABI §175
Apam	song <i>Píopa Ainde Mhóir</i> , e.g. 05Mt , CABI §313
Apm	song <i>Púcán Mhicil Pháidín</i> , by local poet, e.g. 19J , CABI §301
Apme	song <i>Pláinéid Mhaigh Eo</i> , e.g. 39J , CABI §287
Apsa	song <i>Púcán Sheáin Antaine</i> , by local poet, e.g. 39Dt , CABI §302
Ará	song <i>An Raicín (Álainn)</i> , e.g. 30Bt , CABI §111
ARN	<i>Airneán: eine Sammlung von irischen Texten I</i> , Hartmann et al. (1996), following speaker abbreviation
Asc	song <i>An tSailchuach</i> , e.g. 10B , CABI §297
Ascn	song or verse and rhythmic prose text known as <i>Seachrán Chearúláin</i> , e.g. 19J (commercial recording), 11Ct , CABI §92
Ascr	<i>Amhrán Shéamaís Uí Chonchúir</i> , e.g. 881J , CABI §375
Asd	song <i>An Sceilpín draighneach</i> , e.g. 899N , CABI §125
Asdd	song <i>An Seanduine dóite</i> , composed by <i>Clochartach</i> from <i>Mainis</i> (in <i>Leitir Calaidh</i>), e.g. 13P , CABI §164
Aslf	song <i>Scríofa’ mé leitir go Foirnis amáireach</i> , composed by 00M , e.g. 13Pt , CABI §3
Asls	song <i>An Solas Aibhléise</i> , composed by 03V
Asór	verses with chorus ‘ <i>S (h)óra mhíle grá</i> ’, CABI §211
Asp	<i>Amhrán na Speile</i> , by local poet, e.g. 04Bt , CABI §305
Asr	song <i>An Saileog / Sail Óg Rua</i> , e.g. 39D , CABI §234
Ast	<i>Amhrán an Stímir</i> , by local poet, e.g. 36P
Ata	song <i>Tiúna an Aircín</i> , by local poet, e.g. 03Ct , CABI §280
Atb	<i>Amhrán Thomáis Uí Bhia</i> , by local poet, e.g. 11Ct , CABI §§296, 546
Atm	song <i>An tIolrach Mór</i> , by local poet, e.g. 11Ct , CABI §620
Atps	song <i>Tá na páipéir dhá saidhneáil</i> , e.g. 06Ct , 43Js , CABI §77
Ats	song <i>Tiocfaidh an samhradh</i> , e.g. 43Js , CABI §124
Atsb	song <i>Tigh Thomáis Sheáin Bháin</i> , sung by 899N
Aúb	song <i>Úna Bhán</i> , e.g. 39D , CABI §105
BBeo	<i>An béal beo</i> , Tomás Ó Máille (1936 ¹ , 2002 ²).
BC	Bun a Cnoc (north of Recess, Co. Galway)
Bl	<i>Béaloides: the journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society</i> (1927 ff.); e.g. Bl9, edition by Mac Coisdealbha (1939) of tales written in 1929–30 by young pupils from Iorras Aithneach
BóC	the writer
C, C’, C`	consonant, palatal consonant, nonpalatal consonant
CABI	<i>Clár amhrán Bhaile na hInse</i> , R. Ní Fhlathartaigh (1976)
CAR	‘ <i>Cainteanna aniar</i> ’, P. Ó Súilleabháin (1955), short vocabulary mainly from speakers 869P , 875P
CF	Cois Fharraige, cp. ICF
CFBB	<i>Cnósach focal ó Bhaile Bhúirne</i> , Ó Cuív (1947)
CFNG	<i>Corpas na Gaeilge</i> , Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann (2004), available towards the very end of my work on Iorras Aithneach

CFT	<i>Cnuasach focal as Teileann</i> , Uí Bheirn (1989)
CFU	<i>Cnuasach focal ó Uíbh Ráthach</i> , Nic Pháidín (1987)
CGT	<i>Coimhréir Ghaedhilg an Tuaiscirt</i> , Ó Searcaigh (1939)
Cl	An Clochán (Clifden, Co. Galway)
Clad	<i>Cladaí Chonamara</i> , S. Mac an Iomaire (1985 ² , modernised and partly standardised edition by Máirtín C. Ó Cadhain), author native of Maínis, born in 1891; Clad1 = first edition (1938)
cmcs	common case (historical nominative form)
comp	comparative
cond	conditional
conj	conjunction
cop	copula
CT	Conamara Thiar, material in RBÉ recorded in the area of Conamara west of Iorras Aithneach, see I.XI below
dat	dative
decl	declarative
dem	demonstrative
dep	dependent (nominal (genitive position); verb (following particle))
DIL	<i>Dictionary of the Irish language</i> (1913–75; 1983)
dim	diminutive
Dinn	<i>Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla</i> , Dinneen (1911)
drel,	direct relative
DirRel	
DT	‘An dara tiachóg as Iorras Aithneach’, Mac Giollarnáth (1940)
eclps	eclipsis
EDD	<i>The English dialect dictionary</i> , J. Wright (1898–1905)
EM	Erris, Co. Mayo, cp. IEM
EModIr	Early Modern Irish
emph	emphatic
Eng.	English (language)
envr	environment
EPG	<i>East Perthshire Gaelic</i> , M. Ó Murchú (1989)
ESG	<i>East Sutherland Gaelic</i> , Dorian (1978)
esp	especially
FCúil	<i>Féilim a’ Cúil</i> , local poet; as narrated, for example, by 11Ct
f, f., fem	feminine
FFG	<i>Foirisiún focal as Gaillimh</i> , de Bhaldraithe (1985), FFG refers to material from source number 19, the Carna area, mainly speakers 11C , 10B , 10B ’s sister, and 898P ; added numbers refer to other sources, e.g. FFG20 refers to source number 20, i.e. Cois Fharraige; sometimes FFG19 is used for extra clarity, referring to the Carna area
FGB	<i>Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla</i> , N. Ó Dónaill (1977 [1978])
fig	figurative
fut	future
GCD	<i>Gaeilge Chorca Dhuibhne</i> , Ó Sé (2000)
GCF	<i>Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: an deilbhíocht</i> , de Bhaldraithe (1953)
GGBC	<i>Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí</i> , Ó hAnluain (1960, 1985) (reference to second edition, 1999, in parenthesis)
gen(sg)	genitive (genitive singular)

GL	<i>The Gaelic of Leurbost</i> , Oftedal (1956)
gpl	genitive plural
gsg	genitive singular
GT	<i>Gaeilge Theilinn</i> , Wagner (1959)
^H	followed by <i>h-</i> before vowels, initial mutation also termed aspiration
hab	habitual
IA	Iorras Aithneach; for IA.1–IA.18, see I.XI below
IAIM	<i>The Irish of Achill, Co. Mayo</i> , Stockman (1974)
ICF	<i>The Irish of Cois Fhairrge, County Galway</i> , de Bhaldraithe (1945)
IDPP	<i>Irish dialects past and present</i> , O’Rahilly (1932)
IEM	<i>The Irish of Erris, Co. Mayo</i> , Mhac an Fhailigh (1968)
IGT	<i>Irish grammatical tracts</i> , Bergin (1916–55)
Iml	<i>imleabhar</i> ‘volume’, in reference to manuscript volume in the main collection in RBÉ
imprs	impersonal
impv	imperative
IN	Innis Nia (Inishnee, Co. Galway)
incl	including
indef	indefinite
indep	independent
indrel, IndRel	indirect relative
ING	<i>Imnéacs Nua-Ghaeilge</i> , de Bhaldraithe (1981)
interj	interjection
interr	interrogative
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
Ir.	Irish (language)
irreg	irregular(ly)
IRW	<i>The Irish of Ring, Co. Waterford</i> , R. B. Breatnach (1947)
ITM	<i>The Irish of Tourmakeady, Co. Mayo</i> , S. de Búrca (1958)
IWM	<i>The Irish of West Muskerry, Co. Cork</i> , Ó Cuív (1944)
^L	followed by lenition, initial mutation
l	<i>laoi</i> , words or phrases from a Fenian lay, following speaker abbreviation
Lam	<i>Laoi an Amadáin Mhóir</i> in 04Bt
LCúil	<i>Labhcás a’ Cúil</i> , local poet (son of FCúil), e.g. 04B
LFISD	<i>Liosta focal as ‘Idir Shúgradh agus Dáiríre’</i> , S. Ó Murchú (1982)
LFRM	<i>Liosta focal as Ros Muc</i> , T. S. Ó Máille (1974)
LL	<i>Loinnir Mac Leabhair</i> , Mac Giollarnáth (1936)
LmC	Liam Mac Coisteala, major folklore collector
LSE	<i>Leabhar Stiófáin Uí Ealoire</i> , S. Ó Duilearga and D. Ó hÓgáin (1981)
lt	letter, from letter written by speaker, following speaker’s abbreviation
M	Máire (Mhicil Ní Con Fhaola), Bean Sheáin Chúláin = 16M (Maínis), my main informant overall
m, m., masc	masculine
MMrc	of songs attributed to <i>Mícheál Mharcais a Cúláin</i> , local poet
Mp	Map in SID, Volume I
MP	with speaker abbreviation, material from the archaic prayer, <i>An</i>

MS	<i>Mharthainn Phádraig</i> , e.g. An Seabhac (1934), 894Cst
MmS	manuscript, (generally) in RBÉ
Msc	of verse attributed to <i>Mícheál Mac Suibhne</i> , Conamara poet
	<i>Mallacht Shéamais Uí Chrochúir</i> , verse satire recited by 03V , 11C
n.	note; also n. = noun, n = noun
N	followed by eclipsis, initial mutation
	nasal consonant, <i>n</i> , <i>m</i> , <i>mh</i> , e.g. /_N (before nasal consonant), /N (beside nasal consonant)
nasq	nasal vowel questionnaire (1.322), following speaker abbreviation
neg	negative
NIGCF	<i>Nua-Iasachtaí i nGaeilge Chois Fhairrge</i> , de Bhaldraithe (1953–5a; 1956–7b)
nom	nominative
non-ac-	all 3pl prepositional pronouns other than those from <i>ag</i>
nonlen	nonlenition
nonpal	nonpalatal, nonpalatalised
nonpers	nonpersonal
NP	noun phrase
NUath	of song attributed to local poetess <i>Nóra / Nuala an Chnuic</i> , <i>Nuala Ní Uaithnín</i>
num	numeral
obj	object
óc	folklore in Ó Con Cheanainn (2002)
OED	<i>The Oxford English dictionary</i> (1933)
OIr	Old Irish
P	Pádraig Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola, 19P , brother of M
pal	palatal, palatalised
perm	permissible or acceptable to speaker, generally following speaker abbreviation
pl	plural
PIN	place-name
poss	possessive
pres	present
prgs	progressive (use with <i>ag</i> , e.g. <i>ag siúl</i> , <i>ag caint</i> , <i>ag seafóid</i>)
pron	pronoun, pronominal
prp	preposition(al)
prsbj	present subjunctive
prtc	particle
pst	past
psthab	past habitual
pstsbj	past subjunctive
pt	point (in SID)
q	result of query, following speaker abbreviation, (q) both query and conversation; ‘q’ also refers to numbered questions (especially in material cited from SID)
RBÉ	(material from) Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann (Department of Irish Folklore), National University of Ireland, Dublin
reg	regular(ly)
rel	relative

RnG	Raidió na Gaeltachta, in particular in reference to the sound archive recordings, e.g. CAS, CO and DAT references used in Cartlann Raidió na Gaeltachta
Rob	<i>Connemara, Part 1</i> , Robinson (1990), e.g. Rob.83 = op. cit., p. 83
S	Seán (Choilm Ó Cúláin) = 12S
S...	‘S’ at the beginning of an abbreviation followed exclusively by more than one lower case letter indicates a story or tale title, e.g. Semr below
sbj	subjunctive
Sc	<i>Éamon a Búrc: scéalta</i> , P. Ó Ceannabháin (1983), narrated by 866E
Scbér	<i>Scéal an Chailleach Bhéarra</i> , narrated by 04Bt
Sdás	<i>Scéal an dá Shochairde</i> , narrated by 04Bt
Semr	<i>Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn</i> , Ó Nualláin (1982), narrated by 866E
SeolG	<i>Seoltóireacht ghéar</i> , E. Ó Néill (1988), songs composed by 18S
sg	singular
Sgbf	<i>Grabaire Beag Finn mhac Cúil</i> , narrated by 869Pt
SGDS	<i>Survey of the Gaelic dialects of Scotland</i> , Ó Dochartaigh (1994–97)
SGuair	(song attributed to) the local poet <i>Seán Bacach a Guairim</i>
sic	so, thus; when cited from a folklore transcription in Irish (<i>sic</i>) appears in italics and round brackets to indicate that the folklore transcriber used ‘sic’; [<i>sic</i>] indicates that an editor of a published text used ‘sic’; on the other hand, plain-type square brackets, i.e. [sic], indicates my comment
SID	<i>Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects</i> , Wagner (1958–69); for SID.43b, see numeric abbreviations above
sl	slip (note taken down on paper slips), following speaker abbreviation
SM	Seán (Choilm Ó Cúláin) = 12S , Máire (Mhicil Ní Con Fhaola) = 16M
Smbb	<i>Mac Rí na Binne Brice</i> , hero-tale narrated by 04Bt
Smds	<i>Scéal Mhac Dháithí an tSneachta</i> , tale narrated by 04Bt
smne	someone
Smré	tale <i>Mac Rí in Éirinn</i> , e.g. 04Bt
smth	something
SNG	Sorcha Ní Ghuairim (1945–6), folklore written by this native of Roisín na Mainchíoch
sns	<i>Seanchas na Sceichí</i> , poem composed by Raftery, e.g. ZCP158–62
SÓC	folklore written by S. Ó Cathasaigh of An Aird Thiar; SÓC1 = S. Ó Cathasaigh (1942); SÓC2 = S. Ó Cathasaigh (1943–4b: 279–85); SÓC3 = S. Ó Cathasaigh (1943–4a: 159–60)
SON	sonorant (sounds)
Suda	tale <i>Urchar Daill faoi Abhall</i> , e.g. 894Cs IA.1 RBÉ, 869P ZCP (1)
s.v.	under the word (‘sub voce’), referring to dictionary or vocabulary entry
syll	syllable
sync	syncope
t	tape, material on audio tape, following speaker abbreviation
TarCC	<i>Tairgireacht Cholm Cille</i> , e.g. 869P5

<i>tí</i>	following speaker abbreviation, elicitation or recording centred on past habitual and past subjunctive impersonal forms
TIA	<i>Tiachóg ó Iorras Aitheach</i> , Mac Giollarnáth (1932)
tn	traditional narrative, i.e. folk tale, following speaker abbreviation
trans	translation, following speaker abbreviation, translation by speaker in elicitation context
TS	<i>Trí shean-scéal</i> , Ó Duilearga (1962–4)
<i>u-</i>	indicates the vocalism common as a hesitation filler ə , u
UCD	University College Dublin (also now, National University of Ireland, Dublin)
<i>v, v.</i>	verb; in citations from song: verse
<i>V, V:, VV</i>	vowel, long vowel, diphthong, respectively
<i>vadj</i>	verbal adjective
<i>var</i>	variant
<i>v.l.</i>	variant reading (' <i>varia lectio</i> ')
VN	verbal noun
<i>voc</i>	vocative
Vocab	Vocabulary section in <i>SIDIII</i> ; in particular point 46, pp. 197–9
ZCP	material from speaker 869P in <i>Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie</i> 47, Wagner and McGonagle (1995)

I.III Map and townlands

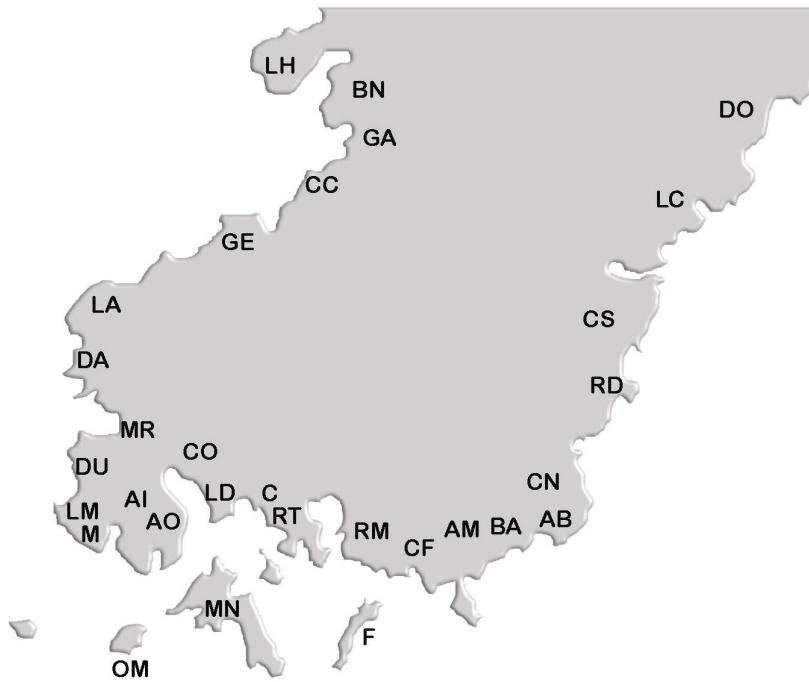
The abbreviations of townlands and other places-names in Iorras Aithneach (IA) as used in this work are:

AB	Aill na Brón	} An Aird, Na hAirdeannaí
AI	An Aird Thiar	
AO	An Aird Thoir	
AM	An Aird Mhóir	
BA	An Bhánrach Ard	
BN	Bun na hAbhann	
C	Carna	
CC	Caladh an Chnoic	
CF	Caladh Fhínse	
CN	Cill Chiaráin	
CO	An Coillín	
CS	Coill Sáile	
DA	Damhras	
DO	Doire Iorraí	
DU	Dumhaigh Ithir	
F	Fínis	
GA	Gabhla	
GE	Glinisce	
LA	Leitir hArd	
LC	Loch Con Aortha	
LD	Leitir Deiscirt	
LH	Leitheanach	
LM	An Leath-Mhás	

M	An Más
MN	Maínis
MR	Maoras
OM	An tOileán Máisean
RD	Ros Dugáin
RM	Roisín na Mainchíoch
RT	Roisín an Tamh(n)aigh

The official versions of certain of these place-names are slightly different: Caladh Mhaínse (CF), Damhros (DA), Leitreach Ard (LA), Loch Conaortha (LC), An Leathmhás (LM), Maighros (MR), Oileán Máisean (OM), Ros Dúgáin (RD), Roisín na Mainiach (RM).

Map I.I Iorras Aithneach townlands



I.IV Speakers

A list of speakers with relevant details follows, including abbreviations used in this work to refer to them.¹ The speaker abbreviation consists of three to six

¹ For some people the spelling of names can be a notoriously sensitive matter. Names are given in the following list as they are commonly used in the community or known to me to be the traditional form, or one of the traditional forms. Cf. Chapter 12. In a few instances speakers have indicated to me what spelling they themselves prefer, and this is given in the list. I sincerely hope that none of my spellings or inaccuracies offend or upset any of the many individuals who have been so generous with their time and knowledge of their native language in making this work possible. I have tried to get precise dates of birth (within a possible error of one or two years in some cases). The dates of these minor

characters in bold type, the initial three (two in the case of the 1900s) indicate year of birth (without the ‘1–’ for the 1800s, without the ‘19–’ for the 1900s), e.g. **894** = 1894, **35** = 1935; the slot immediately after the date of birth stands for the speaker’s name. The final one or two additional letter slots in normal typeface, when used, denote the speaker’s place of birth (mostly townland, I.III), e.g. **64MMN** = speaker born in 1964, named Marcas Ó Gaora, from Maínis. Exceptionally, however, when born outside Iorras Aithneach, the final slot represents where in Iorras Aithneach the speaker was reared. Four digits immediately following the speaker identification refer to the sections of Airneán I (involving speakers **892M**, **899D**, **01C**, **01M**, **11C**, **18J**, **21Pg**, **35E**), e.g. **11C**1348 = ARN1348 spoken by **11C** (cf. LXI). See also ‘Abbreviations and symbols’ under 1, 2, 3, etc., (I.II). Three of my main speakers are often referred to by their Christian names and are also given additional shorter abbreviations: Seán = S = **12S**, his wife Máire = M = **16M**, her brother Pádraig = P = **19P**; SM stands for Seán and Máire. Source ‘46’ (in normal typeface), also indicated by SID.46, refers to point 46 of the *Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects* (Wagner 1958–69 = SID) representing the speech of speaker **869P** and his son **08C**, both of An Coillín. Finally, the few speakers cited in this work who come from areas of the Conamara Gaeltacht outside of Iorras Aithneach are indicated in the list as ‘non-IA’. Further details concerning speakers are presented in I.V.

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
(848B)	AI	Béib Pheatsa Ní Conncha (Nic Dhonncha)
852S	DU	Seán Veail ’ac Con Raoi
852Sb	LC	Seán Éadbhaird Ó Briain
(853P)	AI	Peadar ’ac Dhonncha
864M	RM	Maidhcil ’ac Dhonncha
866E	AM	Éamann Liam a Búrc
869P	CO	Pádraigín Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire
870B	LA	Beairtle Guairim
870C	C	Colm Ó Cúláin
872P	MN	Peadar Ó Clochartaigh
872M	F	Máirín Pháidín Choilm ’ac Con Iomaire
875P	CO	Peait Bhilí / Bhile ’ac Dhonncha
875T	CO	Team Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire
876J	AI	Jó ’ac Dhonncha
879P	AI	Beairtle ’ac Dhonncha
881J	CF	Jó Ó Dubháin (Jónn Jó)
881N	F	Nóra Mhaitiú Ní Chon Fhaola
886J	non-IA	Jó King
889P	CS	Pádraig Ó Madaín
892M	DU	Maidhcil Veail Mheaite Ó Coirbín
892Mg	GE	Mícheál Ó Caena
893P	AB	Peadar Ó Laidhe

speakers’ may err more than two years: **10N**, **17T**, **20Pg**, **22P**, **22J**, **23M**, **23Ms**, **23P**, **25C**, **25Mb**, **30M**, **33M**, **35M**, **37T**, **39J**, **41T**, **43S**, **45N**, **46J**, **50M**, **50Tí**, **52C**, **53H**, **53J**, **53Mp**, **55A**, **56P**, **56T**, **61M**, **69A**, **69P**, **69T**, **71J**, **79A**. Native speakers from outside Iorras Aithneach are generally referred to throughout this work without abbreviations. Their details are given as they arise.

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
894N	CS	Neainín Ní Chon Fhaola, Bean Uí Cheannabháin
894BI	GA	Beairtle Ó Caena
894C	GE	Colm Ó Caoidheáin (Colm an Bhlácaigh)
894Cs	CF	Colm Ó Dubháin (Sonaí Jó)
894M	GA	Máirtín Mhicil Bheairtle Ó Caena
894MI	MN	Maidhcil Pheadairín Ó Uaithnín
896P	MN	Pádraig Shéamais Ó Briain
897P	LC	Peadar Dhuinín Ó Cadhain
897S	AM	Seán Bheairtlín Uí Chlothartaigh
898P	F	Pádraigín Veail Uí Nia
899D	RM	Mac Dara Ó Loideáin (Deara Mhicil Liam)
899N	RD	Níoclás Jim (Uí) Churraoin
899P	LC	Peadar Son Pheigsa Ó Súilleabháin
00B	C	Bairbre Uí Chárdha, <i>née</i> Caulfield
00C	DO	Céit Pheadair Team, Bean Uí Nia, <i>née</i> Ní Mháille
00M	BA	Maidhcil Bheairtle Uí Dhonnchú
00T	RM	Tomás Mhaidhcil 'ac Dhonncha
01C	RM	Colm 'ac Con Iomaire (Cól Beag Chóilín Pháidín)
01J	MN	Jó O'Brien
01P	DO	Pádraig Ó Nia, Peaitín Jó Ó Nia
01S	AB	Seán Ó Gaora
03C	F	Cóilín Sheáinín Choilmín 'ac Dhonncha
03S	AI	Seán Jaic 'ac Dhonncha
03V	BA	Veail Bheairtle Uí Dhonnchú
04B	AI	Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola
04Br	CO	Bairbre McKiernan, <i>née</i> 'ac Con Iomaire
04F	AO	Feist Fheichín Uí Cheannabháin
05J	GA	Jó Deidlí Seoige
05M	AO	Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin
05Md	RM	Marcas Mhaidhcil 'ac Dhonncha
05S	MN	Seáinín Phádraig Uí Ghaora, Seáinín na nGaorach
06C	DU	Cóilín Sheáinín Dhú Dara Ó Cúláin
06M	AB	Maidhcil Phótair Uí Cheannabháin
06Mc	MN	Maidhcil Mhicil Pháidín Uí Chlothartaigh
07M	AO	Malaí Nic Giolla Pádraig
07P	MR	Pádraig Ó Caoidheáin (Pádraig an Bhlácaigh)
08B	MN	Béib Choilm Ántaine Uí Chon Fhaola, Bean Uí Loideáin
08Bh	MN	Béib Cheaite, Bean Uí Chlothartaigh
08C	CO	Ciarán Phádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire
09S	MN	Saera Casey
10B	MN	Béib Sheáinín Ántaine, Bean Uí Chúláin
10C	OM	Cól Dharach Uí Chathasaigh
10N	MN	Nóra Janaí Shéamais Joyce, <i>née</i> Chlothartaigh
11C	MR	Cóilín Mháirtín Sheáinín Ó Cúláin
11J	CO	Jó Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire
11P	LA	Peaidí Bearait

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
12J	MN	Janaí Shéamais Dhiarmada Ó Uaithnín
12S, S	C	Seán Choilm Chúláin
13J	RD	Jósaí Chóil 'ac Con Iomaire
13Jd	LC	Júid (Siobhán), Bean an tSeoigh
13P	AM	Patrick Phádraig Liam a Búrc
14J	BA	Jó Mháire Mhicilín Uí Dhonnchú
14M	MN	Máire Nic Giolla Pádraig, Mary Fitzpatrick
14MI	non-IA	Maidhcilín Breatnach (Maidhcilín Ros Rua)
15M	DU	Muiréad Sheáin Dhú Dara, Bean Uí Cheannabháin
15P	AM	Peait Thomáis Cheaite Bhreatnaigh
15Pn	F	Peait Cheoinín
15Pr	MR	Peadar Teamaí Ó Loideáin
15Pt	CN	Pat McDonagh
15W	CO	Winnie Phádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire
16B	M	Béib Chathail Uí Uaithnín, Bean Uí Chathasaigh
16C	GE	Colm Mac Craith (Cóilín Hiúf)
16M, M	MN	Máire Mhicil, Bean Uí Chúláin, <i>née</i> Ní Chon Fhaola
16N	MN	Neain Roundstone, Bean Uí Ghríofa, <i>née</i> Ní Chon Fhaola
16P	GA	Peatsaí Sonaí Keane
16S	F	Seán Liúc Uí Nia
17M	LD	Maidhcil Nóra Ó Maoil Chiaráin
17Mp	MN	Meaircín Pheadair Uí Chlothartaigh
17Md	AI	Muiréad Nic Dhonncha
17T	MN	Team Choilm Thomáis Bairéad
18B	BA	Bríd Mháirtín Fheichín a Chúláin, Bean Uí Dhónaill
18Bm	MN	Bríd Clathairtí, <i>née</i> Ní Chon Fhaola (Bríd Mhicil)
18J	AO	Jó Pheadair Uí Laidhe
18Pc	C	Pádraig Choilm Chúláin
18Pd	MN	Peadar Bearait
18S	F	Seán Cheoinín
18T	CN	Team Mháirtín Pheait McDonagh
19B	non-IA	Beairtle Hapcins
19J	AO	Jó Éinniú, Seosamh Ó hÉanaigh
19P, P	MN	Pádraig Mhicil Ó Con Fhaola
19S	AI	Janaí Jó Pheaitsín, Seán 'ac Dhonncha
20A	DO	Antaine Ó Máille
20C	MN	Cóilín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin
20M	GA	Máirtín Sonaí Jó Ó Catháin
20MI	LH	Maidhcil Clathairtí
20My	MN	Méaraí Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú, Bean Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin
20Pá	MN	Pádraig Cholm Thomáis Bairéad
20Pg	MN	Peigín Sheáin Mhicil Uí Ghaora
20T	CO	Teaimín Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire
21C	MN	Céitín Son Team, Bean Uí Chaena
21J	RM	Jó Pheadair Shíodúch Ó Guairim
21Jc	MN	Jóin Pheadair Uí Chlothartaigh

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
21Pg	DU	Pádraig a Choscara
21Pi	RM	Pádraig Chóilín Bhríd Mhrocha Ó Iarnáin (Pádraig Saera)
21Pt	AM	Peait Mháire Veail Uí Dhonnchú
22J	RT	Jó Beag Jó Guairim
22M	CS	Méimí (Máire), Bean Uí Shúilleabháin
22P	LH	Peter Griffin, Peadar Ó Gríofa
23B	CF	Béib Mheárgrait, Bean Uí Uaithnín
23C	RT	Cóilín Jón Guairim
23J	F	Jó Mhadaín
23M	MN	Maidhcil Beag Ó Maoil Chiaráin
23Ms	RM	Maidhcil an tSeaimpín Ó Clothartaigh
23P	RM	Pádraig Stiofáinín de Búrca
24M	DA	Mícheál Ó Dónaill
24Mr	AI	Máire, Bean Jó Pheadair Shíodúch Uí Ghuairim
24N	LM	Nóra Pheait Ní Chúláin
24P	MN	Peait Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin
25C	MN	Céit Shéamais Ní Uaithnín
25M	CO	Maidhcil Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire
25Mb	MN	Máire Cholm Thomáis Bairéad, Bean Mhic an Bhaird
25Mn	LC	Máire Nic Giolla Bháin
25S	C	Stiofán Choilm Chúláin
25T	MN	Tadhg Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin
26M	LC	Micí Sullivan
26P	MN	Peait Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin
26Pc	DA	Peait Chóil Ó Uaithnín
26Ps	DU	Pádraig 'ac Con Raoi (Peait Shéamais)
27C	CO	Catherine, Bean Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin, <i>née</i> Conra
27Cb	AI	Colm Bheairtle 'ac Dhonncha
27Cl	RM	Cóilín Mhig Dara Ó Loideáin
27J	LC	Jan Pheadair Dhuinín Cadhain
27Jl	RM	Janaí Jó Choilm Ó Loideáin
27Js	AM	Janaí Sheáin Bheairtle Uí Chlothartaigh
27M	MR	Máirtín Bheairtle Chanraí
27Md	LA	Mary Derrane, Bean Sheáin Cheoinín
29C	MN	Céit Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú, Bean Uí Chúláin, <i>née</i> Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin
29N	AO	Neain Bairéad, <i>née</i> Ní Cheannabháin (Neain Mháire an Ghabha)
29P	MN	Peaicí O'Brien
30B	AO	Bidí, Bean Uí Ghaora, <i>née</i> Ní Cheannabháin (Bidí Mháire an Ghabha)
30M	BA	Máirtín Sheáin Steaife Seoige
30Ms	AM	Maidhcil Shéamais Uí Cheannabháin
30P	CN	Peaidí Phádraig Mhaidhc Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin
31D	AM	Deara Beag Ó Flatartaigh
31M	MN	Méaraí Mhicí Uí Loideáin

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
31P	MN	Peaitín Phádraig Mhichíl Uí Chon Fhaola
32C	RM	Cól Beag Chóilín Mhárgan Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin
32J	MN	Jaicí Chiaráin 'ac Con Iomaire
32Js	AM	Jósaí Moylan
32P	LC	Píotar Pheadair Son Uí Shúilleabháin
33M	MN	Máirín Team Mhóir Bairéad (Bean Uí Chlothartaigh)
33P	MN	Pádraigín Team Mhóir Bairéad
33T	CN	Tomás Madaín
34C	AM	Cóilín Mhaidhc Ó Loideáin
34M	CS	Michael Kelly
35C	LC	Cóilín Chiaráin Ó Súilleabháin
35E	AI	Eidí Bheairtle Ó Con Fhaola
35M	F	Máirín 'ac Con Fhaola (Máirín Fhínse)
35MI	C	Mícheál Mórán
36B	MN	Bridín Team Mhóir Bairéad
36C	AO	Céit Mháire an Ghabha, Bean Uí Ghaora
36M	AO	Marcas Mhaidhc Teamannaí Uí Cheannabháin
36N	LC	Nóra, Bean Uí Cheannabháin, <i>née</i> Ní Shúilleabháin
36P	CS	Pádraig Team Phaitis Uí Cheannabháin
36S	MN	Seán Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin
36T	MN	Tomás Bairéad (Teaimín an Bhairéadaigh)
37J	LA	Janaí Mháirtín Learaí 'ac Dhonncha
37M	AO	Maidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ó Ceannabháin
37T	C	Team Curran
37Ts	AM	Tomás Sheáin Bheairtlín Ó Clochartaigh
39D	AO	Deara Bán 'ac Dhonncha
39J	CF	Jósaí Sonáí Ó Dubháin
40S	CN	Seán Madaín
41J	MN	Jaicí Sheáin Cheaite Uí Uaithnín
41M	MN	Máirtín Casey
41T	MN	Team Bairéad
42C	LC	Ciarán Beag Chiaráin Ó Súilleabháin
42T	C	Team Geary
43J	AM	Jósaí Curran
43Js	AI	Jósaí Sheáin Jaic 'ac Dhonncha
43M	MN	Máirín Brown, <i>née</i> Ní Chúláin
43Mp	DO	Maidhcil Phí(t) Teaimín Uí Mháille
43MI	CN	Máire Ní Thuathail
43S	CF	Séamaisín Sonáí Uí Dhúáin
44P	LC	Pádraig Ó Súilleabháin (Peaidí Mhéimí)
44Pc	LD	Pádraig Mhaidhc Choilm Veail Uí Loideáin
44Pn	MN	Pádraig Chóilín Mhaitéis Ó Cathasaigh
45B	MN	Bríd Ryan, <i>née</i> Ní Chúláin
45C	AI	Colm Sheáin Jaic 'ac Dhonncha
45C6	C	Cóilín Mháirtín Saera Chúláin
45M	C	Maidhcilín Geary
45N	MN	Neain Jó Dic, Bean Uí Cheannabháin

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
46C	CN	Coleman Lee, Colm Ó Laidhe
46J	CF	Jó Pheaitín Teamaí Ó Maoil Chiaráin
46M	AO	Máire Jó Mharcaisín, <i>née</i> Ní Cheannabháin
46S	CO	Seán Bhairbre 'ac Con Iomaire, Johnny McKiernan
47L	RD	Louis 'ac Con Iomaire
47P	MN	Peigí Chúláin
47Ps	LA	Pádraig Sheáin Cheoinín
48B	MN	Baba Chóilín Mhaitéis Uí Chathasaigh
48J	CN	Janaí Breatnach
48M	LA	Máirín Sheáin Cheoinín, Bean Uí Chathasaigh
48R	CN	Richie McDonagh, Risteard Mac Donncha
49J	AB	Jósaí Cúg
49M	C	Mary-Anne Corbett, <i>née</i> Ní Chúláin
50E	C	Éamann Mheaic Ó Méalóid
50M	GA	Máirtín Ó Catháin
50N	MN	Neain Connaughton, <i>née</i> Ní Chúláin
50Nó	LA	Nóirín Jósaí Phádraig Chaena
50P	AI	Pádraig Corbett
50Tí	LA	Teamáí (Mháirtín) Mheachair Keaney
51M	C	Máirtín Chúláin
51N	CF	Nóra Curran, <i>née</i> Nia
51P	MN	Pádraigín Bairéad
52C	MN	Colm Chóilín Dharach Uí Chathasaigh
52Cr	C	Ciarán Chúláin
52J	MN	Jaicí Chúláin
52M	MN	Mary Hopkins, Máire Ní Hoipicín
52P	CF	Peigí Corbett, <i>née</i> Ní Nia
52T	RM	Treasa Loideáin, Bean Jósaí Cúg
53H	MN	Hugh Rua O'Donnell, Aodh Ó Dónaill
53J	LA	Jan Sheáin Janaí Sheáin Liam Chúláin
53M	AM	Máirín Sheáin Chóilín Churraoin
53Mp	MN	Maidhcil Pheait Pháidín Uí Uaithnín
54C	MN	Cathleen Sweeney, <i>née</i> Ní Chúláin
54Cc	MN	Colm Chóilín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin
54H	DO	Hughie Walshe
54M	MN	Maidhcil Chóilín Mháirtín Sheáinín Chúláin
55A	MR	Antaine Chúláin
55C	MN	Caitlín Chóilín Mhaitéis Uí Chathasaigh
55J	RM	Jósaí Guairim
55M	MN	Máirín na nGaoraigh, Máirín na nGaorach
55S	MN	Seán Ó Gaora
56B	MN	Baba, Bean Mhic Suibhne, <i>née</i> Ní Chúláin
56M	AO	Meait Corbett
56N	non-IA	Nóra, Bean Uí Chúláin, <i>née</i> Conroy
56P	LC	Pádraig O'Brien
56Pe	AB	Peadar Ó Ceannabháin
56T	CN	Treasa Sheáin Liúc Ní Nia

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
57J	CS	Jó Mheagí Ó Flathartaigh
57P	C	Patrick Chúláin
59B	AI	Baba, Bean Uí Ghaora, <i>née</i> Corbett
59P	non-IA	Patrick Conroy
60C	C	Colm Chúláin (Colm Charna)
60M	MN	Mícheál Ó Hoipicín, Maidhcil Hopkins
60S	MN	Saile, Bean Uí Chúláin, <i>née</i> Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin
61M	MN	Maidhcil Bairéad
61P	MN	Pádraig Pheait Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin
61Pt	CS	Pádraig Pheait Bhid Uí Fhlathartaigh
61S	MN	Séamas Janaí Shéamais Uí Uaithnín
62J	AO	Jósaí Mhaidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ó Ceannabháin
62P	MN	Pádraig Chóilín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin
62Mg	MN	Meárgrait Janaí Shéamais Uí Uaithnín
63S	RM	Seán Jó Pheadair Shíodúch Guairim
64C	AM	Cruistí 'ac Con Iomaire
64M	MN	Marcas Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Ó Gaora
64Me	MN	Máire Janaí Shéamais Uí Uaithnín, Bean Uí Ghríofa
65C	MN	Colm Janaí Shéamais Ó Uaithnín
65S	MN	Seán Pheait Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin
65T	MR	Tereasa, Bean Sheáin Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Uí Ghaora
66J	MN	Jó Chúláin
66L	MN	Liusaí Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Uí Ghaora, Bean Uí Chúláin
66N	AM	Nóra Janaí Clathairtí
66M	CS	Máirín Mheagí Ní Fhlathartaigh (Máirín Pheait Bhid)
66Ma	CS	Margaret-Anne Ní Fhlathartaigh
68K	MN	Kim Brown
69A	DU	Áine de Búrca
69P	MN	Pádraig Pheaitín Phádraig Mhichíl Uí Chon Fhaola
69S	MN	Seán Thaidhg Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin
69T	CS	Male speaker. Name lost through oversight.
70M	AI	Mairéad Ní Chon Fhaola (Mairéad Eidí Bheairtle)
70P	AM	Pádraig Janaí Sheáin Bheairtlín Uí Chlothartaigh
70S	MN	Seán Brown
70Se	AI	Seán Ó Con Fhaola
71D	DA	Dónall Pheait Chóil Ó Uaithnín
71J	CO	Jó Ó Conaire
72A	CS	Anne-Marie Madaín
72C	MN	Caitlín Thaidhg Jó Bhairbre Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin
72N	MN	Noel Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Uí Ghaora
73N	C	Neasa Ní Chúláin
73D	DA	Deiclin Pheait Chóil Ó Uaithnín
73E	MN	Eidhlín Sheáin Son Team Uí Chlothartaigh
73P	MN	Pádraig Thaidhg Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin

Abbreviation		Speaker
born	townland	
74N	AO	Nóirín Mhaidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ní Cheannabháin
75C	AO	Caitríona Mhaidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ní Cheannabháin
76M	AO	Máire-Eibhlín Ní Cheannabháin
76Mt	DO	Maitiú Ó Máille
76N	AO	Neain Neain Jó Dic Ní Cheannabháin
77B	AO	Bríd Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin
77C	MN	Colm Phádraig Chóilín Uí Chathasaigh
77M	AM	Máirtín Janaí Sheáin Bheairtlín Uí Chlothartaigh
78B	AO	Bairbre Ní Cheannabháin
78C	LA	Carmel Ridge
78E	MR	Eithne Lydon
78J	RD	John Dunnworth
78M	AO	Máire Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin
78P	LA	Pádraig Cheoinín
78Pb	LC	Peadar O'Brien
78R	AI	Róisín 'ac Dhonncha
78Rb	MN	Róisín Bairéad
78S	AM	Sally-Anne Casey
78U	CO	Úna Chanraí
79A	MN	Aindriú Ó Maoil Chiaráin
79J	MN	Jó Teaimín Chóil Dharach Uí Chathasaigh
79Jg	AO	Jó Neain Jó Dic Ó Ceannabháin
79M	AB	Máire-Áine Cúg
79MI	LD	Mícheál Ó Maoil Chiaráin
79P	CN	Peadar Mac Donncha
79S	MN	Seán Rua Chúláin
80A	CN	Áine Toole
80C	AI	Colm Mac Donncha
80L	DU	Liam Ó Coirbín
80M	LA	Mícheál Cheoinín
80S	AO	Seán Neain Jó Dic Ó Ceannabháin
81A	LA	Áine Cheoinín
81C	MR	Caitilín Antaine Ní Chúláin
82B	AO	Bríd Neain Jó Dic Ní Cheannabháin
84P	AO	Pól-Stiofán Mhaidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ó Ceannabháin
85M	AO	Mícheál (Maidhcil) Neain Jó Dic Ó Ceannabháin
86N	AB	Neasa Ní Chuaig (Cúg)
86R	C	Róisín Ní Chúláin
89M	C	Martha Ní Chúláin
90M	MN	Marion Ní Ghaora
90P	MN	Pádraig (Pheadair) Ó Maoil Chiaráin
91P	C	Pádraig Jaicí Chúláin
95B	MN	Bríd (Mháire Shéamais) Ní Ghríofa

I.V Sources for speakers

Sources listed are those consulted for this work and are not meant to be exhaustive for any given speaker. For some speakers data from only some of the material listed have been used. The majority but not all speakers listed here have actually been cited in this study.

ID	Source and other details
848BAI	Speech and year of birth reported by 27Cb . Mother from Maínis, father from An Aird Thiar.
852SDU	CT.2; LL (III); DT; ABg (12); RBÉ Iml. 154 (LmC), 657 (LmC), 58 (P. Ó Coincheannainn, <i>per</i> Seán Mac Giollarnáth), 236 (Brian Mac Lochlainn), 237 (pp. 15–39 only) (Brian Mac Lochlainn); these manuscripts are referred to as 852S1–5 respectively. The ediphone recording CT.2, containing two spools, corresponds to Iml. 236 pp. 534–8.
852SbLC	IA.15 (two spools) transcribed in TS127–9; LL (I, VI, VII); ABg (9); RBÉ Iml. 58 pp. 133–78 (<i>Ládearg, Mac Ríogh in Éirinn</i>) copied by Peadar Ó Coin Cheanainn, Bóthar Mór, Gaillimh, for Seán Mac Giollarnáth, abbreviated reference 852Sb2 ; Ó Duilearga (1960–2), abbreviated reference 852Sb6 (his birth and death are given: 1852–1934); Ó Duilearga (1962–4) = TS (see p. 44). This famous and accomplished storyteller is described, among other places, in LL xiii–xvi. He is, apparently, not strictly speaking a native of Iorras Aithneach: <i>Aduaidh ó Chill Bhrighde i n-aice le Loch Measca a tháinig muinntear a athar, agus tá sé féin sa dúthaigh seo ó bhí dhá bhliain d'aois aige. Ba dreithiúir d'Antoine Mac Con Fhaola, an sgéalaidhe, máthair Sheáin. Bádóir a bhí i nAntoine, a bhí ina chómhnaidhe i nGaillimh. Is uaidh a fuair Seán na sgéalta.</i> (LL xv).
853PAI	Speech and year of birth reported by 27Cb . Brother of 848B .
864MRM	LL (V, VIII); DT; ABg (1).
866EAM	An Teanglann, UCD t146a; ¹ Semr; P. Ó Ceannabháin (1983) (= Sc); Mac Coisdealbha (1936) in <i>Béaloideas</i> 6 (= B16); Mac Coisdealbha (1937) in <i>Béaloideas</i> 7 (= B17). The ediphone recordings in t146a correspond to sections of the stories in RBÉ Iml. 160 pp. 267–87, Iml. 154 pp. 411–37, and to P. Ó Ceannabháin (1983) pp. 177–87.
869PCO	IA.3–5, 17; Wagner (1995) (= ZCP); ABg (3); RBÉ Iml. 160, 238, 850, 1008 (137–332 only) (all four LmC), these volumes correspond to 869P2–5 respectively; litany composed by the speaker and transcribed by S. Ó Súilleabháin (in P. Mac an Iomaire 1955) referred to here as 869P6 . Main informant in SIDi and III point 46. It is important to note that all material from point 46 SID is treated as if from 869P , thus ignoring the fact that his son, Ciarán (speaker 08C) was Wagner's second informant. This is a strategy forced on us through necessity since there is no

¹ An Teanglann: the language laboratory of the Irish Department in UCD.

ID	Source and other details
	indication as to which speaker provided any particular form; apart from the general comment in Wagner (1972: 300) that all 'difficult' words were proffered by the older informant, my 869P . ¹ All conclusions, both specific to the speaker's individual system and intergenerational developments, based on SID for 869P are therefore compromised and of a tentative nature. Considerable similarities and dissimilarities exist between 869P 's audio-recorded material and both SID point 46 and his daughters' audio-recorded speech. Brother of 875T , father of 04Br , 08C and 15W .
870BLA	ABg (5); RBÉ Iml. 850 pp. 509–22, 583–5 (LmC), Iml. 867 pp. 149–57 (LmC) which correspond to 870B 1–2 respectively.
870CC	CABI §52(b). Father of 12S .
872MF	Short recording, with her husband 869P , made by Séamas Mac Aonghusa.
872PMN	IA.15a. Mother and father from Maínis. Baptised in 1862 according to parish records but his son, 21Jc , probably correctly claims he was born in 1872. Father of 17Mp and 21Jc .
875PCO	IA.16; DT; ABg (2). Dúileitir is given as home in the parish Book of Baptisms. Lived in An Coillín.
875TCO	IA.12a (Dögen recording, Royal Irish Academy); LL (II, IX, X); ABg (10); RBÉ Iml. 158 (LmC), 62 (Seán Mac Giollarnáth) which correspond to 875T 1–2 respectively. Brother of 869P , father of 11J , 20T and 25M .
876JAI	IA.15; ABg (4).
879BAI	ABg (8); DT. Father of 27Cb .
881JCF	IA.6–8. Brother of 894Cs . Mother (Baibín Fheilipe) from Ros Dugáin, her people were from Sraith Salach (or thereabouts).
881NF	RnG DAT 0779.
886J, non-IA	RnG DAT 3380. Innis Nia, not referred to directly in the present study. Cf. p. 781 n. 6.
889PCS	Hartmann recordings 8b (17), 9a (18), speaker 11. ² Born in An tOileán Gorm south of Cuan an Chaisil (Cashel Bay). Mother from Aill na Brón; father from Carna.
892MDU	IA.8.1–10a, 12a, 14–15b. Hartmann recordings now edited in 'Airneán I' Texts 1–5, speaker 2. Mother from Dumhaigh Ithir; father from An Aird Thiar.
892MgGE	IA.15a. Recorded by Proinsias de Búrca.

¹ Throughout SID (in points where more than one informant was involved) Wagner only seldom specifies which informant proffered responses. Where informants are from a more widely dispersed area or gave limited material, however, they are specified in certain points, e.g. points 35–7.

² Recordings made by Professor Hans Hartmann in collaboration with Professor Tomás de Bhaldraithe in 1964 (cf. Tristram 1990: 31–2; Hartmann 1974: 140–1; Wigger 1970; Ó Curnáin 1999: 137, 152–3). There are transcriptions of this material available in: Hartmann et al. 1996 (ARN, recordings made in An Aird (Scoil na hAird), west of Carna); Wigger 2000 (compact disc) for the rest of Conamara, including recordings made in Loch Con Aortha; also Wigger (2004) for Ros Muc. I have consulted all of the material recorded in An Aird (ARN) but, through oversight, not all the recordings from Loch Con Aortha.

ID	Source and other details
893PAB	RnG C0010, C0017. Returned emigrant, having spent many years in USA.
894NCS	RnG CAS 3969 30'. Mother of 36P .
894BIGA	RnG CAS 3038, DAT 5406, DAT 2516. Emigrated to USA in 1922, where he remained except for visits home.
894CGE	IA.3–5, 12b, 17; RBÉ Iml. 326 (Máiréad Ní Chathasaigh), 1008 (LmC); 1009 (LmC), 1509 (Proinsias de Búrca), 1552 (Proinsias de Búrca) (not used in this study), 1280 (Séamas Mac Aonghusa), 1770 (Ciarán Bairéad), 1773 (Ciarán Bairéad), 1281 (Séamas Mac Aonghusa), manuscripts referred to here as 894C 1–9 respectively.
894CsCF	IA.1, 4–7. Brother of 881J .
894MGA	Heard on tape in RnG.
894MIMN	IA.15, short interview about his weaving trade with Séamas Mac Aonghusa.
896PMN	IA.14–15a. Uncle of 29P .
897PLC	Hartmann recording 6, speaker 7. Mother and father born in Loch Con Aortha.
897SAM	Short recordings: IA.1; RnG C0004 and one other recording the code of which was not noted. Born in Doire Iorrais and raised on the island of Bior off the coast of An Aird Mhóir. Mother, Máire Mhuimhneach, apparently from Clare. Reared his family in An Aird Mhóir.
898PF	RnG <i>Trian le Scéalaíocht</i> , Clár Uimh. 14, 29'20, CAS 3917, CAS 3948, RnG copy of interview with Jan Beag Ó Flathartaigh given to me.
899DRM	Hartmann recordings, now edited in 'Airneán I' Text 6, speaker 6. Mother and father both born in Roisín na Mainchíoch. Father of 30C .
899NRD	RnG CAS 3951, CAS 0438, and one tape in An Teaglann, UCD. Mother from Leitir Calaidh, daughter of Colm Ó Tuathail.
899PLC	Hartmann recordings. Father (Darach, Deidlí) from Loch Con Aortha, mother from Doire Iorrais. Father of 32P .
00BC	RnG. Married in Clifden.
00CDO	RnG, copy of interview with Pádraig Ó Catháin given to me. Date of birth uncertain. Married in Doire, Uachtar Ard, to brother of 01P .
00MBA	IA.4. Song-composer. Brother of well-known song-composer 03V .
00TRM	RnG CO362, 25'.02. Son of storyteller 864M .
01CRM	Hartmann recording, now edited in 'Airneán I' Text 6, speaker 5. Mother and father both born in Fínis.
01JMN	Conversation.
01PDO	Hartmann recordings 8a (16), 9a (18), speaker 10. Mother born in Ros Muc, father born in Doire Iorrais.
01SAB	CABI §§61(c), 70(a); age given as c. 34 in 1935 (CABI p. 473) and as 40 in [1943] (CABI §70(a)).
03CF	RnG CAS 3964, also copy of interview by Seán Bán Breatnach given to me. Recorded by the writer and conversation.

ID	Source and other details
03SAI	An Teaglann, UCD, R497, RnG interview with Pádraig Ó Catháin. Father (Jaic Pheatsaí) from An Aird; mother (Cítí Thomáis Chiúf, Ceannabhán) from An Aird Thoir. Renowned singer. Father of 43Js , 45C .
03VBA	IA.3; RnG C0409, C0455, also part of a programme called <i>Focla Reoite</i> . Well-known song-composer. Brother of 00M .
04BAI	IA.13, 17, 18; RnG DAT 0747, CAS 0526, C0526, C0364, C0358, C0351; An Teaglann, UCD, R403, R224b. Father from Maigh Cuilinn. Father of 35E .
04BrCO	Conversation, recordings, including plural questionnaire. Daughter of 869P , sister of 15W . Spent much time in USA.
04FAO	Recorded by the writer. Father from An Aird Thoir, mother from An Aird Thiar.
05JGA	RnG CAS 3971.
05MRM	RnG C0362, 25'.02. Son of storyteller 864M .
05MAO	RnG C0015, C0004, CAS 3924, CAS 3925. Scoil na Gaeilge, National University of Ireland, Galway, recorded by Áine de Búrca. Recorded by the writer and Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire, also conversation. Mother of 29N , 30B and 37M . Grandmother of 51P , 64M , 74N , 75N , 78C and 85M .
05SMN	Conversation
06CDU	IA.8–9. Brother of 15M .
06MAB	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 7, circa 10'. Smith, known, west of An Aird Mhóir, as <i>Gabha na hAirde Móire</i> , despite being from Aill na Brón (a minor toponym for those further west).
06McMN	Conversation and short questionnaire on his family history.
07MAO	RnG DAT 0092. Married in Rinn Mhaoile. Father (Risteard 'ac Dhonncha) from An Aird Thoir; mother (or her people) from Na hOileáin.
07PMR	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 6.
08BMN	Two short conversations and field-name questions.
08BhMN	Conversation during field-name questions.
08CCO	Becker 1997: 47–8, 125, 128, 136–7, 234–5. Material audio-recorded by Becker (and possibly others, cp. S. Ó Murchú 1989: 10) was not consulted.
09SMN	Conversation and field-name questions.
10BMN	An Teaglann, UCD, T148 and another unnumbered recent recording. Recorded by the writer and conversation. Mother and father from An Meall Rua, Maínis. Wife of 11C .
10COM	Conversation and short questionnaire on his family history.
10NMN	Conversation.
10PLC	Hartmann recording 6, speaker 8. Mother and father born in Loch Con Aortha.
11CMR	IA.11–12b, 14–15a; RnG CAS 3916, C0348. Hartmann recordings, now edited in 'Airneán I' Texts 1–5, speaker 1. An Teaglann, UCD, R447, T50, R552, T51, T95, T148, T102a, R497, also short section on interview with 18T . Mother from

ID	Source and other details
	Leitir hArd, father from Maoras. Husband of 10B .
11JCO	Recorded by the writer, conversation. Son of 875T , brother of 20T , 25M .
11PLA	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 3.
12JMN	Recorded by the writer and conversation. Father from Maínis (recorded by Séamas Mac Aonghusa, IA.15), mother from Roisín an Chalaídh, Maínis. Husband of 23B .
12SC	Elicitation, conversation, recorded by the writer (tapes: St1–3). Father from Carna, mother (Curraoineach) from An Gleann Mór, Cill Chiaráin. Born in Carna. Married Máire (M, 16M) and moved to An Aird Mhóir, then to Máire's homestead in Maínis. Main informant until 1992 after which he became debilitated by old age and a series of strokes. Education: primary school, Carna (where the catechism was still taught in English in his time); literate in Irish but read very little Irish indeed (occasionally, a local column in the weekly paper 'The Connaught Tribune'), and wrote none that I know of.
13JRD	RnG DAT 0852.
13JdLC	Hartmann recordings 5a–b, speaker 5. Father (Súilleabhán) born in Loch Con Aortha, mother born in Leitir Mealláin.
13PAM	RnG DAT 2490, C0130.
14JBA	RnG on programme <i>Sin mar a bhí</i> , transmitted 15.10.85; recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar.
14MMN	Recorded by the writer. Conversation and elicitation.
14M	From An Ros Rua, An Caiseal; resident in Carna. Conversation.
15MDU	Speech reported by her son 56Pe . Sister of 06C .
15PAM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 5.
15PnF	An Teaglann, UCD, R484.
15PrMR	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 7. Conversation and field and local place-name questions.
15PtCN	Brief questionnaire and conversation. Father from Cill Chiaráin, mother from Caladh Fhínse.
15WCO	Conversation, recordings, including plural questionnaire. Daughter of 869P , sister of 04Br . Spent much time in USA.
16BM	Conversation.
16CGE	An Teaglann, UCD, R516.
16MMN	Second most important informant until 1992 when she became my main informant. Married to Seán (S, 12S). Education: primary school, Maínis, where, however, she was often absent as her mother died young and she had to work at home. She was less literate than her younger sister and brother (18Bm , 19P) who attended school more. She read very little Irish but did write letters in Irish. Like her husband Seán she was only seldom concerned or influenced by spelling in responses to queries from me.
16NMN	Born in Roundstone or Innis Nia. Reared in Maínis. Conversation.
16PGA	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 2. Reared in Fínis, moved to Glinsce, parents apparently from Gabhla.

ID	Source and other details
16SF	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 7. Reared in Fínis.
17MLD	RnG C0353, 30'.
17MpMN	IA.15; An Teanglann, UCD, R478. Mother and father, 872P , from Maínis.
17MdAI	An Teanglann, UCD, R439a. Schoolteacher. Mother and father from An Aird Thiar. Sister of 19S .
17TMN	Conversation.
18BBA	Conversation. Father and mother from Caladh Fhínse.
18BmMN	Conversation, elicitation and recording. Sister of 16M and 19P .
18JAO	Hartmann recordings, now edited in 'Airneán I' Texts 7–9, speaker 4. RnG CAS 3923, C0017, C0010, C0009, C0021, also on programme <i>Focla Reoite</i> ; An Teanglann, UCD. Father born in An Coillín; mother born in An Aird Thoir.
18PcC	Conversation. Father from Carna, mother (Curraoin) from An Gleann Mór, Cill Chiaráin. Brother of 12S .
18PdMN	Conversation.
18SF	Recorded by RBÉ and RnG.
18TCN	RnG DAT 0410. Father from Cill Chiaráin; mother (Maoil Chiaráin) from Caladh Fhínse.
19B	From Doire an Locháin (east of An Spidéal, one mile west of Na Forbacha). Recorded by the writer, questions and conversation. Referred to in this study for comparative purposes and for influence on his son 60M . Father of 52M and 60M .
19JAO	Commercial records (e.g. <i>Seosamh Ó hÉanaí</i> , CEF 028, Dublin, 1971); RnG C0055, C0057, C0703. Singer, literate, emigrated to the USA.
19PMN	Recorded by the writer (tapes 19P1 –6), elicitation, conversation. Brother of (16)M and 18Bm . Greater than usual literacy.
19SAI	RnG CAS 0703. An Teanglann, UCD, R508. Renowned singer; schoolteacher. Mother and father from An Aird Thiar. Brother of 17Md .
20ADO	Father from Doire Iorrais, mother from Ros Muc. Hartmann recordings 8a–b (16–7), speaker 9. RnG, copy of interview given to me. Recorded by the writer, some conversation.
20CMN	Recorded by the writer, elicitation, conversation. Husband of 20M .
20MGA	Conversation and elicitation. One of the few fluent speakers who unfortunately did not wish to be recorded. Mother from Fínis. Father of 50M .
20MILH	Last fluent speaker known to me from this townland. Recorded by the writer. Conversation and elicitation. Mother from Leitheadach, father from (environs of) Loch Con Aortha.
20MyMN	Recorded by the writer. Conversation and elicitation.
20PáMN	Recorded by the writer, conversation.
20PgMN	Conversation. Native of Tóin an Roisín.
20TCO	Recorded by the writer, conversation. Son of 875T , brother of 11J , 25M .

ID	Source and other details
21JMN	RnG C39__ [sic]. Mother and father, 872P , from Maínis.
21JRM	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Father from Roisín na Mainchíoch, mother (Áine (Neain Son) Ní Shúilleabháin, sister of 899P) from Loch Con Aortha.
21PgDU	RnG DAT 1740. Hartmann recordings, now edited in 'Airneán I', speaker 7 ('Gesprächsleiter', i.e. interviewer). Schoolteacher.
21PiRM	IA.15, recorded by Séamas Mac Aonghusa.
21PtAM	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 5, referred to as 21Pt1 . Father and mother from An Aird Mhóir. Spent several years in England.
22JRT	Conversation.
22MCS	Hartmann recordings 5a–b, speaker (2 and) 6. Mother and father born in Coill Sáile.
22PLH	Semi-speaker who claims to have learnt Irish from his relatives (05M , 37M , etc.) in An Aird Thoir. Short conversation.
23BCF	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Father from Caladh Fhínse. Married in Maínis to 12J .
23CRT	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 5.
23JF	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar.
23MMN	Conversation.
23MsRM	RnG on programme <i>Blianta faoi Bhláth</i> , transmitted 22.11.80.
23PRM	Lived in Fínis and Roisín na Mainchíoch. Heard on RnG, 2001.
24MDA	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar.
24MrAI	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation.
24NLM	Scoil na Gaeilge, National University of Ireland, Galway, tBS 80.
24PMN	Conversation.
25CMN	Conversation and elicitation.
25MCO	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Son of 875T , brother of 11J , 20T .
25MnLC	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Irish teacher, granddaughter of storyteller, Seán Éadbhaird, my 852Sb .
25MbMN	RnG copy of interview given to me, transmitted as <i>Cuairt ar Innis Nia</i> , 02.01.86. Married in Innis Nia over forty years at time of recording.
25SC	Conversation. Brother of 12S . Schoolteacher, dancer and musician.
25TMN	RnG interview with Breandán Feiritéar, transmitted 02.07.75.
26MLC	Short elicitation on verbal sandhi. Father from Loch Con Aortha, mother from Seanadh 'ac Dónaill.
26PMN	Recorded by the writer and conversation. Father from Maínis, mother (Búrcach) from Carna.
26PDA	Conversation. Father from Damhras; mother from Doire Iorrais.
26PDU	RnG C0132. Left Iorras Aithneach as a youth for Leitir Móir, and Coill Rua in Cois Fharraige.
27CCO	Conversation.

ID	Source and other details
27CAI	Two hours of conversation while he substantiated the years my speakers were born. One query by telephone.
27CRM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar. Conversation. Son of 01M .
27JLC	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation. Mother and father (897P) from Loch Con Aortha.
27JIRM	Conversation and field-name questions.
27JsAM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar.
27MMR	Recorded by the writer, conversation.
27MLA	Recorded by the writer in response to queries, short conversation. Father from Árainn (cp. 1.16, n. 1), mother from Leitir hArd. Born in the United States, came to Maoras, already understanding Irish, age 5, later Leitir hArd. Married to 18S . Mother of 47Ps and 48M . Considerably more literate than average, in particular for her age-group.
29NAO	Recorded by the writer. Daughter of 04M from An Aird Thoir. Married to 20Pá in Maínis.
29PMN	Conversation, some elicitation and field-name questions.
30BAO	Conversation, singing. Daughter of 04M from An Aird Thoir.
30MBA	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar.
30MsAM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar, tape 1. Now living in Doire Iorrais.
30PCN	Recorded by the writer.
31DAM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar. Father (Mac Dara Ó Flathartaigh, born 1888) from An Aird Mhóir; mother (Máire, Loideánach) from Roisín na Mainchíoch. Married (living in An Aird Mhóir) to Bríd Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin (born 1932) from Cill Chiaráin.
31MMN	Recorded by the writer. Conversation and elicitation. Born and reared in Roisín an Chalaigh. Mother from Maínis; father (who learned Irish in Maínis) from Gleann Thóchain west of Recess.
31PMN	IA.14–5. Conversation. Father from Maínis; mother from Roisín na Mainchíoch.
32CRM	Conversation.
32JMN	Recorded by Críostóir Mac Cárthaigh. Conversation and field-name queries.
32JsAM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar.
32PLC	Recorded by the writer, also some conversation. Father (899P) from Loch Con Aortha, mother (Cúlán) from Leitir Calaidh.
33MMN	Conversation and field-name questions.
33PMN	Conversation.
33TCN	An Roisín, Cill Chiaráin. Brother of 40S . Conversation.
34CAM	Recorded by Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar. Originally from Maínis.
34MCS	Recorded by the writer. Conversation. Father from Tuairín, Coill Sáile, mother from Loch Con Aortha. He is 35C and 42C 's cousin.

ID	Source and other details
35CLC	Recorded by the writer. Father from Loch Con Aortha; mother from Bun na hAbhann.
35EAI	Hartmann recordings now edited in 'Airneán I' Texts 7–9, speaker 3. Self-recorded for Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar; recorded by Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire; RnG various recordings; <i>Seoda ár sinsear</i> (1998, CIC L31 (Cló Iar-Chonnachta); short tales, abbreviated as 35E1). Conversation, elicitation. Very high level of literacy. He is the greatest local storyteller of his generation. Son of 04B from An Aird Thiar, mother from Doire Iorrais.
35MC	RnG CAS 3133, also the programme <i>Focla Reoite</i> 20.11.89.
35MF	Conversation and field-name questions.
36BMN	Conversation.
36MAO	Recorded by the writer. Elicitation and conversation. Father from An Aird Thoir, mother (Búrcach) from Roisín na Mainchíoch.
36NLC	Conversation, recorded by Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire.
36PCS	Recorded by the writer, conversation. RnG interview transmitted on 02.08.80, 28'30''. Father from An Aird Mhóir, where 36P spent much time; mother from Coill Sáile. Singer and musician.
36SMN	Recorded by the writer, elicitation, conversation.
36TMN	Conversation and field-name questions. Mother and father from Maínis.
37JLA	Singer with commercial records. Recorded by Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire. RnG C0059. Conversation. Father and mother from Leitir hArd.
37MAO	Singer with commercial cassette. Recorded by Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire. Conversation.
37TC	Conversation and field-name questions.
37TsAM	Conversation. Father, 897S , from Bior, An Aird Mhóir; mother from Caladh Fhínse.
39DAO	Song recordings available commercially, also heard 'live'.
39JCF	IA.7. Singer. Son of 894Cs . Mother, Ní Chon Fhaola (Peircín from An Trá Bháin, Oileán Gharamna) from Cill Éinne, Árainn. Son of 894Cs ; brother of 43S .
40SCN	Recorded by the writer, conversation. From An Roisín in Cill Chiaráin. Father from Cill Chiaráin. Mother (sister of 14Ml) from An Ros Rua, An Caiseal (which is no longer an Irish-speaking district); she spoke English to her children but 40S and his brother 33T are very fluent Irish speakers.
41JMN	Roisín an Chalaigh, Maínis. Conversation.
41MMN	Conversation.
41TMN	Conversation and field-name questions. Father of 78Rb .
42CLC	Conversation. Brother of 35C .
42TC	Conversation.
43JAM	Conversation and field-name questions.
43JsAI	Singer with commercial recording <i>Josie Sheáin Jeaic, Connemara, Sean-nós</i> (Cinq Planètes, 2000). Son of 03S from An Aird Thiar; mother (Uaithnín) from An Más.

ID	Source and other details
43MMN	Conversation and elicitation.
43MpDO	Recorded by the writer. From and living in Gabhlán, townland west of Doire Iorrais. Emigrated to England for some years. Father from Gabhlán, mother from Doire Iorrais. Wife from Ros Muc.
43MICN	RnG DAT 5452, DAT 2098. Mother, Barbara Walshe, from Cill Chiaráin; father (Seán 'ac Dhonncha, brother of 03C) from Fínis.
43SCF	Heard on television (TG4). Now living in An Aird Mhóir. Father, 894Cs , from Caladh Fhínse; mother, Ní Chon Fhaola (Peircín from An Trá Bháin, Oileán Gharamna), from Cill Éinne, Árainn.
44PLC	Recorded by the writer, elicitation. Father from Loch Con Aortha, mother (22M) from Coill Sáile.
44PcLD	Conversation.
44PnMN	Conversation and field-name questions.
45BMN	Conversation.
45CAI	Conversation, discussion of certain dialect forms. Son of 03S , from an Aird Thiar; mother (Uaithnín) from An Más; brother of 43Js .
45C6C	Conversation.
45MC	An Cromptán, Carna. Conversation and field-name questions. Father from An Cromptán; mother (Mary Hernon) from Roisín na Mainchíoch.
45NMN	Conversation. Living in An Aird Thoir, with 05M ; widow of 05M 's son.
46CCN	An Gleann Mór, Cill Chiaráin. Recorded by the writer, elicitation, conversation. Father from Cill Chiaráin; mother from Innis Bearchain.
46JCF	Heard on RnG.
46MAO	Conversation. Father from An Aird Thoir; mother (Gríofach) from An Caiseal.
47LRD	RnG DAT 0248, CAS 3133, DAT 1050. Brother of 56T .
47PMN	Conversation and elicitation.
47PsLA	Conversation.
48BMN	Conversation.
48JCN	Father from Cill Chiaráin; mother (Nóra Dharach Uí Chathasaigh) from An tOileán Máisean, via Maínis. Recorded by the writer, conversation.
48MLA	Conversation. Daughter of 18S and 27Md .
48RCN	RnG DAT 1860. Good semi-speaker. Father from Cill Chiaráin; mother (Dowde, people from Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh) from Cloch na Rón.
49MC	Conversation. Father from Carna, mother from Innis Bearchain.
49JAB	Conversation, and some elicitation.
50EC	Conversation.
50MGA	Conversation. Journalist and broadcaster (RnG). Son of 20M .
50NMN	Conversation.
50N6LA	Conversation, elicitation.

ID	Source and other details
50PAI	Conversation. Father from An Aird Thiar; mother from An Más. Brother of 59B .
51MC	Conversation. Brother of 49M .
51NCF	Conversation. Married in An Aird Mhóir. Sister of 52P .
51PMN	Recorded by the writer, conversation. Father 19PMN , mother 29NAO .
52CrC	Conversation.
52JMN	Conversation, some elicitation.
52MMN	Conversation.
52PCF	Conversation and elicitation. Married in An Aird Thiar. Father from Caladh Fhínse. Mother from Doire Fháirtaigh, An Cheathrú Rua. Paternal grandmother from Oileán Mór Árann, other paternal relations in An Caiseal. Sister of 51N .
52TRM	Conversation. Daughter of 899D .
53HMN	Conversation.
53JLA	Conversation.
53MAM	Conversation, some elicitation. English as first language. Came to An Aird Mhóir aged five and was Irish-speaking by six years of age. Acquisition slightly incomplete.
53MpMN	Conversation and field-name questions.
54CMN	Conversation, some elicitation.
54CcMN	Conversation. Son of 20C and 20My .
54HDO	From western edge of Doire Iorrais, close to Loch Con Aortha. Short elicitation. Father from An tOileán Mór, Ros Muc; mother from Loch Con Aortha.
54MMN	Conversation, some elicitation.
55AMR	Conversation. Father of 81C .
55CMN	Conversation.
55JRM	Poet and postman. Conversation. Father, 21J , from Roisín na Mainchíoch; mother, 24M , from An Aird Thiar.
55MMN	Limited conversation. For this speaker's abbreviation one should perhaps read speaker 48M in one or two instances.
55SMN	Recorded by the writer, elicitation. Father, Seáinín Sheáin Mhicil Uí Ghaora, from Maínis; mother, 30B , from An Aird Thoir.
56BMN	Recorded by the writer, elicitation, conversation. Daughter of SM.
56MAI	Conversation. Brother of 50P .
56N	Conversation. From An Ghairfean, Ros Muc. Married to 52J in Carna; sister of 59P .
56PLC	Elicitation and short conversation.
56PeAB	In 2006 this speaker kindly read parts of Chapter 1 and checked the transcription of all recordings in Chapter 13. Father 06M , mother 15M .
56TRD	Interview on RnG, CAS 3212. Sister of 47L .
57JCS	Conversation. Father (Peait Bhid) from Coill Sáile; mother (Meaigí Choilm) from Carna.
57PC	Conversation. Brother of 49M .
59BAI	Conversation, some elicitation. Sister of 50P .
59P	Conversation. From An Ghairfean, Ros Muc. Brother of 56N .

ID	Source and other details
60CC	Conversation. Brother of 49M .
60MMN	Recorded by the writer. Conversation and elicitation. Father, 19B , from East Cois Fharraige; deceased mother from Maínis.
60MgMN	Conversation.
60SMN	Conversation, some elicitation. Father 20C ; mother 20My .
61MMN	Conversation.
61PMN	Conversation. Son of 26P .
61PtCS	Conversation.
61SMN	Conversation. Son of 12J from Maínis, and 23B from Caladh Fhínse.
62JAO	Conversation.
62PMN	Conversation.
63SRM	Conversation, elicitation. Father, 21J , from Roisín na Mainchíoch, mother from An Aird.
64CAM	RnG, DAT 2490. Adopted, father from Roisín na Mainchíoch.
64MMN	Recorded by the writer. Conversation and elicitation.
64MeMN	Conversation, elicitation. Sister of 61S .
65CMN	Conversation.
65SMN	Conversation.
65TMR	Conversation.
66JMN	Conversation.
66LMN	Recorded by the writer, elicitation and conversation.
66MCS	Conversation. Twin of 66Ma .
66MaCS	Conversation. Twin of 66M .
66NAM	Short recordings as interviewer for Comharchumann Chonamara Thiar. Elicitation and conversation. Father, 27Js , from An Aird Mhóir; mother, Nóra, from Coileán, An Cheathrú Rua. Sister of 70P , 77M .
68KMN	Good semi-speaker.
69ADU	Conversation, interviewer on recording of 05M in Scoil na Gaeilge, National University of Ireland, Galway.
69SMN	Recorded by the writer, conversation and elicitation.
70MAI	Recorded by the writer. Daughter of 35E .
70PAM	Short conversations. Brother of 66N .
70SMN	Recorded by the writer, conversation and some elicitation. Relatively good semi-speaker. Son of 43M .
70SeAI	Conversation. Son of 35E .
71DDA	Recorded by the writer, conversation and elicitation. Father, 26Pc , from Damhras; mother, Ainí Keane, from Tír na Cille, An Mám.
71JCO	Conversation. Father from An Coillín; mother (Máire Choilm Uí Chaoidheáin, daughter of 894C) from Glinsce.
72ACS	RnG, DAT 5390, 20'. Schoolteacher. Granddaughter of 889P .
72CMN	Recorded by the writer and conversation.
72NMN	Recorded by the writer, conversation and elicitation.
73EMN	Conversation.
73NC	An Cromptán, Carna. Presenter on Raidió na Gaeltachta. Granddaughter of 06C .

ID	Source and other details
73PMN	Recorded by the writer, conversation.
74NAO	Recorded by the writer and Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire.
76NAO	Recorded by Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire. Conversation.
76MtDO	Recorded by the writer. Son of 43Mp .
76MAO	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara (local second-level school). Daughter of 36M ; sister of 78B .
77BAO	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
77CMN	Recorded by the writer.
77MAM	Short conversations. Brother of 66N .
78BAO	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Daughter of 36M ; sister of 76M .
78CAO	Recorded by the writer and Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire.
78CLA	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Semi-speaker.
78EMR	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
78JRD	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
78MAO	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
78PLA	Brother of 80M ; son of 47Ps . Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
78PbLC	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Semi-speaker.
78RAI	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
78RbMN	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
78SAM	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Weaker semi-speaker.
78UC	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
79AMN	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Conversation and some elicitation.
79JMN	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
79JgAO	Conversation. Father from An Aird Thoir; mother (45N) from Maínis.
79MAB	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
79MILD	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. His mother (<i>née</i> Éinniú) is from An Aird where he fishes with his uncle.
79PCN	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Mother from Leitir Mealláin, father from Cill Chiaráin. His Irish phonology is less influenced by English than most of his age-group.
79SMN	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Conversation, elicitation.
80ACN	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
80CAI	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Father, 45C , from An Aird Thiar; mother (Ní Chlochartaigh) from An Más.
80LDU	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Grandson of 892M .
80MLA	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Brother of 78P ; son of 47Ps .
80SAO	Conversation. Brother of 79Jg .

ID	Source and other details
81ALA	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara. Sister of 80M ; daughter of 47Ps .
81CMR	Recorded by the writer in Scoil Phobail Mhic Dara.
82BAO	Conversation. Sister of 79Jg .
85MAO	Recorded by the writer and Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire. Conversation.
86NAB	Short conversation in 2002. Mother, 52T , from Roisín na Mainchíoch; father, 49J , from Aill na Brón.
86RC	Some translations, recording in 2000. Conversation. Father, 52J , from Maínis; mother from Ros Muc.
89MC	Recorded by the writer in Carna national school in 2000. Conversation. Daughter of 52J and 56N .
90MMN	Recorded by the writer in Maínis national school. Daughter of 55S and 65T .
90PMN	Recorded by the writer in Maínis national school. Father from Maínis; mother from Ros Muc. Grandson of 24P .
91PC	Recorded by the writer in Carna national school in 2000. Son of 52J and 56N .
95BMN	Conversation. Mother, 64Me , from Maínis; father from Na hOileáin.

Introduction

I.VI Summary

This work describes aspects of the phonology, morphology and vocabulary of the Irish spoken in the peninsula of Iorras Aithneach (abbreviated IA) on the western edge of the present Conamara Gaeltacht in West Co. Galway. It is an expanded and revised version of my 1996 doctoral thesis. A wide range of morphological features are described. Change and variation are dealt with according to their linguistic, intergenerational, geographical, or other conditioning.

The work is divided into fourteen chapters prefaced by lists of abbreviations and speakers, by this introduction and a foreword. The Foreword contains a general description of dialect differences internal to Iorras Aithneach and a discussion of sociological categories revealed in my data. Chapter 1 describes the historical phonology of the dialect, employing the spelling of Early Modern Irish as a basis of comparison. Chapter 2 deals with sandhi phenomena. Chapters 3 and 4 deal with single and plural nominal morphology respectively. Verbal morphology is described in Chapter 5; this chapter, along with Chapter 4 on plural noun morphology, has the greatest depth and breadth of morphological description in the monograph. Pronominals and prepositions are dealt with in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively. Conjunctions, adverbs and other functors are described in Chapter 8. The final morphological section, Chapter 9, deals with initial mutations. Chapter 10 is a sketch of some aspects of the higher register. Chapter 11 covers recent language contact; mostly English borrowings. It is worth pointing out here that Chapters 10 and 11, within the context of higher register and borrowings, cover a range of topics similar to the preceding nine chapters, which describe the native vernacular. It is therefore frequently necessary for the reader to refer to (at least) three sections (one section from Chapters 1–9, one from Chapter 10 and one from Chapter 11) in order to obtain a full description of any given topic. Chapter 12 contains a discussion and selection of personal names and place-names. Chapter 13 presents phonetic texts. There then follows in Chapter 14 a vocabulary of rarer words or uses of words not given in the standard Modern Irish dictionary (FGB) nor, generally, in FFG for the Carna area. Finally included are four indexes and a bibliography of works referred to in this study.

I.VII Iorras Aithneach

The peninsula of Iorras Aithneach is roughly eight miles long and five miles wide with habitation confined to the approximately 20-mile-long coastal strip, the inland area being basically moorland with Cnoc Mordáin forming the raised ‘spine’ of the peninsula which slopes down to the sea at An Aird Mhóir. The coastal dwellers have been traditionally subsistence farmers and fishermen as well as weed and shellfish harvesters, boatmen and the related tradesmen. Light industry when introduced in the past half century has been important but of limited success. The region has been economically marginal for many generations. Habitation along the coast is more or less unbroken except for two areas of moorland, both of which are in the north of the peninsula: in the east of IA there is a mile of uninhabited road on the western edge of Doire Iorrais, and in the west of IA there is a mile of almost uninhabited road between Glinsce and Gabhla

which itself is separated from Bun na hAbhann by a half-mile tract of uninhabited bog. The population of IA has been close to 2,000 since the 1970s ('Iorras Aithneach — '90': 23; Airneán II: 84) although the number enrolled in primary schools has almost halved since 1990; from 333 in 1990 to 171 in 2004 ('Iorras Aithneach — 2004': 36). The highest concentration of population occurs in the area from Cill Chiaráin in the east to Maoras in the west. In the present work I cite from just over three hundred speakers.

There are (in 2000) native Irish speakers who were born in all townlands from Doire Iorrais in the east to Leitheadach in the west. Irish is commonly spoken by the oldest generation from Doire Iorrais to Glinsce. In recent years, especially since the 1980s, language death has accelerated in Iorras Aithneach. Irish is (in 2000) the common language of the majority of primary school-going children who attend the primary schools in Maínis and in An Aird, although there is far more English spoken in the latter. In other schools English is the children's main or majority language, although I cannot be sure of An Aird Mhóir where I have, however, heard much English from children. In 1994 only one third of the secondary-school pupils were estimated to have Irish as their first language in the only secondary school in Iorras Aithneach (Meánscoil Sheosaimh; the school is situated in Roisín na Mainchíoch near Carna). English has made very strong inroads along the coast as far as Cill Chiaráin in the east and as far as Glinsce in the west. Carna has many English speakers. Only Maínis, Na hAirdeannaí and the area south of Maoras could, in my experience, be termed as true Gaeltacht areas up to the end of the twentieth century. I have heard local Gaelic football teams play in English, and since the mid-1980s English has become more common among locals in the public houses. Among the many saddening incidences which indicate the ascendancy of English a recent observation strikes me as particularly significant: I witnessed in 2001 three secondary-school girls from Carna who were raised speaking Irish at home conversing with each other regularly in English. A few years earlier one of these girls asked me to translate my question in conversation ' *Bhfuil tú i ndán é a shroicheadh?* ' to English (since she did not understand *sroicheadh*, commonly replaced by 'reach'-*áil*). In 2004 I heard *Níl mé i ndán 'reach'-áil é*, with English lexeme and syntax, from a six-year-old, whose home language is Irish, in Ros Muc. Despite Irish being the home language of present-day teenagers in Iorras Aithneach, many of them are acquiring more English than Irish (cp. II.IX). Many other teenagers and children are being raised as English speakers by their parents. Given the additional problems of declining populations and nontraditional acquisition of Irish, the future of native Irish in Iorras Aithneach and all of the Conamara Gaeltacht seems bleak and Irish is undoubtedly a dying language. Hindley's (1990: 93–5) account of what he terms 'the Carna peninsula' is accurate and English has made further inroads since 1990. Ó Giollagáin (2002 (Ráth Cairn, Co. Meath), 2005 (Ros Muc, Co. Galway)) expounds on his research involving generation by generation and household by household investigations. His work represents the most detailed anthropological and sociological study to date of the dynamics of the language shift which has accelerated in the latter half of the twentieth century. Cp. Ó Riagáin (1992 (Corca Dhuibhne, Co. Kerry)). The vast majority of speakers in this study have Irish as their first language. Semi-speakers, i.e. speakers who have not acquired full native-speaker competence, are described as such in the list of speakers (I.V).

I.VIII Description

In the following description of the dialect of Iorras Aithneach the emphasis is on new information and analysis of new data. Definition and elaboration of categories, such as verbal tenses and nominal cases, are implicit only and generally follow standard or authoritative grammars of Irish, for example *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí* (Ó hAnluain 1960, reprinted 1985, second edition 1999), Ó Siadhail (1988, 1989). Only where a relatively new construct is intended is there any explicit definition or bibliographical reference. Furthermore, a more comprehensive description would require use of all available data: various sound recordings, including my field recordings, speaker questionnaire results, as well as of much of the secondary sources of the dialect which remain as yet untapped. The approach therefore is representative of how the rich material available and collected in Iorras Aithneach can be used. It is also discursive in that there is discussion of previous analyses of the Irish of Iorras Aithneach and related dialects. Of particular relevance are the Connacht monographs of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (ICF, GCF, ITM, IEM) and Wagner's *Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects* (SID). I have sought where possible to clarify any contradictions and difficulties and to build on previous descriptions. In this context, it is worth clarifying that the term Gaelic is used as a cover term for both Scottish Gaelic and Irish.

The provisional nature of the description can be seen for example in the analysis of plural formation in the noun where (a) much information on individual speakers, queried and recorded for their plural forms, transcribed from recordings or yet to be transcribed, has not been taken into account, and (b) the emphasis in the present discussion of the plural is on individual systems with less analysis of intergenerational developments. The analysis of nasalisation covers even less of the available material for individual speakers and change in real time. In contrast, the analysis of the verbal adjective variable (*i:hə*) is an example of analysis focused on intergenerational variation and change rather than on individual speakers. There are major areas of the phonology and morphology which are not dealt with in the present work, e.g. allophonic phonology, phonotactics, morpho-phonological vowel alternations (described for closely related dialects in ICF, ITM, GCF). In addition, the chapter covering register is most obviously only a sketch of the register repertoires found in the dialect. It is mainly a survey of only three speakers and represents a very small proportion of the available material.

I.IX Phonetic transcription

Symbols used follow the International Phonetic Alphabet with the common adaptations used in Irish linguistic studies: ´ for palatalisation, **Ń**(´), **L**(´) and **ŕ** for the 'tense' sonorants. A broad phonetic transcription is used. The transcription is phonemic for most segments with the main exceptions being the vowel /a/, generally transcribed allophonically as [**a** **æ** **aʲ** **æʲ** **aː** **æː**], sometimes as digraphs [**aæ** **æa** ***a**]; similarly, the open allophone of /e/, [e], is sometimes given; in unstressed syllables, vowels which can be interpreted as phonemically long are often transcribed as half-long or short when heard as such, particularly in noun plurals such as **glafexi**: ~ **glafexi**: *glaiséachai* (< *glaise*) and in the 2 singular conditional verbal ending **-aha** *-óthá*. The symbol **r** represents a very weakly trilled vibrant, mid-way between **r** (one tap) and **ŕ** (two or more taps). Voicing of unaspirated stops in clusters is differentiated in sections dealing with these clus-

ters in juncture, e.g. **xd** vs. **xt**, otherwise the voiceless variant is conventionally used here;¹ nasalisation is transcribed nonsegmentally when it is realised as such. The symbol **f** represents the palatalised version of **s**, and **x'** represents the palatalised version of **x**. Clusters agree in quality generally so that only the final consonant of a cluster is marked for palatality, except in the case of certain clusters containing preconsonantal *s*, *ch*, *r*: **sk'** (rare in native words), **sl'** (rare in native words), **sp'**, **sm'**, **xt'**, **xd'**, **rf**, **rt'**, **rd'**, **rn'** (sometimes heard as **rn'**), **rl'** (also rare **rhrl'**) where the final consonant only, in each cluster, is palatalised. Similarly, in **n'sp'** both *n* and *p* are phonemically palatal, whereas in **nsp'** the *p* only is palatal; in **rdr'**, only the final two consonants are palatalised. In borrowings, however, the nonpalatal **r** in **r-n'** and **r-l'** clusters is indicated by the hyphen, e.g. **b'or-n'i**: 'Bernie', **b'ær-l'i**: 'barley'. If both consonants of the preceding clusters (**sk'**, **sp'**, **sm'**, **xt'**, **xd'**, **rf**, **rt'**, **rd'**, **rn'**, **rl'**) are palatalised then both are marked as such, e.g. **x't'**, e.g. **ix't'ær** *ithtear*. The *r* in **rf** and **fr** is phonetically nonpalatal. All other clusters with opposite palatality are transcribed with a hyphen following the nonpalatalised member, e.g. **b-t'** with palatalised **t'** only, or with the mark for palatalisation preceding the nonpalatalised member, e.g. **p't** with palatalised **p'** and nonpalatalised **t**. Thus in the cluster in **kofr-kt'i**: *coisricit'* all the consonants are palatal except *r*. Clusters, apart from **rf**, containing consonants preceding **f** are palatal throughout, e.g. **strænfe:rə** *strainséara*, **wemfə** *uaimse*, containing [**n'f**, **m'f**]. Alveolarisation of *t*, *d*, before *s* of enclitics, although regular, was generally not transcribed in my notes and has therefore not been inserted retrospectively. Cp. 2.21 ff., 2.60 ff.

A comma in phonetic transcription (,) is retained from my early transcriptions to indicate a pause in the flow of speech and sometimes a separate intonational phrase without pause. It also occurs in SID to mark off stress groups but it is often not reproduced in citations taken from SID; see SIDi xxiii note 2, xxv, SIDii vii. In later notation I use a vertical bar (|) to indicate pausa in accordance with current practice. Similarly, a comma in a syntactically unexpected position in Irish orthography indicates a pause in speech, e.g. *seachas, an tír seo* with pause following *seachas*. See also I.II; and I.XIII (for reservations about some of my earlier transcriptions). A pronunciation key of the phonemes and certain major allophones of the dialect is presented here.

VOWELS			
i:	<i>sí fí:</i>	ī:	<i>oíche ī:hə</i>
i	<i>bith b'í</i>	ī	<i>cnoic krik'</i>
e:	<i>sé fe:</i>	ē:	<i>préamh pr'ē:w</i>
e	<i>deich d'e</i> (also <i>d'ē</i>)	ē	<i>cruimhe krēv'ə</i>
a	<i>caith ka</i> (also <i>kæ'</i>)	ā	<i>samhradh sāwrə</i> (also <i>sāvrə</i>)
ɑ:	<i>Máire mā:r'ə</i>	ā:	<i>máthair mā:hər'</i>
o	<i>loch lox</i>	ō	<i>comhartha kōhərə</i>
o:	<i>bóthar bō:hər</i>	ō:	<i>Róimh rō:v'</i>
u	<i>guth gu</i>	ū	<i>cnoc krūk</i>

¹ Evidence from schwa insertion in singing (10.40) implies that these stops may be interpreted phonemically as (closer to the) voiced sounds, e.g. **f'æ:sədə** !05M *feasta*, for normal **f'æ:stə**, **sə'dor** !05M *stór* for **stōr**, **h'æ:xədə** !13P *shneachta* for **h'æ:xtə**. Similarly, in emphatic articulation: **'o:rə** 'sə'dor: | 872M *Óra stór*! Cp. *Oireachtas er'əxtəs*, *er'əxtədəs*; *oireagadas* LFRM < *oireachtas*.

VOWELS			
u:	<i>crú kru:</i>	ũ:	<i>comharsa kū:rʃə</i>
ə	<i>bacach bəkəx</i>	ǽ	<i>mhac vǽ</i>
iə	<i>grian gr'ien</i>		
ei	<i>beidh b'ei</i>		
ai	<i>Tadhg taig</i>	aĩ	<i>daimhsigh daĩvʃə</i>
au	<i>seabhac ʃauk</i>	aũ	<i>samhradh saũrə</i>
uə	<i>buan buən</i>		
uəi	<i>truaí truəi</i>		
uəu	<i>cruadh kruəu</i>		
CONSONANTS			
p	<i>poll paul</i>	p'	<i>peann p'ɑ:n</i>
b	<i>bos bos</i>	b'	<i>barr b'ɑ:r</i>
t	<i>tú tu:</i>	t'	<i>tiubh t'uw</i>
d	<i>dó do:</i>	d'	<i>deo d' o:</i>
		t̪	<i>tae ('tea') t̪e:</i>
		ɖ	<i>dic ('deck') ɖik'</i>
k	<i>cá kɑ:</i>	k'	<i>ceann k'ɑ:n</i>
g	<i>gaoithe gi:hə</i>	g'	<i>gé g'e:</i>
f	<i>fál fɑ:l</i>	f'	<i>feall f'ɑ:l</i>
w	<i>amhas ǣwəs (also ǣvəs)</i>	v'	<i>luibh liv'</i>
x	<i>ach ax</i>	x'	<i>cheithre x'er'ə</i>
ɣ	<i>dhóigh ɣo:</i>	j	<i>gheall jɑ:l (also ɣ'ɑ:l)</i>
s	<i>suí si:</i>	ʃ	<i>sí fʃi:</i>
h	<i>athair ahər'</i>		
ʃ	<i>braets ('breach') bre:ʃ</i>		
ɟ	<i>jab ('job') ɟab</i>		
m	<i>maith mā</i>	m'	<i>meall m'ɑ:l</i>
n	<i>nua nu:</i>	n'	<i>tine t'in'ə</i>
ɲ	<i>nua nu: (older)</i>	ɲ'	<i>buinne biɲ'ə</i>
l	<i>balla balə</i>	l'	<i>buile bil'ə</i>
ɭ	<i>balla bal.ə (older)</i>	ɭ'	<i>buille bil'ə</i>
ŋ	<i>long lung, ngarraí ŋa'ri:</i>	ŋ'	<i>moing mingg', ngeall ŋ'ɑ:l</i>
r	<i>aer e:r</i>	r'	<i>Éire e:r'ə</i>
ʀ	<i>iomraíochaí umre:əxi:</i>		

Those symbols which have or can have different corresponding symbols in the International Phonetic Alphabet are as follows:

IPA		IPA		IPA		IPA		IPA	
t	t̪	r	r̥	t̪	t̪̥	x̥	x̥ʲ	ŋ̥	ŋ̥ʲ
d	d̪	ʀ	r̥	ɖ	ɖ̥	m̥	m̥ʲ	r̥	r̥ʲ
n	n̥, ɲ̥	p̥	p̥ʲ	k̥	k̥ʲ	n̥	n̥ʲ		
ɳ	ɳ̥	b̥	b̥ʲ	g̥	g̥ʲ	ɳ̥	ɳ̥		
l	l̥, ɭ̥	t̥	t̥ʲ	f̥	f̥ʲ	l̥	l̥ʲ		
ɭ	ɭ̥	d̥	d̥ʲ	v̥	v̥ʲ	ɭ̥	ɭ̥		

I.X Orthography

The orthography generally follows current conventions while retaining as much dialectal information as considered appropriate. Spelling is ‘dialectal’ especially where no phonetic transcription is given. For example, the length-mark is not always written in the frequently shortened variants of the third singular pronouns, *se* (and sometimes *sí*) to represent **f_e** (**f_i**) unless the phonetic transcription is supplied. Likewise, a length-mark may be added where the standard spelling is otherwise unaltered, e.g. *síóg* = **f_i:o:g** for standard *sióg*, *dínnéar* = **d’i:n’_er** for standard *dinnéar*, *acú* = **aku:** for standard *acu* (< 3pl *ag*). For the sake of internal consistency, dialectal spellings are retained in certain instances even when phonetic transcriptions are supplied. In particular, *th* represents **h** of the future verb for conventional *f* (with *th* + *th* written as *th*, e.g. *caithidh* or *caithe* for *caithfidh*, *geárrtha(idh)* for *gearrfaidh*), but in the impersonal future orthographic *f* is retained when **f(’)** is pronounced, as is regular in West Iorras Aithneach; similarly *gheothá* = **joha:** (**jeha:**, etc.) ~ *gheofá* = **jofa:** (2sg cond *faigh*); also *héin* for **he:n’**, conventionally *féin*. (The *f* is retained in the historical orthography of Chapter 1; citations from secondary sources are retained as in source: future *h*, *th*, *f*.) Given that the synchronic nominative and genitive of nouns in unstressed *-adh* and *-amh* are the same, e.g. *geimhreadh* (nom) and *geimhridh* (gen) > **g’iv_rə**, *gaineamh* (nom) and *gainimh* (gen) > **gan’ə**, the historical nominative form is spelt in both historical cases, e.g. *koj d’er’ə cois deireadh*, *he:f skahə thar éis scaitheamh*. Otherwise, spellings without accompanying phonetics, such as historical *cois deiridh* and *glais ghainimh*, might be misinterpreted. The historical spelling is of course retained in the ‘Historical Phonology’ as well as in place-names, e.g. *Roisín an Chalaídh*, *Inse Ghainimh*.

Secondary sources have dialectal spellings to varying degrees which are of course retained in citations, although this does add considerably to the complexity of the orthography in the work as a whole, e.g. *math* (**ma(h)** *maith*), *bourd* (**baurd** *bord*), *sheouc* (**x’auk** *sheabhac*), *doghairní* (**daurn’i:** *doirní*), *Phuighill* (**fai_l’** *Phoill*), *saghaillse* (**sailfə** *soilse*), *cuíoraí* (**ki:ri:** *caora(f)*), *maoidhm* (**mi:m’** *maidhm*), *fúna’* (**fu:nə** *fónamh*), *ei(y)ri* (**air’ə** *éirigh* (nucleus *y* indicates **ai**)), *cúirle* (**kū:rl’ə** *comhairle* (the circumflex indicates nasalised vowels, usually long, and corresponds to the tilde of phonetic transcription, e.g. *û* = **û:**)), *cúlódar* (**kū:lodər** *comhlúadar*), *bolag* (**boləg** *bolg*), *croc* ~ *cruc* (**kruk** *cnoc*), *Fóvair* (**fə:vər’** (or perhaps **fə:wər’**) *fómhair*), *dhianhach* (**ji:nhəx** *dhéanfadh*), *féata* (**f’_etə** *féadthaidh* (standard *féadfaidh*)), *pósa* (**pə:sə** *pósthaidh* and *pósadh*), *in ann* and *i ndán* (**ə na:n**, spelt *i ndan* by me), *bhaili* (**wal’ə** *bhailigh*), *baca* (**bakə** *bacaigh*); consistent transcribers who, for example, spell *baca* for **bakə**, can therefore use *bacaigh* to indicate **baki:**.

Loss of schwa as well as other segments is sometimes indicated in secondary sources, e.g. *sa mbail’ anocht i dtosach ar aon oíche’ eile* **852SbTS145** (for *sa mbaile anocht [mal’ə noxt] ... aon oíche eile [i:h el’ə]*); *oí’* (for *oíche i:*). Verbal sandhi *-dh s-* > **-d_h s-**, **-t_h s-**, is often represented in secondary sources by *-t s-*, e.g. *bheit sé* (for standard *bheadh sé*); I often (but not always) transcribe in my own notes *-d s-*, e.g. *bhead sé*, *bheid sé*, *bheit sé* (for standard *bheadh sé*), *bhíod sé*, *bhit sé* (for standard *bhíodh sé*); similarly *bhead’s*, *go mbeitheat’s* (i.e. *bheadh fhios*, *go mbeadh fhios*); *go bhfanthad sé* (i.e. *go bhfanfadh sé*). In contrast, lack of sandhi is transcribed as *-ch s-*, e.g. *go bhfanthach sé*. Similarly, *maráioch* in a

secondary source for **mari:x** *maraíodh* (past subjunctive of *maraigh*).

I do, however, generally standardise use of hyphens from secondary sources, e.g. *liom-sa* LL > *liomsa*, *i n-áit* RBÉ > *in áit*, and word boundaries, e.g. *mara bhfuilir* RBÉ > *marab fhuilir*, *bu dheadh* > *bu dh-eadh* (for **bə jæː** *badh ea*), 'sí 'snáú > 's í 'snáú (= **si: snə:w**, standard *is* [agus] *í ag snámh*) with the apostrophe written separately when indicating an absent word, i.e. ' = *ag* here. A word boundary is used to distinguish 's í (= *agus í*) from 'sí = **fi:** *sí* (copula *is* + *í*). Similarly, *eó* is silently changed to *eo* in most lexemes, e.g. *Seóirse* > *Seoirse*. For the sake of consistency, less than fully accurate transcriptions are retained in citations from secondary sources. For example, *chonnaic* for dialectal *choinic*, past *nár* typically represents dialectal **na(:)r** *nar*, and the spelling *á'm* is often found for dialectal **a:m, a'm** *a'm* (= *agam*).

The following is a list of certain dialect spellings used which may appear opaque or ambiguous:

Dialect spelling	represents	for standard (FGB)
<i>achaon</i>	ə'xe:n	<i>gach aon</i>
<i>achuile</i>	ə'xíl'ə, ə'xul'ə	<i>gach uile</i>
<i>acú, orthú, etc.,</i>	aku:, orhu:	<i>acu, orthu, etc.</i> (3pl prp prons)
<i>acub, orthub, etc.,</i>	akəb, orhəb	<i>acu, orthu, etc.</i> (3pl prp prons)
<i>a'd</i>	ad	<i>agat</i> (2sg <i>ag</i>)
<i>a'inn</i>	aɲ'	<i>againn</i> (1pl <i>ag</i>)
<i>a'm</i>	am	<i>agam</i> (1sg <i>ag</i>)
<i>anis, annis</i>	ə'n'if, ə'n'if	<i>anois</i>
<i>chaon</i>	xe:n	<i>gach aon</i>
<i>chuile</i>	xíl'ə, xul'ə	<i>gach uile</i>
<i>corach, curach</i>	korəx, kurəx	<i>curach</i>
<i>dhe ~ go, dho ~ go</i>	gə	<i>de, do</i> (prepositions)
<i>díon</i>	d'ín	<i>déan</i> 'do' (also <i>díon</i> 'roof')
cp. <i>faigh, faighe,</i>	fə:, fə:	<i>faigh, faighe,</i>
cp. <i>faigheann, faighte</i>	fə:n, fə:t'ə	<i>faigheann, faighte</i>
<i>fiathraigh</i>	f'íərħə	<i>fíafraigh</i>
<i>(bh)fuighe</i>	wi: (rare wai)	<i>(bh)faighe</i>
<i>gá</i>	gə:	<i>dá, á</i> (<i>dhá</i>)
<i>go</i> (with article <i>gon</i>)	gə(n)	<i>go</i> but also <i>de</i> (<i>dhe</i>), <i>do</i> (<i>dho</i>)
<i>goil</i> (secondary sources also <i>gu(i)l</i>)	gol'	<i>dul</i>
<i>-inn, e.g. scillinn</i>	-əɲ', e.g. f'k'íl'əɲ'	<i>-ing</i> (unstressed), e.g. <i>scilling</i>
<i>Innis</i>	ín'əf	<i>Inis</i>
<i>iúntaigh</i>	u:ntə	<i>iontaigh</i>
<i>loigh</i> (VN <i>loighe</i>)	lai	<i>luigh</i> (VN <i>luí</i>)
<i>léabh</i>	l'e:w	<i>léamh</i>
<i>leihí</i> (also <i>leithí, le hí</i>)	l'ehi:	<i>le haghaidh</i>
<i>léis, thléis</i>	l'e:f, hl'e:f	<i>tar éis</i>
<i>nár raibh</i> (pst <i>bí</i>)	na(:) ro	<i>ná raibh</i> (= <i>nach raibh</i>)
(secondary sources also <i>ná ra(i)bh</i>)		
cp. <i>nach raibh</i>	na(:)x ro	<i>nach raibh</i>
cp. <i>nár raibh</i> (sbj <i>bí</i>)	na: ro	<i>ná raibh</i>
<i>ortha</i>	orħə	<i>uirthi</i> (3f, < <i>ar</i>)

Dialect spelling	represents	for standard (FGB)
<i>pínn</i>	p'i:ŋ	<i>pingin</i>
<i>rabhadar</i> (3pl pst <i>bí</i>)	raudər	<i>raibheadar</i> (3pl pst <i>bí</i>)
<i>raibh</i> (pst <i>bí</i> ; secondary sources also <i>rabh</i> , <i>ra</i> , <i>ro'</i> , <i>ru</i>)	ro (rə ru)	<i>raibh</i>
<i>raibheadar</i> (secondary sources also <i>rabhdar</i> , <i>rudar</i> , <i>rabhadar</i>)	rodər	<i>raibheadar</i> (3pl pst <i>bí</i>)
<i>réis</i> , <i>thréis</i>	re:ʃ , hre:ʃ	<i>tar éis</i>
<i>ro-</i> , e.g. <i>ro-ghearr</i>	rə , e.g. rə'ja:r	<i>ró(-)</i> , e.g. <i>róghearr</i>
<i>sib</i> , <i>sibse</i> , <i>lib</i> etc., <i>tairníonn</i> , etc.,	ʃib' , ʃibʃə , ʃib' tarn'i:n	<i>sibh</i> , <i>sibhse</i> , <i>libh</i> , etc., (2pl prons) <i>tarraingíonn</i> (< <i>tarraing</i>)
<i>tastaigh</i>	tæ'stə	<i>teastaigh</i>
<i>teigheann</i> , <i>teighre</i>	t'ain , t'air'ə , etc.,	<i>téann</i> (< <i>téigh</i>)
<i>tigeann</i> , etc., (homophonous with <i>tigeann</i> , by-form of <i>teara</i>)	t'ig'ən	<i>tuigeann</i>
<i>thrí</i> (secondary sources also <i>thraí</i>)	hri:	<i>trí</i> (in contrast, the numeral <i>trí</i> , when lenited as <i>thrí</i> , is hr'i: and is so indicated)
<i>tiúrhaidh</i> , <i>tiúrtha</i>	t'urhə	<i>tabharfaidh</i> (< <i>tabhair</i>)
<i>tiúrtha</i> (rare)	t'urhə	<i>tugtha</i> (< <i>tabhair</i>)
<i>uise</i> (cp. <i>muis</i> , <i>muise</i>)	uʃə (cp. muʃ , muʃə)	<i>muise</i>

Full stops and commas are sometimes used to indicate sentence or phrase end of transcribed material (rather than of my commentary), e.g. *báite*. **866E**Semr150, which signifies that *báite* occurs preceding a full stop in the manuscript. Only rarely are mutated initials silently restored to the base form, e.g. **mu:ru:x** 46.1056 *murdhúcha* changed from **η yu:ru:x** of the source. In citations the orthographic version follows the phonetic notation except in the two chapters: 'Historical Phonology' (1) (excepting the section on nasalisation (1.269–1.352) and most of section on prosody (1.376–1.383, 1.386–1.390)) and 'Borrowings' (11) where the order is reversed. Occasionally, only part of a citation is transcribed phonetically, in which case the phonetics may be placed within the citation immediately following the relevant orthographic section. Lists of examples from various speakers are often presented in order of seniority of speakers; in this way variants can be compared in the dimension of apparent time (thus indicating possible instances of change in real time).

When by-forms are listed it is important to notice the source speaker. The by-form which is not separated from a speaker abbreviation by a comma is attributed to the speaker, e.g. x, y **11C** indicates that x is found and that y was noted from **11C**; similarly, x, y **11C**, **12S** indicates that x is found and that y was noted from **11C** and **12S**; x y **11C** (without comma) indicates that both forms were noted from **11C**; x ~ y **11C** indicates that x varies with y in the speech of **11C**.

I.XI Primary sources

Primary sources can be taken to mean all material which was heard by me. Much of the older material was collated from the recordings in the sound archive of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann (Department of Irish Folklore, National University of Ireland, Dublin) and is now stored on cassette tapes labelled IA.1–18 in that

archive. Recordings of speakers mostly from places in Conamara west of Iorras Aithneach were also collated and are now stored in RBÉ labelled CT.1–2. Recordings were also consulted in the sound archives in Scoil na Gaeilge, National University of Ireland, Galway, in Raidió na Gaeltachta and in An Teanglann (Irish language laboratory), National University of Ireland, Dublin. A large volume of conversation and folklore from West Iorras Aithneach transcribed from audio recordings is published in Hartmann et al. (1996, volumes I (texts) and II (notes and commentaries)).¹ Reference to this important corpus recorded by Hartmann and de Bhaldraithe is abbreviated as ‘Airneán I(I)’ or ARN or simply by the four digits following speaker abbreviations, e.g. ARN1348 or **11C**1348 refer to speech by my speaker **11C** at line 1348 of ‘Airneán I’. My own transcriptions of these recordings are often cited with reference to ‘Airneán I’ or I cite ‘Airneán I’ directly (with minor changes where necessary, cp. Ó Curnáin 1999). The same reference system is used by Wigger (1970) to refer to his transcriptions of this material. Transcriptions of the recordings recorded by Hartmann and de Bhaldraithe in Loch Con Aortha (East Iorras Aithneach), as well as many other districts in Conamara, are available in Wigger (2000).²

The main primary source has been my own observations recorded in conversation and everyday interaction as well as direct elicitation. These were noted initially on copy books and since 1984 mostly on paper slips. Tape recordings were made circa 1987 from important informants Seán (**12S**), Máire (**16M**), Pádraig (**19P**) and from speaker **03C**, and in 1994 from many other speakers during fieldwork for the original doctoral thesis completed in 1996. Examples are followed by the speaker’s abbreviation in the vast majority of cases; only seldom was the speaker’s name not recorded with an example. A speaker’s abbreviation is also sometimes not provided with items which show no significant or relevant speaker variation in a particular context.

I.XII Secondary sources

Phonetic material from the *Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects* (SID) mostly volumes I and III, in particular point 46 for An Coillín, and from Wagner and McGonagle (1995, abbreviated as ZCP) is given here unaltered (see 1.411 ff. for critical analysis). However, **a**: in ZCP is altered to **ɑ**: (absent in ZCP) when this definitely represents /**ɑ**/. The reader should be careful to avoid confusion between Wagner’s system of transcription and my own. For example, the sounds represented by Wagner as **ʈ** and **ʈ̚**, reproduced as such in citations from Wagner, are transcribed in my primary material as **ʈ** and **ʈ̚** (unaspirated and alveolar **t**) respectively. Séamas Ó Murchú (1989) addresses the verbal system of the dialect. Manuscript material held in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann (RBÉ) is a source of much of my information on the older speakers **852S**, **852Sb**, **866E**, **868P**, **870B**, **875T** and **894C**. Material from RBÉ, and some older published folklore, is given as found in the source except for unstressed synchronic vowels which are generally standardised to current conventions where no dialectal information is lost, e.g. *bainfheis* and *baineis* > *bainis* (for dialectal *banais*), *cruthghadh* >

¹ Cf. I.V p. 22 n. 2.

² Transcriptions of speakers from Ros Muc, neighbouring Iorras Aithneach to the east, recorded by Hartmann and de Bhaldraithe are available in Wigger (2004) and as sound files, as well as other recordings, on the website of The School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (www.celt.dias.ie).

cruthú, tighe > tí, also *muinighíl > muiníl*; also *-ab > -ub* (3pl prepositional pronouns), e.g. *acab > acub*; only exceptionally are stressed vowels changed where there is absolutely no doubt as to the dialect form(s), e.g. *teine > tine*; the clusters *sb, sg* are generally rendered here as *sp, sc*; double *ll, nn* and *rr* in certain clusters are changed to standard (*An Caighdeán Oifigiúil* 112–114) *l, n*, and *r*, e.g. *ínninn > íntinn, fiarrtha > fiartha* (i.e. *fiathraigh = fiafraigh*); some other redundantly archaic or dialectal spellings are altered when no dialectal information is lost, e.g. *céadna > céanna, chuadh > chuaigh* for **xuə**, *deágh- > deá-*. Only occasionally are missing length-marks inserted.

Fortunately the greater part of this material used from RBÉ was collected and transcribed by Liam Mac Coisteala and Séamas Mac Aonghusa both of whom had a firm understanding of many aspects of the dialect and were very good and reliable transcribers, although not native speakers of Irish. Liam Mac Coisteala spoke Irish with a North Connacht dialect colour, but there are recordings of Séamas Mac an Aonghusa speaking with distinct Carna characteristics, dare one say, Colm Ó Caoidheáin characteristics (my **894C**, from whom Mac an Aonghusa collected so much material), including nasalised vowels, rare in learners' speech. Séamus Ó Duilearga published four tales from Seán Ó Briain (1960 = **852Sb6** (transcribed directly from the speaker), 1962–4 = **852Sbts** (three tales transcribed from ediphone spools)) all of which contain much valuable dialect detail. The later publication seems more accurate than the earlier one, but overall Ó Duilearga was less familiar with Iorras Aithneach dialect and more influenced by Munster pronunciations than the best collectors in our area. Other collectors, including Brian Mac Lochlainn and even more so Ciarán Bairéad, were far less consistent with regard to faithful dialectal transcription and are not as useful for my purposes. Material from **852S** was transcribed by Brian Mac Lochlainn and cannot be taken as reliable with any degree of certainty. Where appropriate, I use the term 'prose' to make a broad distinction between nonpoetic narrative in folklore transcriptions and poetic material; the latter (songs, rhymes, prayers) as well as tale runs forming the basis for my description of higher register. A catalogue of songs taken down in the Barony of Ballynahinch (in fact, taken down mostly from Iorras Aithneach speakers), and now in the main manuscript collection of RBÉ, was of invaluable assistance, particularly in the description of higher register: *Clár amhrán Bhaile na hInse* (R. Ní Fhlathartaigh 1976 = CABI; my citations are from Iorras Aithneach unless otherwise indicated). Other published folklore material includes *Loinnir Mac Leabhair* (abbreviated LL), *Annála beaga as Iorras Aithneach* (ABg) and *Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn* (Semr), *Éamon a Búrc: scéalta* (Sc). A copy of *Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn* on computer disc was kindly given to me by Dewi Ifan, Department of Welsh, National University of Ireland, Dublin. This copy was then revamped by collating it with the original manuscript version in RBÉ to eliminate all significant editorial changes from the original. It is to this 're-dialectalised' or 'de-editorialised' version that reference is made in this study, although I occasionally cite directly from the edited text (Ó Nualláin 1982) where no dialect feature is at issue. Sources which are more literary, but written by natives of Iorras Aithneach, include *Cladaí Chonamara* (Clad; cp. English autobiography in S. Ridge (1969)), S. Ó Cathasaigh (1942 = sóC1, 1943–4 = sóC2, sóC3), Ní Ghuairim (1945–6) and *Seoltóireacht ghéar* (SeolG). *Foirisiún focal as Gaillimh* (FFG) is also a source of much information and is referred to particularly frequently in the Historical Phonology and Vocabulary.

Despite the importance and prominence for my purposes of secondary dialect sources, care must of course be taken with any interpretation based on this material. In these collections, there are clearly many transcriptional inaccuracies or uncertainties which it would be inappropriate to consider in my description. It must be emphasised that items which are exemplified exclusively from secondary sources can therefore not always be taken as certain dialectal attestations. This is particularly relevant in matters phonological, some morphology (e.g. present relative *-as* (secondary sources only), *-əns -anns* 5.83), morphophonological (especially lenition) and syntactic matters (because of unindicated intonation including often unindicated pause and rephrasing). Finally, statements such as ‘speaker X has ...’, referring to linguistic features, should generally be understood as ‘speaker X, in the material analysed for this study, has ...’; similarly, unless otherwise stated, ‘only speaker X has ...’ stands for ‘in my notes only speaker X has ...’.

I.XIII Methodology

From 1976, then aged eleven, to 1994 I have spent often five months or more annually, living, working and learning Irish in Maínis, on the smallholding of Seán and Máire Chúláin (speaker abbreviations **12S**, **16M**, abbreviated further to S and M), sometimes also working for their daughter Máirín Brown (**43M**) in a local shop and sometimes with their son Jaicí Chúláin (**52J**), a local builder. My formal investigation into the local dialect began circa 1982 with queries and observations on vocabulary. The main results of my lexical work are contained in the present Vocabulary (Chapter 14). I devoted my time solely to fieldwork for the first time in 1994 for six months while working on my doctoral thesis and I have done some further fieldwork since 1997. A good deal of the material collected (both primary and secondary) remains to be analysed.

Observations from everyday interaction, direct elicitation, and analysis of recorded material are the three main methods of data collection used. In query sessions and recordings, speakers were made aware, if necessary, that ‘natural, unconscious, nonbookish’ speech was the purpose of the investigation. (Reading was used in one exceptional instance where Máire (**16M**) was asked to read a passage containing many words which have phonemic nasalisation (1.341, Table 1.19).) In direct elicitation there is a tendency for certain speakers to produce stylistically more formal or ‘correct’ or ‘older’ forms than in everyday ‘unmonitored’ usage although this tendency is very often weak given the absence of a clearly codified or recognised prestige norm. Results from query are generally indicated by ‘q’ following the speaker abbreviation. Doubtful or impermissible forms, when included, are also indicated, e.g. Øperm = impermissible. Forms produced by a confused or unsure informant are not generally given and in cases where they are of particular interest their status is also clearly indicated in my discussion.

The work of Tomás de Bhaldraithe, particularly ICF, GCF, NIGCF, FFG (and before the publication of FFG the word lists published in volumes of *Éigse* 1942–7), has been the single most important reference and starting point for investigation. Most of GCF and the indexes of ICF and NIGCF were worked through with Seán and Máire Chúláin, my two main informants; FFG was worked through mainly with Máire; queries were made about forms from all four publications which were not known to me from conversation heard in Maínis. Words in the

description of the noun in GCF formed the basis for my questions and questionnaires on the noun. My chapter on historical phonology is most indebted to and generally most directly comparable with ICF, with many additional words from FFG, and assistance in finding the Old and Early Modern Irish equivalent in ING (de Bhaldraithe 1981).

This study uses the tools of four branches of linguistics: descriptive linguistics, historical linguistics, dialectology and sociolinguistics. The analysis is indebted to the Labovian school of sociolinguistic investigation and to others in the field of language change and variation, in particular Trudgill's work (e.g. on Norwich English, 1974), and the work of the J. and L. Milroy on Belfast English (e.g. 1985). The term 'apparent time', for example, is used to indicate generational differences (in language) which contrasts with 'real time' to indicate actual diachronic language comparison. The term 'semi-speaker' I use following Dorian (e.g. 1978) for a speaker who has not full native competence. The term 'traditional' dialect contrasts with 'nontraditional' or 'young people's' dialect as employed by Schmidt (1985) for a similarly rapidly changing, endangered, in fact dying, language (cp. English 'traditional-dialect' superseded by 'General English' Wells 1982: 4–7 (in contrast, as with other minority languages, our 'nontraditional' speech is not a more general form of Irish); Gal 1978). The term 'vernacular' (e.g. everyday conversation) contrasts with 'higher register' (e.g. prayer or song).

The dialect of Iorras Aithneach has multidimensional variation in many parts of its phonological and grammatical systems. One can list well over one hundred substantial linguistic variables. Dialectologically Conamara is a mixed zone. 'Conamara' is used in this work to denote the area west of Lough Corrib as far as the sea. Iar-Chonnachta (English West-Connaught) is the historically more accurate term for this area (Ó Con Cheanainn 2002: 223, n. 154). Many isoglosses, some of which are bundled along the Connacht–Munster border in South-East Co. Galway, fan out at Galway Bay to the north of Conamara, or through Conamara, or to the south — giving the impression of an Irish equivalent to the well-known Rhenish fan of German dialectology or the spread of isoglosses pertaining to Franco-Provençal in South-East France. There are also compromise features in the interstitial central Irish zone to which Conamara belongs. This geolinguistic situation, combined with the sociological changes some of which are seismic in proportion, results in a dialect with much variation and change. Central Munster dialects have been described as relatively homogeneous in Ó Cuív (1951: 72). In fact the Irish of central Cois Fharraige, the best documented dialect closest to ours, is also described as homogeneous in comparison with unhomogeneous eastern Cois Fharraige (de Bhaldraithe 1945: xi). This would imply that central Cois Fharraige is also more homogeneous than the traditional dialect of Iorras Aithneach. This may well be the case but it must be borne in mind that Iorras Aithneach comprises a far greater area than central Cois Fharraige which is a compact district of three neighbouring townlands in de Bhaldraithe's studies. Three townlands in Iorras Aithneach would also yield more homogeneous results, not only because of the geographically more limited sample but simply because the smaller number of speakers would show less interpersonal variation.

A small amount of quantitative work dealing with Irish and Scottish Gaelic has been hitherto published.¹ Quantitative diachronic comparison between the main corpora of Old Irish glosses has nonetheless a long history (e.g. Strachan 1897, 1899, McCone 1980, Ó hUiginn 1986). The quantitative and structured decline of reduplication in Middle Irish texts has been described by Lewis (1984); the increase in use of independent pronouns in Early Modern Irish texts has more recently been studied by Roma (2000). Quantitative methods can play a key role in Late Middle Irish historical linguistics and literary textual studies as illustrated by Mac Gearailt (1992, 1993). Important quantitative dialectological studies include Jackson's (1968) study of the distribution of one phonological feature in Scottish Gaelic, Ó Sé's (1991) lexical diffusion analysis of two conflicting prosodies in the Gaelic of the Isle of Man, and Ó Dochartaigh's (1987) impressive quantification of various phonological features of Ulster Irish from Wagner's Atlas. In an important generative description of nominal morphology based on material (now available in 'Airneán I(I)' from Iorras Aithneach, *Nominalformen im Conamara-Irischen* (Wigger 1970), there are early analyses with regard to percentage usage of the various inflectional endings (102 ff.), of lenition of dependent nouns (124–9) and rates of genitive case use (129–34). Wigger (2004) contains frequency counts and comprehensive concordances of a spoken corpus from Ros Muc, Co. Galway. The percentage 'patterns of mutation in Irish loan-words' are analysed primarily according to anlaut in Stenson (1990b); cp. O'Malley Madec (2002, 2004). Ó Maolalaigh (e.g. 1999a, 2002, 2003f) has relaunched Scottish Gaelic comparative dialectology from a sound quantitative base. Specifically variationist perspectives dealing with synchronic intradialectal variation are less common. The 'generational differences in Donegal Irish' in a small number of phonological variables in Rann na Feirste are clearly shown by Ó Dochartaigh (1982). Dorian (1977; 1981: 114–156) quantifies certain aspects of semi-speakers' use of East Sutherland Gaelic. The most substantial variationist analysis is that of Dorian (1994, also 1996) where the usual geographical, stylistic and intergenerational variation is discussed but where a further type, termed personal-pattern variable, is proposed. In fact many of the same linguistic variables are found in most Irish and Scottish Gaelic dialects and therefore occur and are analysed in my study of Iorras Aithneach. The time depth of my study is one hundred and thirty years in comparison with Dorian's forty, due to the fact that earlier recordings of the Iorras Aithneach dialect exist and that it is still a community vernacular.² See also my variationist presentation (in Irish) of a selec-

¹ Compare: 'Zur Frage der Variation ist die Forschungslage recht unausgewogen Während Methoden der Dialektologie des 20. Jhs. in Irland durchaus rezipiert und angewandt worden sind, kann man für die Soziolinguistik nur das Gegenteil feststellen.' (Wigger 2003: 252). Wigger is, however, incorrect in his claim (2003: 270) that change in the tense sonorants of northern Irish and of Scottish Gaelic has not been reliably studied. As well as the various dialect monographs on Ulster and Scottish Gaelic, one can refer to Ó Baoill (1979b, 1980), Ó Dochartaigh (1987: 74–8, 92–6), Ní Chasaide (1979), Shuken (1980), MacAulay ([1988]), Ó Maolalaigh (2001) and SGDS.

² Analysis of recordings of Norwich English speakers born between 1875 and 1973 provides 'an overall age-range ... of 98 years' (Trudgill 1988: 38). Recordings of speakers from Virrat, southern Finland, born between 1880 and 1983, including the rare 'panel study' approach of recording the same speakers on separate occasions, provide a range of 103 years and fascinating data (Nahkola and Saanilahti 2004). Cp. recordings of former African American slaves born between 1844 and 1861, e.g. Walker (2001: 13); Trudgill (1998: 199) for analysis of recordings of New Zealand English speakers born since 1850. The greatest potential time depth I have come across is that of a study of recordings of Danish speakers born since 1840, with the oldest born in 1813, reported in Brink and Lund (1979: 196).

do with the indication of nasalisation on vowels. Notes taken before 1994 only rarely indicate nasalisation; after 1994 nasalisation was often indicated when independent of nasal consonants. Transcriptions since 2001 are the most accurate, given my improved understanding of nasalisation beside nasal consonants. Even since 2001, however, much incidental and nonphonemic nasalisation has been transcribed only where nasalisation was under discussion. Cf. 1.310. This slow development of my understanding and transcription of nasalisation has led to the inconsistency where the same token from the same speaker may be transcribed nasalised in sections 1.269–1.352 but unnasalised elsewhere in this work, or where words, which I now know to be nasalised (by the speaker), were transcribed with oral vowels (in sections other than 1.269–1.352, 13.1–13.32). In such instances it is the transcription with nasalisation that is more accurate than that without nasalisation (of the same token from the same speaker).

So also with my quantitative analysis of variation. The primary material gathered in the field is not based on a representative sample of the age, sex or location of Iorras Aithneach speakers. It was gathered firstly from my oldest and most willing and available informants in Maínis, in particular Seán (**12S** from Carna) and Máire (**16M** from Maínis), with less in-depth work elsewhere. When I came to analyse the data and began to count tokens of by-forms, and in some cases to calculate simple percentages according to mostly phonological environments, I began gradually to recognise, as well as to learn from my general reading, that by-forms are best analysed as conditioned variants of (sociolinguistic) variables. The quantitative analysis in this work is therefore of the most basic kind, by now out-dated, and makes no claims for statistical robustness.

It is hoped that the relatively new methodology and approach for Irish dialectal investigation used in this study broadens the scope and depth of description and analysis. It would be gratifying to encourage a fresh impetus in the relatively neglected research area of spoken Irish and investigative fieldwork. This work is all the more urgent given that native Irish is rapidly disappearing.¹

Numerous questions are raised and pointers given by the initial results of my study for further research both in Iorras Aithneach and in the Gaeltacht as a whole. It is obvious, for example, from my brief description of register that any analysis of the higher register or stylistics of a given dialect must have as its basis a sound knowledge of the vernacular with which the higher register contrasts. The study of the higher register of other dialects should enable the investigation of the geographical distribution of high register features and their (geographical and other) relation to the vernaculars. A few examples of further research questions can be suggested here. Does loss of phonemic nasalisation follow the same or similar patterns elsewhere? Is non-nasalisation a register marker in Iorras Aithneach generally and also elsewhere? What would a similar investigation of plural formation yield, for example, in Cois Fharraige, given de Bhaldraithe's (GCF §§ 107–8) analysis (rephrased here in variable rule terminology) of [*ɪəxi*] >> [*ɛxi*] vs. [*u:xi*] >> [*o:xi*], or in North Connacht where the <*u:xi*> variant is more dominant? What are the sociological variables and extra-linguistic conditions related to the large amount of variation and change described? What would a linguistic and sociolinguistic investigation into the

¹ As are most of the languages in the world (Crystal 2000, and Dixon 1997); concerning the importance and rewards of fieldwork, Dixon is cited by Crystal (op. cit. 65).

development of a new third plural subject pronoun *dur* yield? This innovation is found in a wide area of greater Conamara from Tuar Mhic Éadaigh in the north to Iorras Aithneach in the west and Na Forbacha in the east. These questions and many others have intrinsic value for the study of Irish but can of course contribute uniquely to general linguistics.

II Foreword

Dialectological overview

II.I The Iorras Aithneach dialect in Connacht

Connacht Irish is characterised by conservatism in comparison with both Munster and Ulster Irish. Both Ulster and Munster dialects, although retaining some important older features which have been lost in Connacht, show major autonomous innovations. Innovations unique to Connacht are rare. Two major isogloss bundles separate Connacht at the provincial borders from Ulster in the north and Munster in the south. Within Connacht the major isogloss bundle divides the province north and south of a line which extends east from Clew Bay. The dialects north and south of this bundle can be labelled North Connacht Irish and South Connacht Irish respectively. The second most important isogloss bundle within Connacht is to the south of and more dispersed than the Clew Bay bundle and is distinguished by two types of features: (i) Munsterisms, i.e. features which it shares with Munster; and (ii) features belonging neither to Munster nor Connacht ‘proper’ but rather to this interstitial (or transitional, in this instance interprovincial) zone. It can be labelled South Connacht Interstitial Irish. This zone comprises most of West Co. Galway and much of that part of South-East Co. Galway which is south of Galway city. The interstitial isogloss bundle reaches the sea at Killary Harbour and again west of Galway city where it crosses Galway Bay to join South-East Co. Galway somewhere between Órán Mór and Cinn Mhara. Given the near demise of the Irish language it is a fortunate circumstance for Irish dialectology that the language has survived in this fascinating, relatively large, interstitial area.

Iorras Aithneach is situated in the interstitial zone in West Conamara and shares more features with North Connacht than East Conamara does. For example, as discussed in 1.261, my material from Iorras Aithneach and SID1.196 show West Conamara *sochraíd(e)* agreeing with Connacht to the north in contrast with *sochraide* in East Conamara, East Galway and Co. Clare. In fact *sochraide* in Iorras Aithneach is also evidence of the frequent interstitial nature of our dialect, having northern *-áid* and southern *-e*.

II.II Munsterisms

Conamara shares many features with Munster. Non-initial stress is the only substantial feature which East Connacht shares with Munster, to a more significant degree than does Conamara, although there is evidence that non-initial stress was once more common in Conamara. The most important dialectal fact regarding lengthening and other Munsterisms in Conamara is that there is a break by land in the continuum in their present distribution. Galway city and environs is the southern outpost of what we have termed ‘South Connacht Irish’. The Munsterisms and some transitional features found in Conamara are most likely to have been introduced by sea, many from an area of East Galway which had the type of Irish found in points 25 (Cinn Mhara) and 29 (Creachmhaoil) in SID, and other features perhaps from Co. Clare.

II.III Munsterisms not current in Cois Fharraige

The greater tendency of Mid-West Conamara (in this context comprising Árainn (cf. 1.16, n. 1), Na hOileáin, Ros Muc, Iorras Aithneach), in comparison with East Conamara, to lengthen historically short vowels is discussed below (1.401 ff.) with evidence mostly from SIDI, e.g. mid-western Conamara *muíntir* vs. *muintir* elsewhere in Conamara (north and east). The maps in SIDI provide two further isoglosses in which West Central Conamara agrees with Munster in contrast with East Conamara. These isoglosses are phonological and lexical. Map 111 *iomdha* shows the southern **umu:** form in South-East Galway bordering Co. Clare but also in points 41–47. This is the commonest form in Iorras Aithneach, found alongside the general Connacht form **umi:**. Recall that *iomdha umu:* also has a variant with second syllable stress in Iorras Aithneach, perhaps further evidence of a Munster connection. In Map 115 ‘complaining’ points 44 and 46 show as first preference the lexeme *gearán* otherwise found only in Munster, Leinster and East Ulster. *gearán* is indeed the commonest word for ‘complaining’ in Iorras Aithneach. As second preference points 44 and 46 show *casaoid*, the commonest lexeme in Co. Galway. One cannot tell, of course, whether *gearán* is to be classified with other conservative features of West Conamara or whether it is a southern import partially replacing *casaoid* and other lexemes.

One can only speculate at this stage of our knowledge concerning the socio-dialectal history of the area, as to the causes and diachrony of these features shared by (Mid-West) Conamara with Munster in contrast with the rest of Connacht. To note that East Conamara was communicatively more open to Galway city and South Connacht, and that Mid-West Conamara seems to have been less open to such influence and more open to dissemination or communications by sea from South-East Galway and Munster, is merely to state the obvious.

II.IV Dialectal differences within Iorras Aithneach

It is not surprising to find dialectal differences over the 20 mile coastal strip of Iorras Aithneach. These differences are evident at all levels: in the phonetics, phonology, morphology and lexicon.

Several isoglosses cluster in the North-East of Iorras Aithneach (Map II.). With further research this area may prove to have more affinities with the area immediately east and north-east of Iorras Aithneach than with the rest of Iorras Aithneach. It is noteworthy that isoglosses in the north of Iorras Aithneach are related to features characteristic of lects north of the Galway–Clifden line dividing North and South Conamara dialects (as drawn by Tomás Ó Máille 1927a: 132–4). North Conamara belongs to South Connacht Irish whereas South Conamara belongs to South Connacht Interstitial Irish. There are also East-vs.-West isoglosses mostly clustering in the area around An Aird Mhóir and Cill Chiaráin; these are overall less salient than the North-East cluster.

Intergenerational differentiation occurs in many aspects of the dialect, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, especially in the sections labelled ‘Developments’. The development of the 3 plural verbal <dar> is important in that it shows relatively early distinctions between males and females. No other definite sex differences have yet been discovered in the traditional dialect. Some possible cases, however, of phonetic variables evidencing sex differences may be mentioned here. Frequent use of the [æ] allophone of /a/ seems particularly

common among women, e.g. speakers **05M** and **23B** (cp. 1.32). The diphthongisation and often concomitant intonational pattern described under the heading ‘barróg’, e.g. **bau** for **bo**; *bó*, seems to be less common among women; it seems most pronounced in ‘broad’ speech in contrast with more self-conscious speech (1.376 ff.). Prominent rounding of back vowels **ɑ**; **ɔ**; **u**; and rounding of unstressed schwa **ə** was noted in particular from some men from An Aird Mhóir, i.e. **21Pt** and another man perhaps ten years younger than **21Pt**.

Many other differences can be described in either geographical or network terms. The latter is more descriptively adequate in many cases of variation and change described in this work. Mention of six examples of network markers will suffice here; all involve family lects, except (3) which is mostly a kin network:

- (1) 3 plural prepositional pronoun of *dhe* > **d’i:həb** is most characteristic of clann Mhacáí ‘ac Con Iomaire of An Coillín, i.e. **869P** (but not his daughters) and his brother **875T** and the latter’s three sons. It contrasts with general **d’i:b díobh**, the historical form. Cf. 7.19.
- (2) Tetrasyllabic plural marker **-əxə -acha** is characteristic, for example, of clann Mhaidheil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin of Maínis. Cf. 4.114.
- (3) Innovative 3 person possessive pronoun, **nə na**, is characteristic of a network of young speakers, who all live in, or have connections with, An Aird Thoir, e.g. **66L** (Maínis) and **79M** (Leitir Deiscirt). Cf. 6.33.
- (4) 3 plural prepositional pronoun of *ag*, in the form **apu**, is used by brothers **71D**, **73D** (Damhras). They have this usage from their mother, a native of An Mám, North Conamara. Cf. 7.101.
- (5) According to **64M**, *glasóg* is used by his father, and hence by **64M** himself, for more common *baslóg* (also *bachlóg*) ‘(potato) shoot’. Cf. 14 *glasóg*³.
- (6) Sisters **04Br** and **15W** generally use *tamall* for more common *scaitheamh*, following their father’s (**869P**) usage; they also have *chuile rud* more often than general *chuile shórt*; and *blaoch* (rather than *glaoch*, cf. 1.222).

II.V Phonetics and phonology

Vowels

Raised allophones of /a/ are particularly prominent in the speech of two women from the neighbouring townlands of Caladh Fhínse and Roisín na Mainchíoch, **23B** and **27J**’s wife. It is perhaps characteristic of this area, although it is also found in the speech of another woman, **05M**, from An Aird Thoir.

Monophthongisation of *ia* and *ua* (1.392) is characteristic of the speech of some speakers from Gabhla, i.e. **20M**, his brother, and his son. Other speakers from Gabhla show no trace of this monophthongisation, i.e. **894Bl** and **05J**. Limited monophthongisation of *ia* is found in Doire Iorrais, i.e. **01P**. Similar developments are described for Tuar Mhic Éadaigh, South Mayo in ITM §§79, 84, 420. I have also noticed it from speakers from An Mám. North Iorras Aithneach may well be the southern limit of this isogloss.¹

¹ This phenomenon is also found in the eastern half of Árainn (Inishmore), i.e. Ceann Thoir Árainn; described by B. Ó Catháin (2001a: 247–50). His examples *méis*, *déas*, *éigcéillta*, *Dé* (*bheatha*), *Scéalghlas*, (*ins a*) *gcléibh* cited from other Aran Islands are complex, as is to a certain extent *iad* (often unstressed), and best excluded from this general change. It is also found in Mionlach north of Galway city (Ó Maolaithe 1948: common **iə** > **e**: §30, less common **uə** > **o**: §36). The occurrence of monophthongisation in both Mionlach and Ceann Thoir Árainn may be independent for each separate

Shortening of long vowels before intervocalic **h**, common in Na hOileáin to the east of Iorras Aithneach, was noted from **46C** (Cill Chiaráin) whose mother is from Leitir Calaidh and **57J** (Coill Sáile), both of whose parents are from Iorras Aithneach. This shortening may be a trait of a minority of speakers in East Iorras Aithneach, perhaps even a relatively recent development. **45N** (Maínis) also has a tendency to shorten long vowels in this position but I have the impression that it is a more idiosyncratic or family characteristic of her speech related to her overall ‘tense’ articulatory setting.

Consonants

The realisation of /rt/ as [ɾt] has been noted from **66N** (An Aird Mhóir) and from **40S** (Cill Chiaráin) and his brother **33T**, so that this change may be confined to the district of An Aird Mhóir and Cill Chiaráin.

The lingual shift, e.g. **tʰifog** **34M ciseog** (1.407) is most prominent by far in the North of Iorras Aithneach, i.e. Gabhla in the north-west and Coill Sáile–Loch Con Aortha (especially) and Doire Iorrais, all in the north-east. Only one speaker in the south-west, **25T**, from Maínis, was noted with a significant palatalised velar → alveo-palatal shift. The shift palatalised velar → palatal and related mergers are common in Ros Muc. I have heard the shift in the singing of one speaker from Tuar Mhic Éadaigh, and it is mentioned in ITM §119. It seems that the south-western limit of the isogloss of this palatality shift runs through northern Iorras Aithneach; the outlier in Maínis seems to be independent.

In comparison with Central West Iorras Aithneach, vowel lengthening preceding sonorant clusters is least common in the Loch Con Aortha–Doire Iorrais area and also less common in the Dumhaigh Ithir–Damhras area. In the North-East **pʰintə pʰionta**, **stampə stampa**, **kuntʰu:rtʰ contúirt**, **intəb iontub**, **brʰigglo:ɖʰi: brionglóidí** are very common. Note, for example, two characteristics of North-East Iorras Aithneach, phonemically short vowel and lingual shift, present in **32PLC**’s realisation of *planda* > **pɾaːndə**.

Initial *dhá-* in *dhá* ‘if’, *dhá* ‘two’ and *dháiríre* is realised with initial **a:** most often in the east, i.e. in the Cill Chiaráin–Doire Iorrais area, in contrast with western general **gʰa:** *dhá* ‘if’, **ɣa:** *dhá* ‘two’, **ɣa:rʰi:rʰə dháiríre**.

Nasalisation

Nasalisation is strongest in the area west of a line stretching from Glinsce to Carna, including Maínis. Speakers alive in the 1990s in the area east of Cill Chiaráin have been noted with very little phonemic nasalisation, e.g. nasal *-amh-* in speaker **36N** (Loch Con Aortha), whereas their contemporaries in the western area have the highest rate of nasalisation in the Conamara Gaeltacht.

Lexical

An example of a lexically marked phonological difference occurs in *feochadán*:

fə:həna:n Loch Con Aortha–Doire Iorrais area vs. **fə:həda:n** elsewhere.

But **fʰə:həna:n** is recorded as far west as An Coillín in 46.973, although I have not heard palatal initial **fʰ** in this lexeme in Iorras Aithneach.

area. If one seeks to explain its occurrence in terms of a communicative link, however, there is an obvious sea-link between the ports of Galway and Cill Rónáin (the dominant centre of Ceann Thoir Árann). It would be interesting to investigate whether Cill Rónáin is or was in any way a ‘leader’ in monophthongisation in Ceann Thoir Árann.

Sandhi, Morphology

The sandhi rule in verbal morphology of general 2 Declensional stem **-ə** being realised as **-i:** before personal pronouns in initial vowels (i.e. **-ə > -i:** _é, í, iad, e.g. **arhi:** e: *athraigh é!*) is common only in the Coill Sáile–Loch Con Aortha area.

II.VI Morphology; Lexicon

Noun

Although further research is necessary there is some indication that **-i:** and **-əxi:** are general in East Iorras Aithneach (Loch Con Aortha and Doire Iorrais) as plurals of masculine nouns in unstressed *-ach*. No token of the common West Iorras Aithneach variant, **-ə**, was noted in this class in the limited data from **25Mn(q)** and **43Mp(q)**. Cf. 4.90.

The plural of *clai* is commonly **klaiaxi:** in Coill Sáile–Loch Con Aortha; elsewhere in IA **klohəxi:** is most common. The following plural forms of *teach* are characteristic for given areas, but by no means exclusively so (cf. 4.132 ff.):

t'i:hə, in the east, i.e. Cill Chiaráin–Doire Iorrais;

t'i(:)həwi: in the centre and north;

t'i:fə in the south-west, i.e. the peninsula south of and including An Aird and Maoras.

Verb

The impersonal marker **h** in the future and conditional, **hər** *-f(e)ar* and **hi:** *-f(a)í*, is common in the eastern area, An Aird Mhóir–Doire Iorrais, corresponding to western almost categorical **f'** (less frequently **f**). The (verbal) adjectival suffix **-t(')i:** *-t(a)í*, characteristic of northern and eastern Connacht, has been noted only in North Iorras Aithneach in *siúráiltí* **899P** (Loch Con Aortha) and in a rather indistinct token of **re:su:nti** **892Mg** *réasúnta* (Glinsce) for general **fu:ra:lt'ə** *siúráilte* and **re:su:ntə** *réasúnta*.

Prepositions

The 1 and 2 singular of the preposition *dhe* are commonly **yi:m** *dhaom* and **yi:t** *dhaot* in Loch Con Aortha only. The 3 feminine of *dhe*, **d'i:hə** *díthi*, has been noted only from **897P** (Loch Con Aortha). These 1, 2 and 3f forms agree with Ros Muc and are related to lects to the north. The corresponding **jihə** *dhithi* has been noted from **01C** (Roisín na Mainchíoch) only. The general IA forms are 1 *d(h)íom*, 2 *d(h)íot*, 3f *d(h)í*.

The 3 plural prepositional pronoun ending **-u:** *-ú* occurs everywhere. It is, however, most common in North Iorras Aithneach, that is in both the north-western (Damhras–Glinsce), and north-eastern areas (Loch Con Aortha **897P**, **899P**).

Lexicon

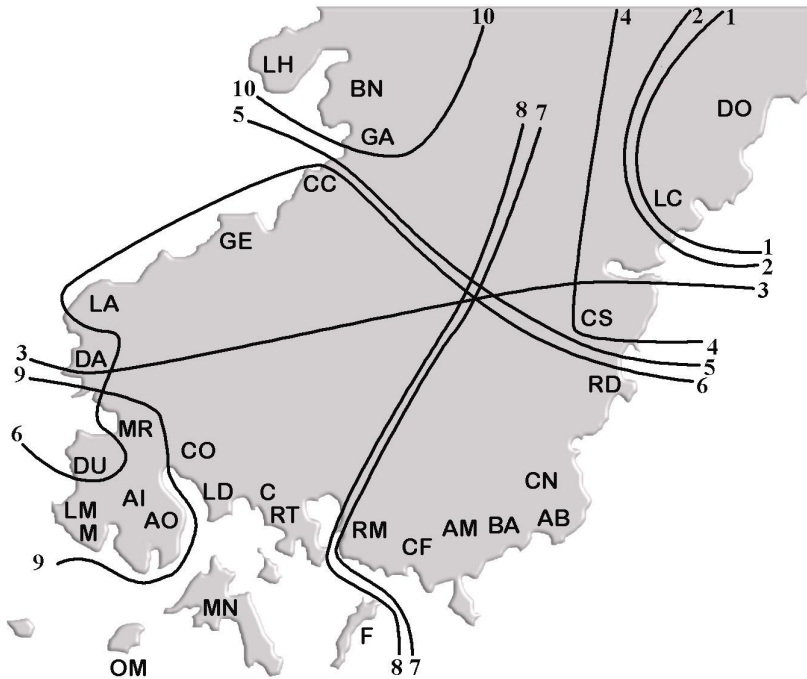
The word commonly used for ‘rushes’ is often *luachair* in the Cill Chiaráin–Doire Iorrais area (and *luachair* is the main word in adjoining Ros Muc), but most often *fíogaí* to the west. This is a lexical divergence commented on by speakers from Loch Con Aortha. The word for ‘lizard’ is, however, *each luachra* everywhere in Iorras Aithneach. The lexeme *foláir* in the copula phrase **n'ir vl'ar it' níorbh fholáir dhuit** (for more common *níor mhór dhuit*) is commonly

commented on by speakers, for example, by **23M** and **21J**, as characteristic of An Aird Mhóir. In fact speaker **21J** claims it is an import to An Aird Mhóir brought by women who married into the area from across the Bay (from Na hOileáin) after c. 1900–20. He claims it was not used by older speakers known to him from An Aird Mhóir.

II.VII Summary

- 1 *siúráilte* > *siúráiltí*
- 2 *díom, díot* > *dhaom, dhaot*
- 3 Prepositional pronouns 3 plural *-abh* > *-u*:
- 4 Verbal personal 2 Conjugation *-igh -ə* > *-i*: / *_é, í, iad*
- 5 *k', g'* > *t', d'*
- 6 $VC^{+son}(C) > V$ (short vowel, before sonorants)
- 7 *dí* > *díthi, dhithi*
- 8 Verbal impersonal *-f(e)ar, -f(a)í* > *-hər, -hi*:
- 9 *teach* → *tíofa*
- 10 *ia* > *e*; *ua* > *o*:

Map II.I Northern features through Iorras Aithneach



Of the differentiating features described in II.IV–II.VI, ten (less than half the total) can be clearly categorised as being shared with dialects either to the north

or to the south. Ten items which commonly have a form more typical of northern lects to the north of isoglosses one can draw in Iorras Aithneach, or away from the southern centre of the Iorras Aithneach peninsula, are mapped above.

The most striking aspect of these internal (quantitative) isoglosses is that the area around Maínis Bay clearly contains the greatest concentration of Munsterisms in Iorras Aithneach. It is not surprising that the southern-most bay and harbours should have the most southernisms in their speech.

It is clear from Map 289 in SID that *luachair* is the general term in Munster whereas *fiógaí* (*feadha*, etc.) is the general term in Connacht and Ulster. The lexical difference *luachair* (found particularly in North-East Iorras Aithneach) vs. *fiógaí* (found elsewhere in Iorras Aithneach) therefore has a distribution which is contrary to its general orientation in the rest of Ireland. *luachair* is, however, the older term and is found in all four provinces as well as being the general Scottish Gaelic term.¹ The distribution in Iorras Aithneach can be taken as an instance of the generally weaker diagnostic power of lexical distributions, in contrast with phonological isoglosses, found in dialectology (e.g. M. I. Herzog 1965: 268, 279–81).

The other features which do not belong to the north–south dichotomy are more localised or characteristic of speaker networks, some conservative, others innovative in nature.

Sociological overview

II.VIII General

The sociological study of Irish, like Irish sociology in general (H. Tovey and P. Share 2000: 23 ff.), has been dominantly statistical and utilitarian with less emphasis on theory and interpretation. The sociology of Irish has centred on the use or non-use of Irish as opposed to English. Despite the range of synchronic variation and change demonstrated by dialectology, specific linguistic variables have not been investigated from an interpretive sociological point of view. Sociolinguistics has shown that linguistic variables often correspond to various sociological configurations. One can investigate, for example, what the sociology of the use of the subjunctive mood (rather than the future or conditional) might be, what the use of vowel nasalisation might be, or what the sociological attributes of <sa> and <insa> (both meaning ‘in the’) might be. Can the leaders of change be identified and sociologically defined? How similar are change and transmission of variables to, for example, processes so convincingly revealed by Labov (2001) in western industrial mostly English-speaking societies?

One can also investigate what social categories are of relevance in the data as a whole.² The most important social categories found in this study are: 1. age (this includes the important distinction between traditional and nontraditional speech), 2. family, 3. sex, 4. other networks, 5. space, 6. the individual. Each of the categories will be further expounded in the following sections. At all levels of analysis any serious and adequate sociolinguistic description must take these six dimensions into consideration. One can add two further categories: 7. time of

¹ A third term *broibh* (etc.) is found in South Co. Galway (including Iorras Aithneach); wedged between northern *fiógaí* and southern *luachair*.

² Cp. MacAulay (1978–81) for the many striking similarities, in both themes and details, between Iorras Aithneach and the Gaelic of Bernera, Isle of Lewis, Scotland.

recording (e.g. regarding on-going change; particularly the increasing presence of nontraditional speech and English, cp. MacAulay (1982: 43 n. 16); regarding individual biographies such as migration), 8. register or style. These are of course in many ways interdependent categories, one nested within another, and many of them may be subsumed under an overarching category of networks, or communities of practice. The use of English is an important, ever-present linguistic variable which can, for convenience, be divided into four usages: (a) English as a source of borrowings, (b) code-switching, (c) English-based features in native words, e.g. phonology (especially in nontraditional speech), (d) use of English as a vernacular. Use of English is constrained by the social categories just outlined and English variables can carry values associated with both global English (e.g. use of 'like', 'cool') and more local types but I do not describe these phenomena here (cf. 11).

II.IX 1. Age

Quiggin (1906: v), describing an Irish-speaking community in Donegal at the beginning of the twentieth century, noted: 'Indeed I have been forcibly impressed with the great differences noticeable between speakers of different ages'. This statement is equally applicable to the speech community of Iorras Aithneach for well over a century of real and apparent time. In each family investigated an older sibling usually has older variants than a younger sibling. For example, Máire's (16M) nasalisation is greater than that of her brother Pádraig (19P) whose nasalisation is greater than Máire's daughter, Máirín (43M) whose nasalisation in turn, although very diminished, is nonetheless greater than any of her younger siblings (1.339). The youngest of these siblings, 56B, has not been heard with any phonemic nasalisation. Thus, assuming Máire's grandfather Pádraig Ó Con Fhaola was born in the mid nineteenth century when speakers were acquiring a full system of nasalisation (such as speaker 852S), the complete loss of that system has taken about seventy years or three generations of his descendants. The change does not show female lead in this family. Máire's son has none or very rare nasalisation therefore not resembling his mother and not resembling the pattern found in generational female-led changes by Labov (2001: 304–9) and others. A further example is the use of noun plural ending *-acha* <əxə> rather than *-achai* <əxi> in descendants of speaker 869P (4.114): the older sister (04Br) is more conservative than her younger sister (15W) and than her (i.e. 04Br's) son (46S).

Although the hypothesis requires more in-depth analysis, it appears that some features which may be perceived as being recessive or obsolescent may be given prominence in some lects. Ahistorical use of such variants in minority lects, although arguably attributable to simple analogy, may in fact represent anachronistic tendencies, especially if the particular lects show other conservative or older traits. For example, speaker 20C's use of plural *-úchai* following nonpalatals seems to be archaising rather than genuinely conservative (4.180). High use of ahistorical verbal adjective *-ithe* rather than *-í* in the 1 Conjugation may also be interpreted as an archaising or hyperdialectal usage. Retention of 2 Conjugation historical *-ithe* for progressive *-í* might trigger this ahistorical 1 Conjugation *-ithe*. It may therefore be significant that two speakers who have very frequent use of 1 Conjugation *-ithe* are storytellers, 869P and 11C, and another, 15W, is a daughter of 869P (5.189, Figure 5.22); also 20C.

The focus of this monograph is primarily the speech of those born before 1930, all of whom speak traditional dialect. What can be broadly termed traditional lifestyles and traditional languages are being lost at an unprecedented and alarming rate worldwide. The loss of diversity this represents occurs on three levels, two statistical and one qualitative: (i) dialect and language death; (ii) loss of the great amount of variation between individual speakers; but also (iii) replacement by less intricate linguistic codes (cf. Hamp 1994: 4839, concerning the estimated 200 surviving Native American languages, 'in a small number of years these numbers will be reduced drastically, and the accessible variety of the world's languages will change totally', cp. Mithun 1998; M. C. Jones 1998 for Welsh; Nettle and Romaine 2000 for ecolinguistic analysis). In the case of Iorras Aithneach, given that speakers born after 1960 generally show nontraditional traits, there will be no fully traditional speakers left alive by c. 2050. Investigations into traditional speech are therefore of the utmost urgency. One can hypothesise that the basic linguistic cause of nontraditional speech is the reduced or impoverished input for acquisition. It is undoubtedly not simply a question of reduction in quantity. Rapid social change and the omnipresence of modern media, both of which have occurred especially since the 1960s and again intensely since the 1990s, presumably render much of traditional adult speech irrelevant to many children; even if adults are interacting within earshot of children, which they are of course to a far lesser degree with the weakening of neighbourly intercourse, it may seem as background noise to the more stimulating television and other modern media and in some cases the more relevant peer group speech.

Only very frequently used forms are acquired in nontraditional acquisition. This is instanced by the loss of the inflected forms of the preposition *tha(i)r* in those born since the 1950s and in particular the 1960s (7.75). Significantly, in traditional speech *tha(i)r* is the least commonly occurring prepositional pronoun. This is reflected in Máire's traditional competence where *tha(i)r* has the greatest range of permissible analytic use with emphatic pronouns (6.26, Table 6.2, cf. p. 1280 n. 1, as well as p. 1409 n. 1 for possible effect on GCF §311). Obviously the amount of Irish speech (or input) available to or accessed by traditional speakers and the relevance or validity of that speech to them during their period of language acquisition was greater than is the case during nontraditional acquisition. Thus what appear as relatively infrequent forms were successfully acquired in traditional society, as in the case of the inflection of *tha(i)r* > 1 *tharam*, 2 *thart*, etc. Nontraditional peer groups tend to exert an influence of lowest common denominator on their members so that the most extreme instances of reduction or nontraditional usage become prominent (Schmidt 1985: especially 148); in contrast with norm-enforcement within traditional vernacular (cf. p. 1238 n. 1). Similarly, the replacement of more complex Irish structures by simpler English constructions is evidenced in contact phenomena in both traditional and to a greater degree in nontraditional speech (e.g. *Dia dhuit* > 'hello', 11.3–11.17). In some cases there will be an increase in nontraditional, regionalised or standardised input and interaction (11.122 ff.). These phenomena are often accompanied by increased bilingualism in a 'modern', culturally and economically more powerful language. This process is part of the speech community's and Ireland's integration or transition into 'modernity'. Nontraditional speech is typically regularised, simplified and reduced (e.g. Trudgill 1989; also, e.g. regularisation of irregular verbs, 5.390). Speakers can be characterised according to their use of traditional or nontraditional linguistic variants. The first generation of post-

traditional speech as a whole shows a greater range of variation than traditional speech, although nontraditional speech typically has less intraspeaker variation. For example, traditional Iorras Aithneach speech does not have categorical use of the 3 plural prepositional pronoun ending *-ú* in contrast with the dominant *-ub* ending. In nontraditional speech *-ú* becomes more common, including categorical *-ú* (7.99, Figure 7.2), especially in female speech in my sample, but some young speakers continue more traditional use of dominant or categorical *-ub*. In nontraditional usage various social categories can paradoxically be of both greater and lesser significance. Innovative 3 person possessive pronoun, **nə na** (6.33), was initially characteristic of a young peer group, who all lived in, or had connections with, An Aird Thoir, e.g. **66L** (Maínis) and **79M** (Leitir Deiscirt). Given that nontraditional speech was not the main focus of my work and that nontraditional speech has become far more in evidence since 1995 when my main field-work was completed and that the term represents a wide spectrum of language use, much further research on this subject remains to be done. The phenomenon is comparable to that of reduced, deficient or impaired second-generation language acquisition which is common in immigrant communities, in the bilingual case, either of the so-called ethnic language or of the majority language or of both languages, e.g. Turian and Altenberg (1991: 211–6, and other papers in Seliger and Vago 1991) on first language attrition, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and papers in Dorian (1989); Ureland and Clarkson (1996); J. Gibbons and E. G. Ramirez (2004) on Hispanic second-generation teenagers in Sydney, Australia; ‘(double) semilingualism’ (C. Baker and S. Prys Jones 1998: 14–5; notwithstanding the more sociological and political arguments of Martin-Jones and Romaine 1986). Cf. J. Milroy (1992) concerning the loss of a complex word class in the speech of a (returned) emigrant originally from working-class Belfast; and L. Milroy (2002: 566) concerning the importance of close-knit (typically traditional) social networks in providing ‘the intensive input required to master complex, localized linguistic structures which lack the support of institutional models’.

II.X 2. Family

The social category of age often appears consistent within families only. Although certain speakers may have older usage than their contemporaries in the community as a whole, within the family they will normally have younger usage than their older siblings. Every family I have analysed shows family-specific language use among siblings. The prominence of family lects in Iorras Aithneach can be related to the dispersed settlement patterns and the related importance of self-sufficient family holdings as often discussed in the geographical, anthropological and sociological literature, e.g. Arensberg (1959 [1937]: 35–144), Evans (1957: 21–3), Brody (1973: 86–130); Wagner (SIDI p. x). In fact, clann Mhacáí ‘ac Con Iomaire from An Coillín are noteworthy in this context in two ways: (a) the family homes of both brothers, **875T** and **869P**, are closer than usual for most neighbours and (b) their two-house cluster is in a townland which has lower than usual density of households, because of small tracts of moorland bordering An Coillín. This setting may be related to clann Mhacáí ‘ac Con Iomaire’s linguistic independence (and in some features their internal coherence), although they were by no means socially isolated. One can mention, for example, the distinctive *geofann* (for *faigheann*) of **869P**’s daughters and grandson (5.276 Table 5.78,

5.278; a complex and almost certainly unique pattern), *dhíothub* for common *dhíob* (7.19), their conservative usage in both nasalisation (1.332) and plural *-iochaí* (4.121); cf. II.IV (1) and (6). Their repertoire is clearly distinctive regardless of how one explains it or the importance one attaches to their geographical setting.

Some linguistic variables are more closely related to family networks than others. For example, many plural endings show clear family network conditioning. There is evidence of matriarchal transmission of a variant of (V:xi:) in speaker **74N** (4.124). Two speakers who are more home-connected than usual have distinctly conservative usage. Speaker **20T** is slightly physically handicapped and he remained a bachelor at home whereas his older brother **11J** married and emigrated to England. It is therefore understandable that **20T** has ‘older’ <iaxi> use than **11J**. Similarly, speaker **73P**, whose childhood and adolescence were more home-orientated than usual, has plural <axə>, strikingly conservative for his age-group. He also has, like his father, less -ú in 3 plural prepositional pronouns than his mother or siblings (7.100, Table 7.18). These two speakers, **20T** and **73P**, can be compared with the ‘marginal’ adolescents from Detroit, United States, in Eckert’s study (2000: 205–6) who are extremely conservative in speech and who are integrated to ‘communities of practice that are dominated by adults’ rather than to their own peer groups. Furthermore, possible age-related hyper-dialectisms or anachronisms discussed in the previous section (1. Age) might be profitably compared with features of what Eckert (2000: 205–10) found in isolated or less-integrated adolescents who used linguistic variants of their contemporaries in a highly aberrant fashion. Anachronistic usage would thus be aberrant usage of older speakers’ variants by their juniors (in contrast with the latter’s own age-group).

There is evidence that children’s idiolects are acquired from both parents. Labov (2001: 424–5) demonstrates the importance of the input of both parents as well as children’s own age-group for the development of Tok Pisin creole. One would expect the relative import of each parent and of parents in contrast to a peer group to vary according to the type of society in question and even individual experience and personality. Trudgill contrasts the initial relevance of parents (or parents’ generation 2004: 34–5) for second-generation speakers (2004: 100 ff.) and subsequent significance of the peer group for third-generation speakers (2004: 113 ff.) in new-dialect formation. Although the creation of each new family involves the mixture of two older family lects transmitted to the children (not to mention the input of other relatives), the line of descent of specific features is easily traceable when those features were originally unique to one of the parents (unique, that is, in the immediate locality). Such originally unique features may originate in lects from within Iorras Aithneach or outside. Siblings often differ in their acquisition of these traceable features. For instance, **54Cc** (but not his sister **60S**) has an example of his mother’s (**20My**) leniting relative prevocalic *a d’* (8.38). Daughters **04Br** and **15W**’s conservative plural <axə> use does not correspond to their father’s and may have been acquired from their mother (4.147). Sons and daughters have some conspicuous features from their mothers who are not natives of Iorras Aithneach, e.g.¹

¹ Cp. MacAulay (1978–81: 95 n. 8) for varying acquisition of a maternal feature in a Scottish Gaelic family.

52P (mother native of An Cheathrú Rua): **dr'á:há:r'** *dreatháir* (1.5), **glu** *glaoigh* (1.15), **luə** *luaithe* (1.51), **x'im'əI'** *chuimil* (1.215), **t'i:** *títthe* (4.231), **wə'hur** *uathú* (7.69), **umi:** *iomaí* (8.245); cp. her sister, **mə'hər'** **51N** *máthair* (1.126);

66N (mother native of An Cheathrú Rua): **saunə** *Samhna* (1.89), **bir'ən** *baineann* (1.149), <SON> (1.395), *ceanna* (4.47), (cp. impersonal **-hi:** *-thí* (5.62)), **waiəx** *bhfuiġheadh* (5.274), **t'uki:** *tiothaí* (5.296), **vru:** *ghnóthaigh* (5.315), **ə mi:k** *dho m'íoc*, **də hɔ:riəxt** *dho do thóraíocht* (6.34), **d'iaərə** *d'iarraidh* (8.104), *iomaí* (8.245), **ʃk'i:hə'n** *sciathán* (11.126);

71D (mother native of An Mám): *muide* **mud' i** (1.48), *anuraidh* **ə'norhi** (1.110), **i:** *ia*, **uə** *ua* (1.392), **sæ:n'ə** *s'a'inne* (6.70), **apu:** *acú* (7.101);

and a son has similarly striking features derived from his father:

60M (father native of Cois Fharraige): **funtə** *siúnta* (1.22), **taifə** *taidhbhse* (1.87), **klafə** *claise* (1.208), **uə** *uaigh* (1.226), **soxrɪd'əxi:** *sochraideachaí* (1.261), **koləm'i:n'** *Colaimín* (3.174), **u:həni:** *úthannaí* (4.58), **klaiəxi:** *claióchaí* (4.231), **də:ghi:** *d'fhágthaí* (5.31, 5.61), **g'arər** *gearrar* (5.113), **-hi:n'** *-thínn* (5.413), **ə'gum** *agum* (7.4).

Cp. several generations: reported **p'in'ə** *peinginne* for **894Cs** (1.156 n. 1); possibly **35E** via **04B** (*sochairde* **04B** (1.261), *seobh* **04B** (6.79–80)). Many speakers are aware of the extraneous origin of some of their speech. Speaker **52P**, for example, often comments that her speech has been heavily influenced by her mother: *leaganachaí ó mo mháthair* ‘linguistic forms from my mother’. Dialectology of course often needs to control for dialect mixture through external origin of a parent or even a grandparent and I have primarily focused on speech free of extraneous parental influence in this study but tracking the sources of idiolects, including any identifiable parental input, can inform the topics of transmission (relative importance of parents and peer group), mixture and reanalysis of variable and minority forms.

II.XI 3. Sex

Linguistically systemic differences between speakers based on sex are often small or insignificant in unstandardised or traditional dialectal speech; see, for instance, Thelander (1982: 70–1) who describes variation in Burträsk, an agricultural town and surrounding countryside (undergoing dialectal levelling through regionalisation) in Skellefteå, Sweden; Hofer (1997: 206) for Basle, Switzerland. Similarly, Ó Dochartaigh (1982: 89) finds no male-female differences present in his data of ongoing phonetic change in Donegal Irish. This is true of Iorras Aithneach. In nontraditional or standard-influenced speech communities male and female speech is often quite distinct, e.g. Trudgill (1974: 91–5) for Norwich, England; Eckert (2000: 115–7) for Detroit, United States; Labov (2001: 261–322) for Philadelphia, United States (and elsewhere; ‘gender differentiation is almost always prominent in linguistic change’ (322) applies to specific societies like that of the United States (cp. 361)). It is therefore no coincidence that the introduction of nontraditional speech can incorporate sex distinctions, e.g. Holmquist (1985: 198–200) for Uscieda, a village in Cantabria, Spain; Nichols (1983: 60) for South Carolina, United States. This is also true of Iorras Aithneach, e.g. possible female dominance of ‘standard’ *-ú* (7.99, Figure 7.2), *siad* (5.404, development of 3

plural verbal <dar> is important in that it shows relatively early male-female distinctions) and standard pronunciation of Irish words (11.125).

II.XII 4. Other networks

Apart from the all-important network of the family (which itself contains subnetworks of parents, parent and child, older siblings, younger siblings, etc.) and of peer groups, there are of course numerous other linguistically significant networks or communities of practice or coteries (the last-mentioned term is used by MacAulay 1978–81: 82–3). One type of important networks centres around various work-related activities. In traditional cooperative work nearest neighbours and kin are generally of most significance. The importance of employment in modern, industrialised settings for language change has been shown by L. Milroy (1980: 162) for Belfast. The adoption and subsequent loss of innovative 3 plural pronoun *dur* by speaker 43M which corresponded to the duration of her employment in a factory in An Aird is striking in this context (5.406).

II.XIII 5. Space

Space is the primary extralinguistic category of traditional dialectology, the second most important category being that of time which reflects the traditional historicism of linguistics. Space, including travel through space, and spatiality affect interaction and troughs in interaction often show up in the distribution of isoglosses. Such troughs are evident in the position of isoglosses in Iorras Aithneach on stretches of moorland or hills. Sea communications have been of great significance in the formation of Conamara dialects; with the decline of seafaring and the dominance of road travel one would expect similar changes in interaction levels and distribution of linguistic features in Conamara, and specifically in the peninsula of Iorras Aithneach, as found in the peninsula of Brunlanes, southern Norway (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 194–7; also Trudgill 1974: 237–41; cp. Ó Sé 2002). See II.I–II.VI, II.VII.

One can mention here the possible hyperdialectism found in speakers from the periphery of Iorras Aithneach (*kalhə winjə* 892M (Dumhaigh Ithir), 897P (Loch Con Aortha) *Caladh Fhidhinse*, 1.401): the absence of historical length in a phonological environment of sonorant clusters where, in other lexemes, lengthening is often optional and typical of Central West Iorras Aithneach.¹

The possible relationship between dispersed habitation on family holdings and the formation of family lects is discussed above (II.X). The gravity model of linguistic influence could be tested on a minute scale in a countryside where the density of dwellings varies. One can note clann Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire in which there is a correspondence between a small dwelling (and kin) cluster and lower density of other neighbours with the greater than usual diversion from community norms found in their speech. Clustered or nucleated dwelling is now found in a small recently built local authority housing estate in Carna and it would be ideal for an analysis of the affect of clustered in contrast to dispersed habitation on nontraditional speech.²

¹ See Ó Maolalaigh (1999a; 2003c) for the best expositions to date of hyperdialectisms in either Irish or Scottish Gaelic.

² Mionlach, a clachan north of Galway city, now like so much of 'rural' Ireland undergoing rapid suburbanisation, also comes to mind, where the opportunity to investigate the sociolinguistics of the

II.XIV 6. The individual

It is a commonplace of sociolinguistics that sampled speakers can be linguistically differentiated down to the level of the individual. This is clearly true of my Iorras Aithneach sample. Given the complexity, range and large quantity of non-trivial variables (over 120 identified in traditional speech, with a further 20 in nontraditional speech), each individual repertoire is distinct. In concrete terms: no family is the same and no sibling within a family is the same.¹ Comparison with full-scale quantitative descriptions of traditional speech elsewhere would be of interest. Trudgill (1998; 2004: 27) discusses the importance of the diverse input and weak peer-group pressures in the speech of second generation new dialect speakers of New Zealand English, which he likens to ‘chaos’ before the ‘order’ of the focused or crystallised lect spoken by subsequent generations. He also notes the relevance of ‘high levels of mobility and transience’ during such focusing (2004: 161–2). The social typology or type of community favourable for the formation of conspicuous linguistic individuality may in fact endure significantly longer than one generation as witnessed specifically in the traditional dialect of Iorras Aithneach and in some nontraditional instances. Máire’s idiolectal nasalisation is a case in point (1.339): it seems unlikely that any other speaker has precisely the same structure and quantity of realisation of nasalised vowels. One can also mention, for example, the idiolectal range and complexity of 3 plural pronoun use (5.403) where users of nontraditional *dur* can be classified into six main speech varieties (Table 5.90), each variety of which can be divided into subvarieties according to optional use of other 3 plural variants in particular tenses (not to mention quantitative and discourse differentiation of variants).

In this context one may refer to Dorian’s (1994) proposed class of personal-pattern variables, some of which are stable and some of which are involved in ongoing change. Variables in Iorras Aithneach which are related to Dorian’s personal-pattern variables are, for example, variable (x´) (2.50), preposition *i* with the article (*sa*) (7.43), prepositional pronouns of *dhe* and *dho* with variable (d) (7.31).

Language use specific to individual speakers is often alluded to in the community; this is particularly true of certain speakers’ cant phrases. For example, in an anecdote that Colm Ó Caoidheáin relates about a deceased neighbour:

Dheirit sé ‘Dia sin ghá réiteach, a mhúirnín!’ (‘a mhúirnín’ a d’abraíot sé ‘gcónaí) mar gheall ar a’ mbail a bhídís a chur ar an órán 894C9.

Cp. 8.151 and use of cant phrases in M. Ó Cadhain (1949, 1995).

II.XV Meaning and attitude

Meanings, associations and connotations, the semiotic drive behind variation and change, have not been studied for Irish-speaking society.² With the imminent loss

handful of surviving Irish-speakers has yet to be grasped, although I have myself done some fieldwork there (cp. de Bhaldraithe 1977; Ó Broin 1955–7; Ó Maoláithche 1948).

¹ It would be interesting to investigate the speech of (same-sex) twins, where the categories of age, (sex) and family remain constant. Speaker 10B’s twin sister unfortunately died before I had an opportunity to record her.

² See O’Malley Madec (2002: 158–61) for results of tests which suggest there is some devaluation of traditional speech in her sample of speakers from the district of An Cheathrú Rua, West Cois Fharraige.

of traditional speakers, their attitudes to and their evaluations (both conscious and subconscious) of the myriad of linguistic variables will also be lost. My discussion here is therefore merely contextual and conjectural. The main social engine of change proposed by Labov (2001: 516) for North American and similar societies is that of the association of upward social mobility with nonconformity. This association is highly significant for adolescence in such societies, thus placing adolescents at the vanguard of much linguistic change. Labov (2001: 509) suggests that one might expect less linguistic change in societies with less social or class mobility than that found in North America. These three factors ((social) mobility, nonconformity, adolescence) were less significant in traditional Irish-speaking peasant society: there was limited social mobility, there was no comparable imposed or accepted spoken standard, the adolescent life stage was less culturally significant and less nonconformist. Change in traditional speech is less semiotically or symbolically constrained than typically in North American society and more structurally conditioned: both by societal categories relating to the importance of primary language acquisition and socialisation (family and space) and by the linguistic structures related to 'drift'.

In traditional society the contrast between relative social homogeneity and relative linguistic heterogeneity is striking. Much of this linguistic heterogeneity is licensed by the society, hypervariables such as *ceirín* ~ *ciméar* (1.253), *péibrí* (8.246) and plurals of *teach* (4.231) as well as possible personal-pattern variables (I.XIII) being embodiments of this linguistic promiscuity. One can conjecture that this richness of linguistic choice may have been exploited for embellishment of speech or linguistic effect in the intensely oral society that existed in Iorras Aithneach particularly up to the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century and which survived attenuated into the middle of that century. The range of variation is also related to the dialectal interstitial position of Iorras Aithneach: by definition, even limited spatial mobility exposes speakers of such dialects to a greater than usual range of variation. Conservative and archaising use by tradition bearers may indicate the 'vested interest' of these members of the community in promoting the symbolic capital of variables which are recessive in the community as a whole. The esteem given to skilled speakers is well known and one contrastive and no doubt partly idealised citation, describing a meal at a house Mass or 'station', will suffice here to underline it:

'The guests sat around the table now, the parish priest at the head and the rest in regular order — not by rank or wealth as practiced in the big world outside, but by their knowledge of Gaelic lore and wit.' S. Ridge (1969: 51)

In this context it may be significant that lore is often passed across three generations, e.g. from grandparent to grandchild.¹

That the traditional linguistic community is in fact significantly fractured is evidenced, for example, by my assessment of the structure of noun plurals in *-cha(i)* (4.131) and by **20C**'s apparent anachronistic preference of plural *-úchaí* (4.180) in contrast with Máire's (**16M**) claim that *-úchaí* does not occur and is therefore impermissible in Iorras Aithneach (4.170).

¹ Speakers **05M** and **11C** acquired much of their lore from their grandmothers. Cp. "Indeed," the storyteller began, "... Here is how I heard it from my grandfather," S. Ridge (1969: 91). Traditionally grandparents often lived with one family of their grandchildren as did unmarried older relatives.

There is a high degree of tolerance of most variation. When the range of by-forms of a particular variant was discussed with Seán he would often remark: *dhe réir mar a thíocthas sé ar do bhéal* (literally ‘depending on how it comes on your mouth’), indicating the usual approval of ‘free variation’ in the community. Similarly, while discussing with me the use of *tuspáint* Seán remarked:

Déarthadh duine eile taobh thall dhe chlaí ‘fuair se tuspáint’, (ach) ‘tuspánadh’ déarthainnse S (cf. 14 tuspáint).

In folklore, variation is manifold and often perceived as natural, as stated in the proverb which can be used in defence of versions claimed by some to be incorrect or changed: *tá dhá bhord ar achuile bhád is seacht leagan déag ar amhrán* ‘there are two sides on every boat and seventeen versions of every song’. Similarly, in reference to the song *Sadhbh Ní Bhruinnealla*, S. Ó Cathasaigh of An Aird shows the acceptance, although sometimes contested, of what is perceived to be minor variation and the importance of specific sources (in this instance his father) for acquisition:

Is iomú leagan den raiméis ann. Ní lia duine a bhfuil sé aige ná a leagan féin aige air, cé nach fada ó chéile aon dá leagan. An leagan a chluininn ó m’athair ... SÓC1.84

‘There are many versions of that doggerel. No matter how many people know it, each has his own version, although no two versions are widely different. The version I used to hear from my father ...’.

This citation resembles a folkloristic equivalent of the type defined in Dorian’s (1994, also 1996) personal-pattern variables.

II.XVI Social history

The study of both the historical and contemporary lines of communication and cultural interaction remains a desideratum of paramount importance for the internal history of the Iorras Aithneach dialect. Four historical snippets of information are presented here as examples of the type of facts which may suggest the possible basis for the orientation of some isoglosses. In a discussion of house dances in Loch Con Aortha speaker **897P** claims that Coill Sáile people came to Loch Con Aortha for dancing but people from Doire Iorrais hardly ever came. This is not surprising given the proximity of Coill Sáile. Contact with Ros Muc is substantial in Doire Iorrais. According to speaker **11C** (in ARN1159–62) people north of Leitir hArd (including its eastern part), that is to say those closest to Bun a Cnoc, traded in Cathair na Mart (Westport) in contrast with people further south who traded in Galway. Those who travelled to Westport had bigger griddles than those who bought in Galway. In an anecdote recounted by speaker **875T** (DT24–5), a man from Maínis is reported to have walked to Cathair na Mart (Westport) to buy sailcloth. In local folk tales and tradition in general, however, trips to Galway are far more prevalent than to Cathair na Mart. The importance of coastal communication is, for example, apparent from:

Ar nós a lán báadóirí nach é san am, bhíodh Labhrás a’ Ghréasaí ag trácht ar fud chóstaí Chondae Mhuigh Eo agus na Gaillimhe. Bhíodh trácht mór eidir Conamara agus Luimneach féin an uair sin, ... cuairt ar Gheansa nú don Fhrainc ... don Spáinn féin. Bhíodh tarraingt Labhráis a’ Ghréasaí ar Inis Gé scaitheamh den aimsir, SÓC1.83.

1 Historical phonology and developments

In this chapter the historical development of the phonology of the dialect is given with the classical form of Early Modern Irish (EModIr) as the basis of comparison, although older and later Irish forms are also referred to. One should not assume that dialectal forms necessarily reflect Early Modern Irish forms directly. Rather, the Early Modern Irish form is taken as a convenient point of departure or comparison. It is for this reason that Early Modern Irish orthography is used to a large extent in this chapter.

This approach facilitates a comparison of the dialect of Iorras Aithneach with earlier dialect monographs published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. For ease of comparison the order of presentation will follow these monographs as much as is practicable. The dialect monograph in this series, which resembles closest our own dialect, is the description of the historical phonology of the Irish of Cois Fharraige (ICF), de Bhaldraithe (1945: 84–124). Some of my sections are more discursive, and cover a greater interdialectal range, than the previous monographs. This greater in-depth discussion of selected developments exemplifies how our understanding of Iorras Aithneach Irish, a dialect of the South Connacht interstitial zone (II.I), can be improved through the comparative method.

1.1 Phoneme inventory

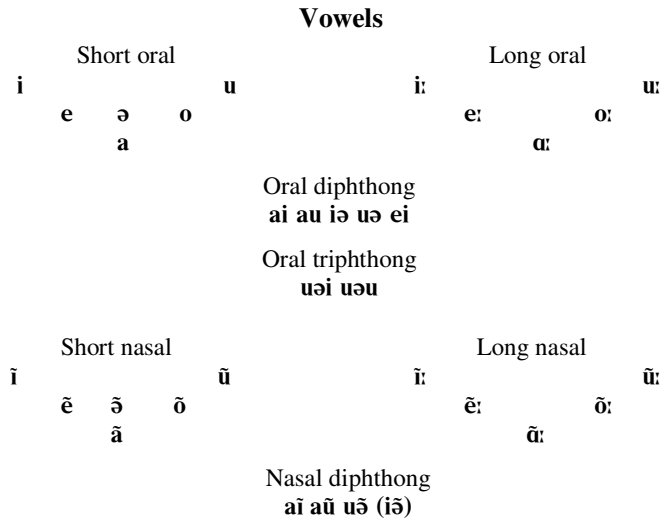
I will first present a brief description of the phoneme inventory of the dialect. The maximum phonemic inventory of Iorras Aithneach Irish consists of 42 consonants; this yields 25 consonants when the feature palatalisation is excluded (j is classified as palatalised y); and 33 vowels, or 18 vowels when the feature of nasality is excluded, or 16 vowels when the front–back axis is excluded in short vowels. These vowels include 5 oral diphthongs and 2 oral triphthongs.

	Consonants					
	Labial ¹	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal ²
Voiced plosives	b, b'	d	ɖ	d'	g, g'	
Voiceless plosives	p, p'	t	t̪	t'	k, k'	
Voiced fricatives	v, v'		z	ʒ, j	ɣ	
Voiceless fricatives	f, f'		s	ʃ	x, x'	h
Voiced affricate				ɟʒ		
Voiceless affricate				tʃ		
Nasals	m, m'	(N)	n, n'	ɲ	ŋ, ŋ'	
Laterals		L, l	l'	ɭ		
Vibrants ³			r, r'			

¹ The 'labial fricatives' are now generally labiodental fricatives (cp. ICF §162).

² The phone **h** is typically classified as a 'voiceless glottal fricative' and is retained as such for ease of presentation in the chart. In fact, as argued by Laver (1994: 304–5), this classification is problematic. A more precise label can be based on phonation type and syllabic function: 'whispered approximant' for [h] (and 'whispery voiced approximant' for the allophone [ɦ]); thus showing the redundancy in phonetic terms of place (glottal) and manner (fricative) in the more traditional label.

³ For trilled **r**, see 1.194 ff.



Consonants

Consonants confined mostly or entirely to borrowed words or morphemes are **ɸ**, **t̪**, **z**, **ʒ**, **ɖ**, **ʃ**. Velars **ŋ**, **ŋ'** are generally realised as clusters non-initially: **ŋg**, **ŋg'**. Historically dental **l** contrasts with post-alveolar **l̪** (unlenited vs. lenited, respectively). The **l** vs. **l̪** opposition is obsolescent or obsolete. For the possibility of a limited **l** vs. **l̪** morphophonemic opposition, see 1.159. In phoneme merger, the merged phone is a dental or postdental consonant, designated by **l** in this work. Cf. 1.139, 1.159. For rare **ɲ**, see 1.140.

1.2 Vowel phonemes

Short vowels show no significant phonemic oppositions on the front–back axis, so that these traditionally recognised oppositions, retained in my description, can be reduced to a series of four short vowels: high, mid, low and atonic schwa. The front and back realisations of these three short vowels (ignoring schwa) are allophonically conditioned primarily by the quality of neighbouring consonants, so that, for example, front phones are general in palatal environments. This analysis was first presented by Skerrett (1967) for Iorras, Co. Mayo and was foreshadowed by Holmer (1962) for Co. Clare. (For further discussion, see Bliss 1972: 64–5.) Ó Maolalaigh (1997: 76–149) deals comprehensively with the published descriptions of Gaelic short vowel phoneme inventories.

Morphophonemically, however, the front–back opposition is significant, although only facultatively and to a limited extent, and perhaps only for **i** vs. **u**. This can be seen in the forms of the prepositional pronouns of *i* **ə**: *ionaibh* **ini**: ~ **inəb'**, *ionntu* **intəb** ~ **intu**:; where ‘allophonically’, given the nonpalatal environment, one would expect the **un**- variants. The **i**- variants are supported within the paradigm by forms containing allophonically regular **i**- and, perhaps more importantly, by the corresponding long vowel **i**:-: *inn***te** **i**:(**)nt'****ə** and *ionntu* **i**:**ntəb**; perhaps also influenced by the by-form *insa* **insə** (*i* + *an*). With relatively common *ionntu* **intəb** one can contrast the allophonically regular **i** ~ **u** alternation

in the paradigm of *iontaigh* where there is no alternant in *i*:-: *d'iontaigh d'intə ~ d'untə ~ d'u:ntə*, *iontú* (VN) *untu*: ~ *u:ntu*: but significantly even here *intu*: 881J, 01P, occurs (noted following nonpalatal consonant, as well as *ionsaighe insi*: 01P, *lena hanáil l'enə hina:l'* 01P). The noun *ionlacht* (< *iomlacht*) is realised as *u:nləxt* 21Pt, but also *ag ionlacht beithíoch əg' inləxt b'ehiəx* M, as well as initial *inləxt* M and *d'ionlaigh d'unlə* M. In *ionga* only *uŋgə* is allophonically regular given the nonpalatal environment. But SID.46 provides succinct morphophonemic evidence: *'iŋgə* singular 453, *'iŋgɪ:xi* plural Mp 136, and the paradigmatic hinge of the long vowel *i:ŋ¹n'ə* plural 453. Similarly, one plural variant of Seán's (speaker 12S) is *iŋgən'i*: S. The frequent palatal environments *an ionga*, *t'ionga*, presumably also support *i*- in this lexeme. The *i*-variant of *ionntu* is similarly noted as exceptional for Iorras, Co. Mayo in IEM §304 (although not given in the paradigm §571) a dialect which does not have a lengthened *i*- variant in this environment. Mhac an Fhailigh's description does not cover the instance of *i* in *agus ionnsóghaidh əgəs inso*: text 804. Perhaps *nt* and *ns* are fronting environments in the Irish of Iorras, cp. *i ~ u* in *pronntanas*, *clons* §306. Cf. *io* (1.35), *o* (1.40), *u* (1.44). There is no evidence, however, for 'allophonic' irregularities in the Irish of Cois Fharraige in ICF or GCF, nor for that matter in ITM; for instance '*u* only in *ionga*' ICF §604 (supported by SID.40 q 453–4), and the prepositional pronoun *i* GCF §307 has no *i*- variants.¹

Morphophonemically more complex are cases of non-initial *i* following lenited consonants where one might expect *u*. Lenited derivatives with marked *x'i*- (for expected *hi*-) such as *dhá thibheacht ga: x'iv'əxt* Mq are treated as their bases which contain back vowels, e.g. *ro-thiugh rə'x'uw* (1.119, 1.135, 9.10 (iv)). Cp. *sionnach* > *shionnach*: *ʃunəx* > *x'unəx*, *ʃinəx* > *hinəx*. A possible example of paradigmatic retention of *o* for phonologically expected *e* occurs in *mo dheirbh-shiúr mō ʎ'r'əpʊr* 46.347 best classified as *ʎ'r'of*-, genitive *mō ʎ'r'əf'ir'ə* 46.346 classifiable as *ʎ'r'of*-, whereas more commonly *-of*- corresponds to *-ef*- in the more palatal environment of the genitive form, i.e. *mo dheirbhshíre mə jr'ef'ir'ə*. We can also compare singular *soitheach sohəx* with plural *soithighe sehi*: >> *sohi*: (1.117).

I follow ITM and IEM in positing only one *a* phoneme. The high number of *a* phonemes in ICF (four in all, two if nonphonemic length is discounted) has been called into question by Sommerfelt (1949: 417) using more rigorous phonological criteria. There may be evidence of an emerging phonemic split of *a* in ICF for Cois Fharraige but further investigation is necessary. The two (or three) short *a* phones described for Ros Muc in LFRM (p. x) are not strictly phonemic. De Bhaldraithe (1953b: 153–4) speculates that the origin of the phonetic length of phonemic /a/ in Cois Fharraige may be found in instances where intervocalic *h* was lost. In fact Mhac an Fhailigh (1946: 143) had discussed this very point with much perception and had pointed the direction for 'further investigation'. In his

¹ I am informed by Nicholas Williams (personal communication) of the opposition in one possible pronunciation of *ith ubh* as *i u* (which he tells me is permitted in An Cheathrú Rua, in West Cois Fharraige). The *i* vs. *u* contrast in this instance corresponds to the consonantal quality opposition in the segmentally fuller by-forms *ith ubh ix' uw*. The verb *ith* can nonetheless be realised as *u* (between nonpalatal consonants), e.g.

ʃe hi' r 'u mid' iə^d | 'd'i mid' iəd | 25M *sé an chaoi ar ith muid é. D'ith muid é.*
(The second token of *ith*, with *i*, may have been produced by the speaker for greater clarity.)

later publication, FFG, de Bhaldraithe uses one **a** only, although his phonemic interpretation is not explicit (FFG iv).

Similarly, following strictly surface distributional criteria, there is only one schwa phoneme, as in IEM and LFRM, in contrast with ICF (and ITM) where, between consonants, **i** and **ə** are conditioned by front and back consonant quality respectively, e.g. ICF *Nodlaig* **noLiK'**, *buille* **biL'ə**, are here **noLək'**, **biL'ə**.

Vowels

We begin the historical phonology with a description of developments of the vowels in our dialect with reference to Early Modern Irish.

1.3 Hiatus

Hiatus is generally lost with coalescence of vowels yielding long vowels and diphthongs. A few words in historic hiatus show various reflexes (long and short vowel alternating, **h** alternating with zero).

(a) **Vh ~ V**: in *gnó*, *gnó(th)ughadh* DIL, the plural (*gno(th)aighe*, *gnoaighthe*) is common meaning 'business' in DIL. Perhaps the singular meaning or a plural form such as *gnoaighthe* brought about the anomalous unmarked plural in our dialect *na gnutha* (singular *an ghnutha* possibly a back-formation, cp. O'Rahilly 1950a: 323, 326–7):

ũ: *mo ghrú* : **ó** !894C9;

o: seldom in Seán's speech, with probable formal connotation, e.g. *ná bí ag inSean domsa mo ghnó* **na: b'í: g' i:nfən dumsə mə ɣro:** S;

uh ~ ah, e.g. *na grotha*, *aon ghrotha*, *aon ghratha* 875T1 (transcribed *o = u* here); **gruhə** S, 12J, 20Mt; **gruhə** >> **grahə** M, e.g. *cén ghnótha ...?* **k'e:ŋ ɣruhə ...** M, *níl aon ghnatha a'm ann n'í:l' e: ɣrah am a:n* M. Plural (**gruhə**) **gruhi:** >> **grahi:**. Cf. 4.71.

V: ± **h** in verb *gnó(th)aigid* DIL > *gnóthaigh* **gru:(h)(ə)**, etc., cf. 5.315.

(b) **Vh** in EModIr *cnú* (FGB *cnó*), which had alternants with hiatus and medial *th* in the plural:

knō' plural **knuhəni** 46.649, also **kru**, plural **kruhəni**: and **krunhi**:; singular (back-formation) **krunhə** 43Mp, plural **krunhi**: 43Mp.

(c) *cró* (nonclassical *crú*) 'horseshoe' > *crú* singular, with short vowel variants in plural forms *cruife*, *cruithí*, *crotha*, *crothaí* (also singular back-formation *crotha* 64Mq) as well as *craoithe*, *crúití*, etc.

(d) *sceitheann*, with short *e*, is the reflex of *sceid* DIL.

(e) The long vowel, stress, and possibly the vacillation of **h**, in *Dáithí* (perhaps related to *Nathí*) may be related to its identification with *Dáibhídh* (< OIr *Dauid*, *Dabid*):

da:i: ~ **da:hi**: : **ó Dhá'í Ó Móráin** !894C9; *Mac Dháithí an tSneachta* **mak ɣa:i**: [x5] ~ **ɣa:hi**: [x1] **n' t'hɲ'æxtə** (Smds)04B.

For coalescence across morpheme boundaries, see 'Plurals' (4.9), 'Verbs' (5.28 ff.).

1.4 a, o +Cá/ó

The historical height of short *a*, *ea*, and *o*, *io* is raised in the initial syllable of many words preceding *á* and *ó* in the second, or less often, third syllable. The change can be summarised as:

a, o > i and **u / _C(σ)ɑ: , ɔ:C**.

It is attested before *-á(i)n(-)*, *-áid*, *-áil*, *-áiste*, *-áirt* (< *-adhairt*), *-ás*, *-ár* (*-áthar*), and *-eoin*, *-óg*, *-óid*, *-ós*. Historic *ó* may (in the non-initial syllable, in this instance) be raised to **u**: neighbouring a nasal, e.g. **in' u:n'** *aindeoin*. There is one instance of raising of stressed *ei*, in *eiteán*. Occasional instances also occur before *é* and *ú*. These will be discussed following Table 1.1. Original height is retained especially in derivationally transparent words. Before **r**, also **l** and **x**, an **o**-quality vowel is common. Cp. **tolɑ:n** *tulán* related to **toləx** *tulach*, *tolach* (but **tula:n** *tuləx* M); **cwrfhás** *koras*.

Second syllable stress occurs in the (obsolescent) pronunciation of a few words which have *á* in the second syllable: (*damáiste*, *follántas*), *cabáiste*, *taispeáin*, *tiomáin*, *Tomás*; so also *arán* **ə'ra:n** <<< **ra:n**. The initial vowel is elided in *conách*, *biorán*, etc., and in *coláiste* in the speech of **25M**, *galánta* in the speech of **35E**, *taispeáin* is generally replaced by *spáin*. Cf. 1.47 and 'Long vowels and diphthongs' (1.378 ff.). Given the evidence of obsolescent stress shift in the dialect, complete elision in a few words and similar evidence from other dialects, the change in height seems to be the result of historic second syllable stress, perhaps via restressing of schwa (Ó Sé 1989: 159–60). It seems likely that stress shifted to the two most sonorous vowels, i.e. *á* and *ó*. Table 1.1 provides a comprehensive list of relevant words.

Table 1.1 *a, o +Cá/ó*

Lexeme	u, i	Unraised Vowel	Other Vowel
<i>adhbhóg</i> , <i>abhóg</i>		awo:g	
<i>afróg</i>		afro:g	
<i>agóid</i>		ago:d'	
<i>aindeoin</i>	in' u:n'		
<i>aistreán</i>			əftr'ɑ:n
<i>anáil</i>	una:l'		
<i>bearrán</i>	b'ura:n		
<i>bacán</i>	buka:n		
<i>bachlóg</i>		baxlo:g baslo:g	
<i>bagáiste</i>	buga:ft'ə		
<i>balscóid</i>	bulsko:d'		baulsko:d' , bo:lsko:d'
<i>bantáiste</i> , <i>buntáiste</i>	bunta:ft'ə 27Mdq	banta:ft'ə , ba:nta:ft'ə	
<i>beanglán</i> , <i>breanglán</i>	b'ingla:n 21Jq, br'ungla:n		br'i:ngla:n
<i>blocán</i>	bluka:n S(early)	bloka:n	
<i>bocáil</i>	buka:l' M	boka:l'	
<i>bocánta</i> <i>bacánta</i>	buka:ntə baka:ntə (run)	... baka:ntə (run)	
<i>bocóideacha</i>	buko:d'əxə bako:d'əxə (run)	... bako:d'əxə (run)	
<i>bodóig</i>	budo:g'		
<i>bogán</i>	buga:n FFG20 ¹	boga:n	

¹ Cp. *bogán* **buga:n** SIDi Mp 46 point 40.

Lexeme	u, i	Unraised Vowel	Other Vowel
	<i>spogán</i> sbuga:n FFG19, 20		
<i>bollóg</i>	buló:g		
<i>bradáin</i>	bruda:n		
<i>Breacán</i>	br'ika:n		
<i>breacóg</i>	br'uko:g FFG	br'æ'ko:g M	
<i>Breandán</i>	brunda:n (Christian name)	<i>an</i> ~ br'æ'nda:n (place-name)	
<i>briogóid</i> ~ <i>-áid</i>	br'igo:d'		
<i>brothchán</i>		broxa:n	
<i>cadás</i>	kuda:s		
<i>cadóg</i>		kado:g Sq	
<i>caisleán</i>	kiʃl'á:n		
<i>callóid</i>	<i>cullóid</i> S (early)		kolo:d' S (? u)
<i>camán</i>	kuma:n		
<i>canós</i> (~ <i>cunús</i> FGB)	kunu:s		
<i>caróg</i>		karo:g	
<i>Catháin</i>	kuha:n'		kə'ha:n' ¹
<i>Cathalán</i>		kahəla:n 25M	
<i>ceannadhairt</i>	k'una:rt'		
<i>ciotóg</i>	k'ito:g		
<i>codóg</i>	kudo:g		
<i>coláiste</i>	kula:ft'ə (also kla:ft'ə 25M)		
<i>copóg</i>	kupo:g		
<i>corrán</i>	kura:n	kor.a:n 46 Mp 177	
<i>corróg</i>		kororo:gr pl 46 Mp 133	
<i>cosán</i>	kusa:n, kisa:n	kosa:n	
<i>creachán</i>	kr'uxa:n Sq		
<i>creagán</i>	kr'u/iga:n		
<i>creatán</i>	kr'ita:n		
<i>crosán</i>	kru/isa:n 16P	krosa:n	
<i>crosóg</i>	kruso:g 05M		
<i>dalcán</i>			<i>dolcán</i> S85
<i>dallán</i>	cp. dula:n FFG20		<i>dollán</i> M84
<i>damáiste</i>	duma:ft'ə		
<i>deascán</i>	dr'iska:n , cp. l'iska:n		
<i>dosán</i>	disa:n		
<i>driopás</i>	dr'u/ipa:s		
<i>eagán</i>	uga:n		
<i>earráid</i>	ura:d'		
<i>easlán</i>	isla:n		
<i>easóg</i>		æso:g	
<i>eiteán</i>	it'a:n		
<i>feadán</i>	f'ida:n		
<i>feadóg</i>		f'ædo:g	
<i>feannóg</i>	f'ino:g		
<i>fideog</i> (= <i>feadóg</i>)	<i>fideog</i> 864MDT34		
(<i>Iorras</i>) <i>Fhlannáin</i>	(<i>orəs</i>) lūna:n' 11C		
<i>folláin, follántas</i>	fula:n', fula:ntəs		
<i>gabáiste</i> < <i>cabáiste</i>	guba:ft'ə, 'gu'ba:ft'ə , ('gu'ba:ft'ə)		
<i>galánta</i>	gula:ntə (also glə:ntə 35E)		
<i>geabhróg</i>	(> g'u:ro:g)	(> g'auro:g)	g'u:ro:g, g'auro:g

¹ Cp. *dearbh-bhráthair* > *dreátháir* (1.7).

Lexeme	u, i	Unraised Vowel	Other Vowel
<i>geadán</i>	g'ida:n		
<i>gealán</i>	tine ghealáin t'in'ə jula:n'		
<i>gearán</i>	g'ura:n		
<i>Gearóid</i>	Gioróid !00M (b) v. 7	<i>Gearóid</i> !01S CABI §158(a) v. 6	
<i>gearrán</i>	g'ura:n		
<i>glasán</i>	glusa:n		
<i>Gleannán</i>	gl'ina:n		
<i>Gobán Saor</i>	gubā:n si:r		
<i>greasáil</i>	gr'isa:l' FFG	<i>greasáil</i> S, M84	
<i>Leacán</i>	l' u/ika:n		
<i>leadán</i>	l'ida:n		
<i>leannán</i>	l'una:n FFG, <i>lionnán</i> CAR		
<i>liodán</i>	l'ida:n		
<i>logán</i>	luḡa:n, <i>lugán</i> 'potato' FFG19, 20		
<i>Loideán</i>	lid' a:n		
<i>macánta</i>	muka:ntə		
<i>meallamán</i>		m' a:ləma:n S	
<i>(Leitir) Mealláin</i>	(l'et'ər') m'ula:n' 11C		(cp. ... mula:n' 35E)
<i>meannán</i>	m'ina:n		
<i>meantán</i>			m' ā:ntā:n 46.835
<i>meascán</i>	m'iska:n	vs. m'æ:skā:n S	
<i>neantóg</i>		N'æ:nto:g >>	N' a:nto:g
<i>neascóid</i>	n'isko:d'		
<i>ofráil</i>	ufra:l'		
<i>oileán</i>	il' a:n		
<i>paráiste</i>	pura:ft'ə		
<i>pasóid</i> , etc.,		paso:d' S, faso:d' S	
<i>piodarlán</i>	p'idərla:n M		
<i>pocán</i>	puka:n		
<i>polláire</i>	pula:r'ə		
<i>rabóid</i>	rubo:d'		
<i>racáil</i>	ruka:l'		
<i>racán</i>	ruka:n		
<i>raideog</i>	cp. riil' o:g		
<i>robáil</i>	rubā:l'		
<i>rothán</i>		roha:n	
<i>scadán</i>	skuda:n		
<i>scafánta</i>	skufa:ntə		
<i>scalán</i>	skula:n	skala:n	
<i>scamhóg</i> , cp. <i>scamán</i> DIL		skāvo:g, skavo:g	
<i>sceachóir</i>			fk'oxo:r' 21Pt
<i>sceallán</i>	fk'ula:n		
<i>sceartán</i>	fk'urta:n		
<i>sciotán</i>	fk'ita:n		
<i>scothán</i> (glúine)	skuha:n (glu:n'ə) 04B1		
<i>scothóg</i>		skoho:g	
<i>scoláire</i> (acht)	skula:r'ə(xt)	pl skōla:r'i: Mp 199	
<i>screachán</i>	fk'r'uxa:n S (perhaps o)		
<i>seachrán</i>	fuxra:n, also FFG20		foxra:n
<i>seafóid</i> , cp. <i>sechbaid</i> DIL		fæ'fo:d'	
<i>seangán</i>	fuḡga:n		
<i>smeachóid</i>	sm' u/ixo:d'		
<i>sodóg</i>	sudo:g M		

Lexeme	u, i	Unraised Vowel	Other Vowel
<i>soláthar, soláthraí</i>	sula:r, sula:ri:	cp. solɑ:r 46 s.v. <i>biadh</i>	
<i>sparán</i>	spura:n		
<i>spreallán</i>	sbr'ula:n FFG		
<i>spreasán</i>	spr'isa:n		cp. spr'is ~ spr'as M
<i>srannán</i>	sruna:n		
<i>sreabhán</i> , cp. <i>srubh</i> ²	ʃ.ruwa:n 892M3013 (unless <i>sruth ann</i>)		
<i>sreangán</i>	ʃrunga:n	ʃra:ŋga:n P	
<i>stalcán</i>	stulka:n 11C		~ stolka:n 11C
<i>stalcánta</i>	stulka:ntə stalka:ntə (run)	... stalka:ntə (run)	
<i>stopóg</i>	stu/ipo:g		
<i>strengcán</i> ~ <i>stringcán</i>	ʃt'upka:n M		ʃt'i:ŋka:n , <i>stiúncán</i>
DIL also <i>stiongacán</i>			
<i>tasbánadh</i>	tu/ispɑ:nə		
<i>tobán</i>	tuba:n, tība:n		
<i>treampán</i>	tr'umpa:n (?)	tr'æmpa:n SM	
<i>troscán</i>	truska:n		

Cp. the borrowing *Teabóid* (*Tebóid* < 'Thebaud', Risk 1968: 628) **tubo:ɖ'**, **t'ibo:ɖ'**, although other variants, e.g. 'Ti-, Tu-', are known in the donor language(s); *stacán* ~ *stocán* FGB, Dinn, *stocán* 876JDT84; noted above: *dallán* (*dullán*) > *dollán* M84, *dullán* S (cp. **dula:n** LFRM *dollán*), resembling *dolánach* FFG, **dola:nəx** S84, M88, P88, similar in meaning to *tulán(ach)* **tola:n(əx)**, and *dalcán* > *dolcán* S85; *tuthóg* ~ *tothóg* FGB **tufo:g**; *cotá* 875PCAR, *cotán* 869PCAR, cp. *cot* FGB (also CFU), *cúta* and *cútáil* CFU.

1.5 Instances of nonraising before á, ó

Long unstressed *á* is reduced in *Eanáir* **an'ər'** S, **an'ər'** M; and a few borrowings (1.11). Many (generally more recent or transparent) derivations in *-áil*, *-óg* and *-án* retain the original vowel in the first syllable, e.g.

-áil *bealáil, cocáil, paisteáil, sceadáilte*, (s)*meadráil* (s)**m'ædərɑ:l'**; and those based on recent borrowings, e.g. *babáilte, pleainéil*;

-óg *bothóg* **boho:g** M, *brochóg* in *tonn bhrochóg* **tu:n vroxo:g**, *caiteog* **ka:t' o:g** S, *camóg, casóg, gearróg, glasóg* **glaso:g** (contrast *glasán* **glusa:n**), *lasóg, leacóg, sceadóg, scealpóg* **ʃk'ælp o:g** M, *sciulpóg* **ʃk'olpo:g** M, *scológ* **skolo:g**, (*Bóthar na*) *Scrathóg, screamhóg, seamsóg, treaslog* **tr'æslo:g**;

-án (all lexemes noted): *beagán* **b'oga:n**, *bothán* **boha:n**, (*brothchán* **broxa:n**), *leadrán* **l'ædra:n** M, **l'adra:n** FFG, also **l'ædərɑ:n** Mq, *lochán* **loxa:n**, *smeadrán* **sm'ædərɑ:n**, *spagán* **spa'ga:n**, *tortán* **torta:n** M87, *trasnán* **træ'sna:n**; cp. by-forms of *meascán* and *scalán* above (Table 1.1); cp. *ceannbhán* **k'anəwa:n**;

with (optional) lengthening in:

geanntáil **g'æ/ɑ:ntɑ:l'**, *ailleog* **æ/ɑ:l' o:g**, *caillteog* **ka:l't' o:g** S, *stancán* **sta:ŋka:n**, **stæ:ŋka:n**, perhaps also **sta:ŋka:n**, cp. *altóir* **a/ɑ:lto:r'**.

Cp. *calóg* **kar'lo:g**, *leathóg*, also *leitheog* **l'æho:g** ~ **l'eho:g**; *fainleoc* DIL, *fáinleog* FGB **fai'l' o:g** generally, but **fai'n'í' o:g** 46.836, cp. *áinleog* CAR (plant name); **bol-** in (near) synonyms *bolbán, bolgán, bolbóg, bolgóg, bológ*.

1.6 Other factors involved in vowel raising

Vowel raising in these environments can in some cases be attributed to other regular factors, e.g. *fonámhad* > *fonóid* **funo:d'** in a (labial and) nasal environment where *o* > *u* is to be expected; *ciotach* **k'itəx**, a context where *io* > *i* is common, corresponding to *ciotóg* **k'ito:g**.

Raising before *ú, é*

There are examples of raising before other long vowels in second syllables, i.e. before *u:* in *-ún, -úr, -ús*, and before *e:* in *-éad, -éal* (< *-éar*), *-éig*:

- ún: (palatalised velar and / or labial environment) in:
botún ~ *potún* FGB **butu:n** SM and **putu:n** M (semantically differentiated); *Ciobúnach* **k'ibu:nəx** 03C.
- úr: (nasal environment) in *dendgor* DIL **d'unu:r** S (cp. *deannóg* CFT).
- ús: *treallús(ach)* FGB **tr'ilu:s(əx)** S, *triollúsach* FFG19, 20.
- éad, -éal (< *-éar*), *-éig*:
Bairéad **bir'e:d**; *cainéal*¹ (*cainneál*) FGB **kin'e:l** 889P; *gainéad* **gin'e:d** S; *gráféad* **grif'e:d** P; *coisméig* **kifm'e:g**, **kifm'eg**, but (plural) **kofm'ig'əxi** 60Mq; *Mairéad* **mir'e:d**; *stoipéad* **stip'e:d** M; *gairtéar* FGB > *duirtéal* **durt'e:l** SM; cp. *stuidér* DIL, *staidéar* ~ *stuidéir* FGB generally **stæd'er** (SM, 43M) but **stid'er** 'study' 43M (perhaps through recent external influence).

1.7 Similar changes

Compare similar changes and reductions in the following words:

- geosadán* ~ *geasadán* FGB **g'isəda:n**, but *geospalán* **g'ospəla:n** M;
- scáthán* **skuha:n**;
- sciathán* **f'k'ihə:n**;
- streachlán* (*strochlán*) FGB **stroxlə:n** M;
- Peaitsín* 'Ac *Ciollacháin* 894C9 < *Ceallacháin*;
- leathamadán* 'L **əhuməda:n** S, 36S, also 'L **əhaməda:n**, contrast **a** only in *amadán* **aməda:n**;
- damhán allaidh* **du:a:n** ~ **du:wə:n** ~ **duvə:n** a:lə;
- Isibéal* !(MP)852SC, *Naomh Síbéal* !(MP)894C9.
- Cp. *lúthgháir* **lufə:r'ə**.

The *e/o* ~ *i* alternance in the stressed vowel of *dearbh-bhráthair* (also stressed **a:** and **i:**) and in *deirbhshiúr* may also be related to raising before long vowels (there are also instances of weakening and loss in the initial *d(h)r-* cluster):

dearbh-bhráthair **e** *o* >> **i** >> **i:**; also **a:**¹

SID.46	ə, i	d'rəha:r' Mp 101, plural d'rəha:rəxi 345 (stressed ə best classified as dr'o-); genitive d'r'ihə:rə 345;
881J	i	mə jr'ix'a:rəxə ;
892M	e	ARN1732;

¹ *dearbhráthair* > *dearráthair* > *dredhir* in South Connacht according to O'Rahilly (1942: 216 n. 3) but compare *Catháin* **kuha:n'** **ka:ha:n'**. Cp. 1.265.

04B	e, i, i: i:	dʲəhɑːrʲ, ə jʲihɑːrʲ, ə jrʲehɑːrʲ, jrʲihɑːrʲ, mə jrʲehɑːrʲəxi, an triúr ... əɴ trʲuːr dʲihɑːrʲ;
05M	e	dʲehɑːrʲ, jehɑːrʲ, yrʲehɑːrʲ;
12S	e, i	drʲehɑːrʲ, drʲihɑːrʲ;
13Jd	ɑ:	drʲɑ:hɑːrʲ, i.e. /drʲɑ:hɑːrʲ/;
16M	e, o	drʲohɑːrʲ, dʲehɑːrʲ;
21Pt	ɑ:	drʲɑ:hɑːrʲ, i.e. /drʲɑ:hɑːrʲ/;
23Ms	e	mo dhreatháir mə 'iʲehɑːrʲ;
24N	iː	drʲiːhɑːrʲəxi, i.e. /drʲiːhɑːrʲ/;
52P	ɑ:	drʲɑ:həːrʲ, drʲɑ:hɑːrʲ (form perhaps from her mother, a native of An Cheathrú Rua), cp. dʲrʲɑ:həːrʲ SID 43.101;
66N	e, o	a / mo dhreatháir ə jrʲohɑːrʲ, mə jehɑːrʲ.

deirbh-shiúr e o >> i in drʲehuːr, drʲefuːr, drʲofuːr, e.g.

mō yʲrʲəfuːr 46.347 best classified as drʲo-, also drʲifuːr or drʲihuːr 46 s.v. *driothúr*; also plural drʲifuːrəxi 46.346 [sic], genitive drʲefʲiːrʲə, mō yʲrʲəfʲiːrʲə 46.346.

1.8 Depalatalisation

There is nonpalatalisation in initial consonant(s) before intervocalic nonpalatal consonant(s) in some words before (σ)CálóC, i.e.

Breandán **brundaːn** (place-name *na Brandáin* Clad 154, **nə brandaːnʲ** 12S, *muinntir Bhrandáin* Clad 171, but (literate speaker) *an Breandán ə brʲəndaːn* 35E); *Níoclás* **nuklaːs**; (*Teabóid*) *Tiobóid* **tuboːdʲ** 34M, **tʲiboːdʲ** 21J, *na Tiobóideachaí* **nə tʲiboːdʲəxi** 892M (< 'Thebaud' (Risk 1968: 628) also initial in 'Ti-, Tu-'); *tionónta* **tunuːntə** ~ **tunoːntə** ~ **tunaːntə**. It may be significant that three of these examples are personal names.

Contrast the intervocalic palatal environment in *boinéad* > *binéad* S, but *bainéad* **bānʲəd** 881J. Cp. *cineál* **kʲinaːl**, *muineál* generally **minʲaːl** (rarer **minʲeːl**), also **munaːl** 01P, **munál** 1894C6 and 9. Also depalatalisation of (s)tr- in a few words before second-syllable -án:

streachlán (*strochlán*) FGB **stroxlɑːn** M;
treaghán (*troighdeán*) FGB > *troigheadán* FFG 19, 20;
trilseán FGB **trailʃɑːn** SM, *troilseán* FFG (>>) **traifʃlʲɑːn** S, Mq (*troisleán* FFG 20).

Note also the borrowing *treaspás* FGB **truspas**.

1.9 Raising and diphthongisation of é before á, ó

A related development is that of (optional) *é* > **iə** and **iː**: *l_án* / *achán* / *óg* / *óid*:

céasán **kʲiəsaːn** M, cp. *cíosán* 869PCAR 'rough grass by the sea'

créafóg **krʲiəfoːg** (cp. *krʲiːfoːg* ICF)

créalachán **krʲiələxaːn** S, contrast *créalach* **krʲeːlhəx** M

béadán **bʲiədaːn**

féasóg **fʲiəsoːg** ~ **fʲiːsoːg** ~ **fʲeːsoːg**; note **fʲiəsoːg** 46.380, 892M, 899D,

04Br, **15W**; **fʲiːsoːg** **fʲiəsoːg** FFG, *bunfhéasóg* **bunʲiːsoːg** FFG; **fʲeːsoːg** 43M

géarán **gʲiəraːn** M

méaróg **mʲiəroːg**

péacóg **p'e:ko:g** S, but cp. *péac(h)óigín an bhrollaigh bháin* **p'iaxo:g'i:n' ə vrolə wɑ:n'** !S
préachán **pr'iaxɑ:n**
sméaróid **sm'ia:rho:d'** Mq, **sm'e:ro:d'** Sq, *sméarógai* **sm'e:ro:gi:** ~ **sm'e:rho:gi:** S.

Contrast **e:** only in *éadail*, *éagóir* (~ *éacóir*), *géagán*.

Compare *léagáid* (~ *leagáid*) Dinn, FGB with *liagáistí* SM.

Cp. *ao* > **ai** in this environment (1.14); *ua* > **ai**, **o:** (before *r*) in *buaidhreán* **baid'a:n** **baiða:n**, *Uarán* in place-names **o:ra:n** (1.27); *gíoscadh* **g'i:skə** but *gíoscán* **g'i:skɑ:n**; *Mícheál* **m'i/i/eha:l** M (1.19). For *é* > **ia** in other environments, see *éa* (1.18).

1.10 á, aí

á, aí generally = **ɑ:**, e.g. *lá, fáth, éadail, scoláire*.

Shortening

Original *á(i)* is shortened in certain contexts.

> (**ɑ:** ~) **a** / *_bh, mh* in some words:

Ábhall (hound's name in Fenian tale) **ɑ:vəl** (Suda) **04B**, **a'vəl** (Suda) **894Cs**;
cneámhaireacht **kr'ā:wāĩ'āĩt 01P**, transcribed in my early notes (from SM)
as *creamhaireacht*;

maide rámha **mad'ə ra:wə** most often, e.g. SM, **35E**, also less common
rámha **ra:mə 01P**, but some speakers have /ā/ or /a/ here, e.g. **ma:d'ə**
řā:wə | 869P but **mɑd'i: řā:və** Mp 272, **mad'i: řā'və** (Ascen) **11C**, also
05Md, **mad'i: řā:wə** (Ascen) **19J.45** (i.e. /ā/), **ra:wə 11P**; also **řā'vrə 23C**
(perhaps influenced by *reamhra* plural of *reamhar*), cp. **mɑd'i rawə**
43b.1096 (b), **mad'ʔi: 'řā'wə** Mp 272 pt 54;

námhaid **nā:vəd'** generally (including **892M**) but also sometimes **nā:vəd'**
892M;

rámhaillí **ra:wəlt'əx** Mq, **řā'vərt'i: 23C**, **ra'vəlt'i: 43Mq**;

sámhnas, *sámhas* FGB, **sā:vnəs** SM, *sámhnás* FFG, cp. *samhain* M,
samhas **sawəs sa:wəs** LFRM.

Note *fábar* (*fabar*) DIL, *fabhar* (*fábhar*) FGB **fawər** (note *fafra* LFRM >
fafrúil (< *fabhar*) LFRM corresponding to *fáifriúil* **869PCAR**, where the
friction of *bh* may have been retained, based on the stem *fabhar*, and
subsequently devoiced, similar to *Labhradha* > *Láfrú*); *glam(h)-*,
glám(h)- are listed under *mh* > *m* (1.92).

Cp. possible *adhabha(i)r* > *ábhars* FFG, **11C**, also *abhars* **894C2**, with note
in manuscript: 'pron[ounced] awurs'; cf. /a/ in *amhars* (*aíocht*) LFRM and in
East Galway (see de Bhaldraithe 1984: 196);

ámhaill(e) > *ámhaillí* but also *amaill* (adj) **875PCAR** which are
semantically differentiated by the speaker (cp. Dinn *amhaill*, variants
amaill, *amhall* and related *amaide*, *amadán*);

korə g'æ:w S, *corra geam(h)* FFG, *corra geábh* LL69, cp. *corraibh geábh*
(N[orth] Con[nacht]) Dinn s.v. *corra-giob*;

meamhghail **m'ɑ:wí:l' m'æ:wí:l'**; *nem(d)aide* DIL **n'ɑ:wí:**; *neamhní* **'n'ā:ĩ-**
n'ĩ:; *Labhradha lauru:* **la:vru: la:vro: la:bru: Láfrú la:ru:** (1.88); cf. 1.89.

This development can be compared to the change *ámha* > *amha* which O'Rahilly

(1942: 132–4; cp. IWM §§292–3) suggests occurred in Munster. For an alternate view of such developments, see Ó Maolalaigh (2003d).

a before clusters (cf. vocalic length variation before certain sonorant clusters):

ái in *máingeáil* FGB *maingeáil* S (cp. *maing* < *maig*), *sláinte* **slantʰə**; cp. *fainleoc* DIL, *fáinleog* FGB **fanlʰo:g** generally, but **fanʰlʰo:g** 46.836, cp. *áinleog* CAR (plant name); cp. *fáilte* **fa:lʰə**, but > *failte* in Carna district (IA), as well as Dúiche Sheoigheach, according to BBeo.237 n. 7;

á in secondary stress in *tromfháscadh*, **'tru:m,as:kə** S, **'tru:m,æ:skə** M, *dtromfháscadh ə drumaskə* S.

Cp. **ɑ:** ~ **a** in *stánadh* (1.15).

1.11 Unstressed shortening

Unstressed *á* is short or further reduced in a few words.

ɑ: ~ **a** in unstressed position in three borrowings:

bricfeasta: both *bricfeasta* and *bricfeásta* 894C2, **br'ikf'a:stə** 11Cta, **b'r'ik'fastə** 46.299, **br'ik'fa(ə)stə** M, **br'ik'fastə** 49J;

comrádaí FGB, generally **ku(:)mrə:di**, but **ku:mræ:di** 869P;

cabáiste **gubə:fʰə** generally, but **gubə:fʰə** >> **gubə:fʰə** 894C, also **'gu'ba:fʰə** 20T.

Cp. *bantáiste* **bantə:fʰə**, **bəntə:fʰə**, also **buntə:fʰə** 27Mdq; but **bəntə:fʰə** [x2] 31D (phonemically perhaps /**bantə:fʰə**/), where the variation **ɑ:** ~ **a** in the initial syllable may have influenced the unstressed syllable, i.e. **-əntə:-** > **-ənte-**.

> ə, etc., in:

Eanáir **an'ər** S (similarly 46.904), **an'ər** M; this is a rare or learned word, perhaps influenced by more commonly used 'January' **dʒan'əri**, **dʒan'uri**;

(pretonic) *tráth nóna*, forms can be divided into three main types (with further variation in both the pretonic and tonic syllables, cf. 1.245, 1.248):

(i) **trən'h-**, (ii) **trən'-**, (iii) **trə'h-**:

(i) **-n'-**: **trən'hū:nə** **trən'hu:nə** 46.907, 913, **trən'hō:nə** S85, **trən'hū:nə** S, **trən'hu:nə** 20M (perhaps **trən'hu:nə** 43M85 if heard correctly); **trən'hū:nə** 892M1394;

tərən'hū:nə 894Cs, **tərn'hū:nə** 892M;

(ii) **-n-**: **trən'nu:nə** SM, 26P, **trən'nu:nə** M, 60C (usual form);

(iii) pretonic **n** elided: **trə'hō:nə** 892M2023, **trə'hū:nə** S, **trə'hu:nə** M, 23M, 60M; **trə'ū:nə** S85; **trə'hu:nə** 12J or 52J;

tr'honə 892M2025, 05S, **tr'hū:nə** 11Cta6;

tər'hu:nə 14M, P;

tru:nhəxi 64Mq also (ii) **trən'nu:nhəxi** 64Mq (plurals).

Some particles vary between **ɑ:** and **a**: *má, ná, nár, nach* (8.16 ff.). One speaker, 17M, who consistently has **mə'**, **mə'** for *má* (also older *ma*) was noted with **ɑ:** ~ **a**: (or **a'**) in the numeral *d(h)á*:

ɣɑ: u:n' d'e:g ... | ən dɑ: [perhaps **dɑ:**] **u:n' d'e:g** 17M

dhá uan déag ..., *an dá uan déag*.

Cp. *dhá ga*, etc., but *tá sé dhá marbhadh tá fe ga: maru* 46.144. Note also *shul dhá* (variant of the temporal conjunction *shula*) **xəl ɑ:** ~ **xəl e**: 18J.

Optionally reduced in *tá* (present form of irregular verb *bí*); *tháinig* (past of irregular *teara*) is rarely **han'ək'**.

> **ɑ:** ~ **æ:** in generally unstressed or weakly stressed position beside palatals in:

Baile Átha > *Bleá* **bl'ɑ:** ~ **bl'æ:** used in place-names;

meadhán oidhche > *meán oíche* heard by me as 'm'ā:n 'i:hə only, but **m'ā:nī:h'ě** 46.909;

breaghdha generally **br'ɑ:** (e.g. **b'r'ɑ:** 46.168, **b'ra:** 46.185), but *tá drad breaghdha fiacra aici* **ta: drad b'ra: 'f'ia:kl ek'ě**, 46.437.

Cp. *Lá Fhéil Pádraig* **la: 'pa:rik'**, 46.804.

Cp. *-ía* > **-əjæ** in *Máirtá* **ma:r'əjæ** S (hybrid with Latin 'Maria' and Irish *Máire* (< Anglo-Norman 'Mari(e)')), also **ma:r'i:ə** 04B; in minor toponyms, from another speaker, *Cnocán Mháiría* **kru:kən wa:r'i:ə** 21Jc, *Garrdha Mháiría* **ga:ri: wa:r'i:ə** 21Jc.

Cp. the nonpalatal environment in *Cnocán na Ma* [< *Mná*] *Mairbhe* **kru:kən nə ma ma:r'əv'ə** 20M.

1.12 Dialectology; Coalescence

The **æ:** realisations of *á* correspond to a much more extensive **ɑ:** ~ **æ:** allophony in other dialects, with **æ:** occurring in specific palatal contexts. This allophony has been largely lost in Conamara where **æ:** now often represents short /a/. In some older speakers' usage, however, **æ:(i)** for *á* is found. In 892M's speech in unstressed palatal position sometimes:

bád Sheáin Antaine ... púcán Sheáin Antaine

bə:d k'æn' 'æ:ntən'ə ... pu:kən hjæn' 'æ:ntən'ə 892M1620;

bioráin chnitéala **br'æ:ŋ' 'xrit'ɑ:lə** 892M4793.

The same speaker has one of the furthest forward allophones recorded in stressed position, from lengthened *-eagh-*:

leaghadh **l'a:u'y** 892M1085 (contrast his *leaghadar* **l'ɑ:dər** ARN1102), resembling *leaghte* **l'a:t'ě** 46.719–20.

Similarly, lengthened *-eagh-* in:

aon mheadhachan amháin **en v'æ:xən ə'wɑ:n'** 06M.

Another older speaker was noted with short forms of 2sg subjunctive and conditional *-á* suffix in:

go mbeitheá i ndán ... **gə m'ehæ² | nā'n ...** 896P,

dhá gcoinneothá do dhóthain ... **gə' gīn' ūhæ də ɣo:hən' ...** 896P.

(This suffix is historically short.)

A rare example of **ɑ:** in a nonpalatal environment occurs in *go hálainn* **gə 'ha:lm'** 46.702, if this transcription is correct (a caveat which applies to other tokens of *á* **ɑ:** cited from SID.46, 1.11); it is immediately preceded by *go deas* **gə 'd'ɑ:s**, 46.702.

There is coalescence in *gabháil* **gə:l'** (note the verbal noun **gol'** >> **gol**, a possible contamination of *d(h)ul* and *gabháil*), *gabháltas* **gə:ltəs**, *comháireamh* **kū:r'ə** and related forms, cp. *fiadháin* **f'i:ɑ:n'** generally, but also **f'iən'** 36S, 66N, note *liaghán* **l'i:ɑ:n**. Cp. *ruálach* FGB with our dialect *rúilleach* and *ruilleach*.

1.13 Nasalised raising

Nasalised *á* is sometimes raised slightly to *ǣ̃*, sometimes more noticeably to a low mid back vowel *ɔ̃*, which can be denasalised to *ɔ*, through loss of phonemic nasalisation, e.g. *tháinig sé hǣ̃:n'əg' fe' 894Cs*; *mháthair wɔ̃:hər' 894C* but more often *mháthair wǣ̃:hǣ̃r' 894C*; *áit q̃:t' 21J*. In SID.46 raised *q̃*: *ǣ̃* are lesser variants of *ɑ̃*: *ǣ̃* in nasal contexts, e.g.

most often preceding *n*: *ann q̃:n 791, 814*, s.v. *cinéal*, *q̃(:)n [x5]* Text IV, *liamhán mór l'i:ɣq̃:n mo:r 1167*, *crántacháí kr̥q̃:ntəxi 110*, *mo nigheachán m̥q̃ 'n'i:ɔ̃q̃:n 447*, *lán l̥q̃:n 544, 1050*, *slán sl̥q̃:n 928*, *ann q̃:n 1052*, *lucharpán l'ip' rəxq̃:n* s.v. *gréasuidhe*;
rarely in independent nasalisation: *áit q̃:t' 817*.

The *q̃*: variant is also found in SID.46 in the apparently non-nasal context of preceding labial continuants *f*, *bh* in *fágáí ... bháithfeadh sé fq̃:gr̥ ... ɣq̃:həd fè 46.1061* (where *q̃*: may indicate slight rounding in this environment).

1.14 *ao, aoi*

ao, aoi generally = *i*:, e.g. *laogh, aonach, maor, caoin, casaoid*.

> *i*: also regularly /_CV/:, e.g. *caorán ki:r̥a:n, maothán mi:h̥a:n, taobhán ti:w̥a:n, taoscán ti:sk̥a:n*, etc.

> *ai* /_CV/: exceptionally (where V: = *ɑ̃*:, *i*:) in:

slaodán slaid̥a:n, faoileán fail'̥a:n (contrast *faoile fi:l'̥ə, faoileann fi:l'̥ən*), *caoicdhíos kaik'i:f* (earlier *cóicthighes*). Cp. *ai* in *claonamharc 'klain,əfrək SM, klöian əfərk* (or *klē:ən əfərk*) 46.427; cf. (pretonic) vowels before *á, ó*, etc., (1.4 ff.). The place-name now known, and spelt, as *Coill Sáile kail' səl'ə* (and understood as referring to a small wood above the lagoon (34M)) was pronounced as *kr̥l səl'ə* by 896P indicating a topographically more fitting *Caol Sáile* describing the distinctive narrow sea-inlet here. In *Caol Sáile* the vowel *ao* is in secondary-stress position and might therefore yield *ai*. For possibly similar *Craobh Chaorthainn* > *Coill i*: ~ *ai* *C(h)aorthainn*, see 10.4.

> *e*: /_CV/: (where V: = *ɑ̃*:) in:

craobhán kre:v̥a:n 875PCAR (phonetics according to the note '*ao* as *ao* in Munster').

ai ~ *i*:

caoineas (FGB) is in our dialect *caointeanas ki:nt̥ənəs*, but also *kaint̥ənəs* (s.v. *cainteanas* FFG); also, with *n* > *l*, *ki:l't̥-* in *caoilteanas* with adjective *caoilteanach* CAR, perhaps influenced by *toilteanas, toilteanach* (cp. *caoithiúil*).

e:

Both *Gaedhal ge:l* (and derivations) and *lae le:* have complex histories (as does *caoicdhíos* above). Also the phytonym *subh craobh* transcribed as *sú-craéú 869P5* indicating *su: kre:w* (i.e. FGB *sú²*). Also *barra-bhaois, barra-b(h)aoiseach* Dinn, *barrbhaoiseach* FGB > *barrabéis(each)* CAR.

e: ~ *ai*

Caodhna ke:nə generally, *Paoraigh pe:rə* generally, but *kainə 21J* (only), *pairə 21J* (only, contrast *21J*'s son who has *pe:rə*). Cp. *traghnach, traonach* (1.15).

i: and e:

aon i:n when a cardinal number and playing card ‘ace’, otherwise e:n, as indefinite adjective also an, ən, ʌn, etc., (cf. DIL for early *én* spellings); ordinal *aonmhadh* e:nu: ~ i:nu:; e: also in *in éineacht* ~ *in éanacht* < *in aoinfheacht*, *in éindí* < *in aoindeigh* (or perhaps *in aointigh*).

baoghal > bi:l, but as an interjection be:l 892M.

In unstressed position in the apparent compound of *gall* + *aol*:- *gallaoireach* ga:lir’əx 894Cs, gali:r’əx SM, 43M, gale:r’əx M, 29P, note the intermediate unstressed vowel in ga:lir’əx 46.71, cp. e: ~ æ *duiséinne* (1.17); iə ~ e:(ə) ~ a in noun plurals (e.g. 4.125).

Cp. *fo-rír* DIL *faraor* FGB fa:re:r SM, P, farir 11C.

u

Aonghus *uni:s, when reconstructed from *suni*: *saləm glas* < *agus Aonghus arm glas* in the charm *An Mharthainn Phádraig*. (Corresponding to uni:s in IEM §362(ii), *Unaos* BBeo.18, *Naos* attested in the seventeenth century (T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6b: 89); *ao* also reduced in Scottish Gaelic *Aonghas*, e.g. SGDS q 50.)

1.15 Other developments

aoi IGT (plural) i:wə;

baoi (*buidhe*) FGB > buəi plural buən(t)i:;

baote (*baidhte*) FGB > *baote* (1.16) and derivatives;

EModIr *aoi* ~ *ái*: *faoillte* (sic) *an gháire* !894C9 ‘smile’ = *faoilte* vs. *fáilte* ‘welcome’;

glaoigh gli:, but analogous glu (past ylu, vadj glut’ə) in 52P’s use (from her mother, a native of An Cheathrú Rua);

staonaid, *stánaid* DIL, stə:nə SM, ~ stə:nə M (not used by Sq), as (verbal) noun only Mq;

tragna (*traona*) DIL, *traonach* (*traghnach*) FGB, trainəx S, *traghnach* FFG, tre:nəx SM;

smólach *smolach* DIL > *smol* FFG, smoləx; diminutive *smóilín* ! CABI §125(a) v. 2, (b) v. 3.

sraed(ach), *sreod* DIL > fri: (cf. 5.223).

1.16 *baote, baidhte* < English ‘bait’

The Irish word for ‘bait’ is *baote* bi:t’ə ~ *baidhte* bai:t’ə FGB, ~ *beidhte* ~ *báite* (Tory) Dinn. The dialectal variation of *baote* ~ *baidhte* is mentioned by Wagner (GT §545.28) where *baote* is taken as an instance of a type of ‘Connachtism’ in Teileann. The distribution is further evidenced in SID q 1120 which yields *baidhte* as the general form in Ireland. The form *baote* has a fairly unusual distribution with a sharp division west of Galway city and through Galway Bay; interesting for a fishing term. *baote* is confined to Conamara and neighbouring South-West Mayo, exclusively, and more sporadically attested further north as well as in Kerry (Dún Chaoin, GCD s.v. *buíte*). In detail, *baote* is found in points 20, 39, (40), 42–52, 56, (56 *baidhte* also), in Teileann (GT) and in the south Donegal points 80, 85, –86a. In the Connacht monographs only *baote* is found in Iorras, West Mayo (IEM), the lexeme is not instanced for Tuar Mhic Éadaigh in ITM. The attestation of *baidhte* in Innis Oírr, point 41, corresponds to LFRM’s

note that this is the pronunciation in Oileáin Árann, although in SID Innis Meáin, point 42, returns *baote*. According to LFRM, *baidhte* is also the Galway city form. (There are no returns from inland points: 26–36, 60–63, nor from point 40 (Cois Fharraige, for which *baote* is instanced in FFG), nor from point 87.) Interestingly, another fishing term, ‘fishing nets’ (SID Map 273), shows Árainn,¹ points 41 and 42, agreeing with the East Galway (and perhaps Galway city) and Munster term *líonta* against the term *eangachaí* found in Conamara and the rest of Ireland (point 39 and north).

1.17 *é, éi, éa*

é, éi, éa generally = *e*; e.g. *Dé, cléir, féith, béal, méar*.

é

> *e*, *e*, sometimes *ə*, in particles and other generally unstressed words: *lé, mé, é, sé, dé*. Cp. *b'fhéidir b'ed'ar'* 46.930.

clé ~ *clí* IGT:

clé kl'e: S, 11C, *ar chlé* S, genitive *i mbróig na coise clé* 11C, also *cléithe* 04B;

clí kl'i: SM, *taobh na láimhe clí, an chluais chlí* M, *an láimh chlí* S.

Note *an tsúil chlí an tuil' xl'i*: 04B1 but *ar thaobh na láimhe cléithe er' hi:v nə lā:v ə kl'e:hə* (Smré)04B.

éi

e: ~ *e* in *cléithín* >> *cleithín* S, *cléithín* M (perhaps influenced by *cleith*, or vowel shortened before *th*, or both). The imperative *éist*, regularly *e:st'*, has an obsolescent by-form *est'* which functions similar to an interjection in the meaning ‘be silent’, e.g. *-Eist, eist, ars' an fear* 864MDT64, *Éist a stór est'* *ə stór* 21Jq (addressing child), also *Éist go fóill est' gə fə:l' 21Jq*.

ai in the verb *éirigh air'ə*.

e: ~ *e* << *ai* in the verb *téigh* > *teighre t'air'ə*.

e: ~ *ai* in loanwords: *céiltheo k'e:l'ho*: M, FFG, *k'ail'ho*: FFG, ‘train’-*áil tren'əl'* >> *train'əl'*; *péire* generally *p'e:r'ə*, but cp. *peidhre / péidhre* !894C and prose [x3] alternating with *péire* [x1] in !894C9. The indefinite adjective spelt *pé ar bith* has diphthongised by-forms (noted from one speaker): *p'ei b'i* 46.706, *p'aib'i*: and *f'aib'i*: 869Pt.

i in the verb *léig* via by-form *leig l'ig'*.

In unstressed position:

e: ~ *e* ~ *i* / *ə*; generally *e*: ~ *e* in *coiscéim* > *coisméig kɪf'm'eg' kɪf'm'e:g'*, note *e*:, *e'*, *ɛ* from the same speaker, 04B: ... *xɪf'm'e:g'* (Sdás), plural *kɪf'm'e:g'əxi* (Smré), *kɪf'm'eg'əxi* (Smds). Speaker 60Mq has plural *kɔf'm'ig'əxi* which may be interpreted phonemically as /kɔf'm'əg'əxi/.

¹ I use Árainn, throughout this work, as it is used in Iorras Aithneach, to refer to the three Aran Islands; these are referred to separately as An tOileán Mór (Inishmore), Innis Meáin (Inishmaan), Innis Oírr (Inisheer); which are also referred to collectively in Iorras Aithneach in the more specific plural as Na hÁrainneachaí. There is also, however, a nonspecific usage in Iorras Aithneach of Árainn for An tOileán Mór.

e: ~ æ (also ə in young speaker 66N) in the borrowing *duiséinne* **dife:nə** **difæ(ə)nə**, cp. **dife:nə** 46.40, also **dife:n** 21Pt.

e: ~ ə in the variants of *foirnéis* **fə:n'e:f** **fə:nəf** S.

e ~ ə in *aimhréidh* **æ:v'r'è** M, **æ:v'r'e** 26P, **ā:v'r'è** 46 s.v., **æ:v'r'ə** 21Pt, but *aimhréidhteach* **æ:v'r'e:t'əx**.

ə in *leithéid* **l'ehəd'ə**; also *fíréan* in *Sé Íosa an fíréan f'ir'ən* !(Aif)05M.

péitse and *peáitse* ICF, **p'ə:fə** only noted; *séirse* var. *seáirse* FGB has **ʃə:rʃə**. For *féil* **f'e:l**, **e:l**, **ol'ə**, **əl'**, **l'**, **fl'e** in phrases such as *Lá Fhéil* ... , see 3.47, cf. IEM §289. For *éigin* **ə'k'in**, etc., see 1.382.

1.18 éa

-éal > -eál, e.g. *cinéal* **k'ina:l**, *Mícheál* **m'i/i/eha:l**, gen/voc *Mhíchíl* **v'eha:l** **v'ihil'** **v'ihil'**; *muinéal* generally **min'ə:l** >> **muna:l**, but **min'e:l** for a minority of speakers, e.g. 12J, genitive *muiníl* **min'il'**; retained in *cuigéal* **kig'e:l** (*coigéal* FGB), and in borrowings, e.g. *buidéal* **bid'e:l**, *cainéal*¹ (*cainneál*) FGB **kin'e:l** 889P.

-éan > -eán, e.g. *caisléan* **kisl'a:n**, *cuiléan* **kil'a:n**, inflected as -eáin, e.g. *oileáin* **il'a:n**. So also *taisbéanadh* **tu/ispə:nə** and related forms. Also *faoiléan* **fai'l'a:n**, with regular plural **fai'l'a:n**, but rarely **fai'l'e:n**.

-éad generally retained, e.g. *fíréad* **f'ir'e:d**, *Maighréad* **mir'e:d**, *sciléad* **ʃk'il'e:d**;

> -ad in *coimhead* **kim'ad**, *do choimeád bheatha* **də xim'ad v'əhə** 894C (in transcription *do choimeád beatha* 894C2), also *an coimeád gumad beatha* 11C, *do choimeán beatha* 852Sb6.66, and *do chomán beatha*.

EModIr *mochéirghe* ~ *mochóirghe* > *mochóireacht* (abstract), *mochóirí* (agent) (for 21Ptq the agent noun is *mochóire*, plural *mochóirí*).

e:, iə, i:

e: ~ iə in:

a-déara **d'e:rhə** >> **d'iarhə**;

féach (i) **f'e:x** ~ (ii) **f'iax**:

- (i) **f'e:x** M, *d'fhéachfá le dhul d'e:xə: l'e yol'* 889P, *cé air a bhféachfaidh mé faobhar mo chlainne?* **k'e er' ə v'e:xə m'e fi:vər mə xlāv'ə** 11C; *ag féachaint do chleas agus do lúd ə f'e:xənt də xl'æ's əgəs ...* (Lam)-04B, *cé bhféachfaidh mé ... k'e v'e:xə m'e ...* (Smbb)04B, *d'fhéach sé soir agus d'fhéach sé siar ... d'e:x ʃe ser' əgəs d'e:x ʃe ʃiər ...* (Smré)-04B; in the verbal adjective in the meaning 'tired' only **f'e:xtə** was noted, e.g. 881J, 42C; in compound *claonfhéachaint* **'kli:n,e:xənt'** 43Mp;

- (ii) **f'iax** M, **f'iax** 46.415 'try', *go bhféacha Dia ormsa gə v'iaxə d'i: orəmsə* 43M, cf. 'Verbs' (5.310), *féachaint an* 'Funcutors' (8.137);

tréith plural *tréithre* **tr'iarhi:** (in proverb) S87 ~ **tr'e:rhə/i:**; the adjective *tréitheach* varies in a local song: **tr'è:həx tr'i:həx tr'e:hərəx** !894C.

iə in *féata* **f'iatə** M. Note also *déan* has i: generally, but often also i/u and sometimes e: and phonetically similar to iə (5.267). Cf. *é* > iə/i: *l_án/óg*, etc., (1.9). Note also future stem of *faigh*, *ghéabh-*, has e/o rarely **au**; -ae in *aturnae* **ataurne:** (with initial stress) has a by-form with agent suffix -i, e.g. *aturnai* 894C2; *réad* (FGB *rud*) **ru/id**. For *eo(i)*, see *ó* below (1.20 ff.).

1.19 í, ío

í, ío generally = *i*; e.g. *mí, tír, an fíon sin an fíon' fín' M*. For *iú(i)*, see *ú* (1.22).

í (before h)

i: *i* *e* (also nasalised *ĩ*: *ĩ ě*) in *Mícheál m'í:/i/ehə:l M*, e.g. *Mícheál Mharcais m'í:hə:l wārkəʃ 11C*.

e o i i: in *d(h)ícheall d'e/ohəl* generally, including *dhícheall jehəl 12J*, but *a dhícheall ə ji:həl 12J*, *do dhícheall də jihəl 04B*.

íó

íó > *ia* / *_x, l* generally:

cíoch k'íəx, críoch kr'íəx, íochtar iəxtər, síothcháin fíəxə:n; coimhthíoch kōhiəx 14M, kohiəx 889P, FFG, kūhīāx 18J (kōhi:x S89); cp. ríogh dhacht > ríocht riəxt;

díol d'íəl, míol m'íəl, síol fíəl; cp. mífholláin miələ:n'.

íó > *ia* / *_r* in some words:

fíor f'íər; míor m'íər S; míoránach m'íəra:nəx M; míorúlte(ach) m'íəru:lt' (ə) M, m'íəru:lt' əx St; tíoránach t'íəra:nəx SM, tiaránach FFG; tíoránta t'íəra:ntə.

i: ~ *ia* in other words:

cíor k'íər >> k'í:r, e.g. mara gíorfainn, marə 'g'í:rhín' 46.378, ag cíoradh k'í:ru: a cinn le cíor k'í:r óir 11Ctn; stíoróip ft'í:rho:p' S, ft'íərho:b' M. Cp. airtheann í:rhan 27Mdq (FGB aorthann), also noted as íərhan S, 49J.

íó > *ia* / *_n* with lost intervocalic fricative in unstressed position in *bainríoghan bə:nriən*.

Note also *gíoscadh g'í:skə* but *gíoscán g'íəskə:n; spíodóir, spíaire (spíadóir) FGB sp'íədo:r'.*

dí- generally *d'í:*, e.g. *díchuma 'd'í:xumə*; but *ia* in *dí-thrá*, e.g. *dia-thrá 894C2, d'íərha: 35E, ar dhí-thrá er' jíərha: S, er' jíərha: 35E, ina dhí-thrá nə 'jíərha:, 46.1051, nə jərha: 46.1054–5*, perhaps influenced by *diaidh* or *iar* or both; *díoghbháil d'íəwə:l'*; *i*: and *ia* in *díchúis d'í:xu:f M, d'íəxu:f M, 21J, FFG19, 20*.

Other developments

e: in *síothlaigh fe:lha, síothlán fe:lhan M*.

i: *i* in *dhá spíonadh ga: sp'í:nə M, ga: sp'ínə 23C*, Mperm, influenced by *spíonnadh* (23C has a tendency to use by-forms with the shorter vocalism).

dínn d'í:n', also *jín' 64M* (only) by analogy with *linn* and *dúinn du:n'*, *dín'* and perhaps through reduction in weakly stressed position.

Note also *dínnér (dínér v.l.) IGT, dinnéar FGB: d'í:n' e:r; síbhialta* (examples in *si-*) *DIL, síbhialta FGB, síbhialta ~ sí-* *Dinn > fí:v'eltə; grís gr'í:f SM, gréis FFG; cp. cíléar k'í:l'e:r, cúiléar ku:l'e:r M; in hiatus -íá > -əjə in Máiría mar'əjə S, mar'í:ə 04B, also Máiría, e.g. Cnocán Mháiría krukə:n wə:r'í:ə 21Jc*. Apparent shortening in unstressed position in *-í:r' > -ər'*, in the young speaker's *cathaoir kahər' 66N* (perhaps influenced by *cathair*).

1.20 **ó, ói, eo**

ó, ói, eo generally = **oi**, e.g. *bó, cóir, póg, fód, beo, feoil*.

Early Modern Irish **ó ~ ua**

oi: **ua** correspond to EModIr *ó ~ ua*, in words in initial *f*- (cp. *for*- 1.38):

fógair = **fó:gar'**, etc., in reply to query is claimed as genuine dialect by Mq,

Sq, it was recorded in rapid speech from speaker **32J**;

fuagair = **fuəgar'**, etc., is most common, e.g. *dhá bhfuagróthá ga wuəgrahə* **20Cq**.

fóbraim, past *d'fhóbair*, > adverb **ho:bər'** >> **hobər'**.

ua in: *fóifíneach* FGB, **fuəf'i:nhəx** S;

fóir > **fuər'** (MP)**04B**, but **fó:r'** (MP)**894Cs**; *go bhfuair Dia orainn ga*

wuər'ə d'i: orəN' M, also often reduced to **ga wer'ə ...**, **ga wir'ə ...**,

verbal noun generally **fó:r'hi:n't'**, e.g. *fóirthínt* **894C3**, but also **fuər'i:n't'** **04B3s**, **fó:r'hənt'**.

ó ~ á

oi: generally in *tóir* **to:r'**, but EModIr by-form *táir* occurs in a folk tale: *Chuir sí gadhar le mo sháil agus gadhar in mo tháir ... Chuir sí gadhar in mo tháir aríst agus gadhar in mo sháil* **852SbTS153**.

oi: **ai** in *róibéis* FGB, Dinn with variant *ráibéis* Dinn (Connacht), **rib'ə ra:b'e:f** S, **rib'ə ra:b'ef** **60M**, but **rib'ə ro:b'e:f** **896P**, M, seems to be the commonest vocalism (< Latin 'rabies', cp. *raibeis* DIL).

Cf. unstressed *onóir* ~ *onáir* (1.21). The dialect has *paráiste* **pura:ft'ə** (and not the by-form *paróiste*).

ai in **daii**, perhaps from *dáigh* a by-form of *dóigh* IGT.

i: in *smól*, cf. *smaol* FFG, but *Gleann an Smóil* **gl'a:n ə smo:l'** **04B**, also *smólach* **smo:ləx**.

ui: in *leoiste* FGB **l'u:ft'ə** S.

oi: **ui** in borrowing *ócáid(e)* **oi:/u:/uəka:d'(ə)**; **oi**- SM, **35E**, **60M**, **ua**- **26P**, **52J**. Cp. *úsáid(e)* (1.22).

oi: **ui** in *treoraigh* generally **oi** but *dhá threoraghadh ga hr'u:rhə* **06C**; *éitreorach* from base *treoir*, with copying of *l* (< *r*) in **e:l't'ʰoi:rəx** **869P**, also **e:tr'u:rəx** **21Ptq**; place-name *Ceánn Gólaim* (in note in RBÉ material, perhaps from **894C**'s pronunciation), **k'a:ŋ go:ləm'** **35E**, *Ceann Gúlam* **894C9**, *Ceann Gúlaím* **k'ā:ŋ gu:ləm'** **889P**, **11C**.

oi in *tórmach* **to:rəməx**.

u in *'Á! Mura dhuit a: murə ɣit'*, 'a dúirt an spéirbhean (Asd)**899N** perhaps from *Mór dhuit* (~ *Móra* Dinn, *Mora dhuit* BBeo.2). Similarly, *Mura na mainne dhuit*, a *ógmhnaoi chíúin* ! CABI §139(b) v. 1, from the same speaker (in a phonetically less accurate transcription) *Mór na maidhne* [i.e. *mainne* < *maidne*] *dhuit*, a *ainnir ar dtús* ! (a) v. 1; also *Murre na maidin dhuit* ! (d) v. 1.

Following the diphthong **ua**, *ó* may coalesce with **ua** or be elided, yielding **u:oi** or **uə**, in:

cruadhó(i)g **kru:oi:g** often, but **kruəg'** **35E7603**, *cruadhógach* **kru:oi:gəx** **kruəgəx**, note **kruəgəx** **01J**, **kruəgəx** >> **kru:oi:gəx** **14M**;

ruadhó(i)g ruəg' ruəg (mostly), also *ru:ə:g* 872P, (plural) *ru:ə:gi* 894Cs;
fuaigheog fu:ə:g (only) M.

In inflected future forms of *cruaigh* *u:ə* is regular: *a chruaós ə xru:ə:s* 20MI.

The preposition *ó* and *Ó* in surnames = *o:* >> *ɑ:* ~ *ɑ*; *ós* (preposition) > *as*, but cp. *ós íseal* > *i gcós ísle* !894C9. In the place-name *Carraig Ó Loinscigh* the *ɑ:* pronunciation may be lexicalised in *kə'rəg' ɑ' lɪnʃk'ə* 11C, from a speaker who has regular *o:* in surnames; unless the place-name actually contains *á*, perhaps < *Carraig dhá Ghlinisce*, cp. *Carraig Á Mhiú*. Cf. 'Prepositions' *ó* (7.67). Sometimes *ná* is used for *nó*, otherwise *nó* is generally realised as *nu:* (8.170 ff.). For future stem vowel *-ó-* *o:* ~ *ɑ:* of the 2 Conjugation, see 'Verbs' (5.30). For shortening before intervocalic *h*, see 1.125 ff.

1.21 *ó, ói, eo* (and lengthened *o*) beside nasals

> *ū:* and *u:* /*Ń* (i.e. in nasal environment):

bonn bu:n, bóna bu:nə, cróinéara kru:n'ə:rə, Eoin Baistí u:m ba:ʃt'i:, fonn fu:n, leon l' u:n (verb); *Mac Sheoinín k' u:n' i:n', mó mū:, móin mu:n', Nóra nu:rə, rómhairt rū:vərt', Seonac fu:nək S, srón sru:n, stróinse stru:nʃə S, tónáiste tu:nə:ʃt'ə*; cp. *deoin* in *ar dheoin ná ar éigin er' u:n na er' e:g'ən* 03V;

unstressed: *aindeoin in' u:n', inneoin in' u:n'.*

Variation of *o:* ~ *ō:* ~ *ū:* ~ *u:* occurs in the following (including some lexemes with lengthened *o*):

inflections of *bró* genitive *bru:n*, plural *bru:n't'ə* but also *bro:t'ě* (*brō:n't'ě*)

46.680 ~ *brúinte* 869P4, also *bru:n' ~ bro:n't'ə* 893P;

brón bro:n often, but also *brū:n* (e.g. 869P, 11C), *bru:n*;

comhnaidhe, i gcomhnaidhe ə gō:n'i 1278, *ə gū:n'i* 1320, -6, 1114

892MARN; *ə gō:n'i* regularly 894C, also 892Mg, 18J;

dar ndóigh 'a'r' 'no: 04Bt, generally *a(r)nu: arnū:* also *'a(r) 'nū:*;

cornasc, croimeasc, krim'æsk, kru:m'æsk M, *xru:n'a:sk* 46.532,

kro:m'æsk 01P,¹ *cróimeasc* FFG s.v. *crúimeasc*, cp. *kro:m'ask* given in point 37 (Carn Mór) as a Conamara word (Vocab *cróimeasc*);

Domhnach dō:nəx 36P, 49J << *du:nəx*;

Domhnall, dhe Chloinn Domhna(i)ll gə xlu nō:nəl 26Pc, *Pádraig Ó*

Domhnaill pə:rək' o: dū:nəl' ~ dō:nəl' 892M; *Domhnall du:nəl* and a

Dhomhnaill ə yu:nəl' occur most commonly;

Eoghan, o: only in the Christian name: *Eoghan Ó Cadhain ō:n o: kaiin' |*

11C; *tigh Pheaitín Eoghain t'i: f'æʃi:n' o:n' S*; *Aill Eoghain a:l' o:n'*

896P, *Carraig Fhada mhic Eoghain karəg' 'ædə v'i 'k'o:n' 11Cst*;

Bealach Mhíchíl mhic Eoghain b'æ:ləx v'ihi:l' ə k'o:n' 892M place

named after *Mícheál mhac Eoghain m'ix'ā:l ək 'o:n' 892M* (*mac* 'son

of' (actual surname was *'ac Con RAOI*, cp. DT86, SÓC1.81)); both *o:* and

u: in the place-name *Tír Eoghain* > *Tír Úin* !894C9, *t'ir' o:n' 24Nt*;

ar foghnamh er' fō:nə 16B, << *er' fu:nə*;

¹ This was given by the speaker as a gloss for initial *buaírchín buər'hin'*: *buaírchín ... tugann cuid acub cróimeasc air, ach buaírchín is ... cinnte liúinne a thabhairt i gcónaí air, an taobh seo, dhen tír.* 01Pt.

foghmar fə:w/vər S, P, 23M, *ag baint an fhómhair* ə ba:nʲ ən o:(wə)rʲ S, ən ɔ:wəɪ̯rʲ 899P, in proverb *ní hiad na fir mhóra a bhaineann an fómhar uilig* nʲi hiəd nə fʲirʲ wə:rə wanʲəs ə fə:r ə'l'igʲ S, often also fu:wər; also *céadfhómhar* 'kʲe:d,ü:wər S, 'kʲe:d,ɔ:wər 22M;

lón lo:n 06C, lo:n ~ lu:n S;

Moirne (< *Morna*, also in initial *B-*), *bhaist Moirne ort* wæ:ftʲ mo:rʲnʲ ort 04Bl, *Goll mac Moirne* gaul ma:k mu:rʲnʲə 04Bl; *gaol ma:k mo:rʲnʲə* 11C, *gaol ma:k bu:rʲnʲə* 896P;

nós nu:s generally, also in the compound preposition *ar nós*. But also no:s, e.g. *nósannaí* nō:səni:, *ar nós* nō:əs 11C. There are also examples of diphthongisation in *ar nós gach rud* ə nu:əs ga:x rud 11C1521, perhaps through addition of an off-glide (1.376). Also *ardnósach* a:rdno:səx (run)11C;

nóta (*ceoil*) nu:tə (kʲ o:lʲ) !(Asp)04B, *ag obair dho réir nótaí* notʲi Mq;

óinseach o:nfəx S85, << u:nfəx;

cp. *prúmláithe*, perhaps related to *próimhithe* (*próimithe*, *próimhidhe*) CAR; *romhaibh* mostly rŭ:bʲ ru:bʲ but rō:bʲ 892M4469, similarly *romham* rō:m 892M, *rompabh* rō:mpəb 892M, ro:b 46 s.v. *romham* (cp. forms in -ó- in EModIr, for example, 2sg *romhat/d* ~ *ród*);

Rónán, *Teampall Rónáin* tʲāmpəl ɾo:nā:nʲ 11Cst, *Cill Rónáin* kʲil ru:nā:nʲ !(NUath)11C;

tóin, *tóin an chroca* to:nʲ ə xrukə 04Bt, generally tu:nʲ;

tráth nóna trə'hō:nə 892M2023, tɾ'hō:nə 892M2025, tɾ'hū:nə 11Ctn (<< u:).

In unstressed position in (cp. *dar ndóigh* above):

anshód DIL anɔ:, but also anu: 13P;

onórach unɔ:rəx 869P, S, unu:rəx FFG, but *onóir* unɔ:rʲ FFG, also *onáireach* unə:rʲəx M;

pionós pʲino:s P, pʲuno:s Pt, pʲiəno:s 21Pg6807, pʲunu:s 899D6808, -14, pʲinu:s SM, pʲinu:s SM;

tionónta tūnū:ntə ... tūnō:ntə 894Cs, tunu:ntə ... tuno:ntə 18J8097-8, tuno:ntə 27Md.

Cp. examples of *ó* ~ *ô* ~ *ú* from RBÉ:

coróin, *cróinn* airgid 875T1; *chónaí*, *trathnôna*, etc., 875T1; similarly 869PRBÉ (speaker 875T's brother).

Retained as *o:* in:

leomhan (possibly from *leaghmhan*, Ó Maolaláigh: forthcoming) lʲo:n, plural lʲo:nʲ;

leon, e.g. *chomh láidir le leon* xə lə:dʲəɾʲ lʲe lʲo:n P, *leoinín* lʲo:nʲi:nʲ S;

mamó 'ma'mo:;

mór mo:r and its derivatives including *formhór* fo:rəwo:r, but comparative *mó* mu:;

smól (< *spól*) smo:l;

Gleann an Smóil glʲa:n ə smo:lʲ (Lam)04Bl; *smólach* smo:ləx;

Also retained in the endings -óg, -óid, -óir and their inflections, e.g. *fuinneog* fi:nʲo:g; *glamhóid* glā:vɔ:dʲ M, *sumóid* sumo:dʲ simo:dʲ M, *Tríonóid* tɾʲi:nɔ:dʲ;

onóir uno:r', contrast *o:* ~ *u:* in *onórach* above. Exception: *fonámhad* > *fonóid funo:d'* M, but *fonnúid* 866ESemr148.

Unstressed *ó* > *ɑ:* (~ *o:* ~ *u:*) in nasal environment in (cp. *o:* > *ɑ:* future, 5.30, *u:* > *o:* > *ɑ:* plural, 4.61 ff.):

ómós u:mo:s 21Pt, *u:ma:s* 852S, SM; *tionónta tunu:ntə tuno:ntə tunɑ:ntə*; *searbhónta farəwa:ntə*; cp. EModIr *onóir onáir* (also with initial *a-*) > *una:r'* ~ *uno:r'* M; *comórtas kumortəs*, with nasalisation *kũmõ:řtəs* 872P, also *kũmã:rtəs* !10B. Also *anró a:nř ro: a:nř ra: a:n' ř ru:* 77C.

u: ~ *u* in *seomra fu:mrə fumrə* also *fumərə*.

1.22 *ú, úi, iú, iúi*

ú generally = *u:*, e.g. *cú, lúib*.

> *u:* ~ *uə* in the borrowing *úsáid(e)*:

u: *húsáidfi hu:sɑ:d' i:* S (but perhaps *uə*), *úsáid u:sɑ:d'* 43M (daughter of S); *mórán úsáide mo:ra:n u:sɑ:d' ə* 52P.

uə *úsáideach uəsɑ:d' əx* SID.46 s.v.; *m'úsáide féin muəsɑ:d' ə he:n'* 881J; *as, in úsáide æs, ən uəsɑ:d' ə* 05M, 11C; *úsáide uəzɑ:d' ə* [x1] *uəsɑ:d' ə* (often) 01P; *dhá n-úsáid gɑ: nuəsɑ:d'* 20A; *úsáideá uəsɑ:d' ɑ:* 20C; *uəsɑ:d'* 26P.

So also for some speakers in the later equivalent borrowing 'use'-*áil juəsɑ:l'* 20C, generally *ju:sɑ:l'*. The late borrowing in turn seems to have influenced the by-form *uəzɑ:d' ə* 01P (only). A younger speaker has further blending in inflected *a d'úsáil sé ə du:sɑ:l' fe* 81A and verbal noun *uəsɑ:l'* 81A (if not misheard for *a úsáid*). Cp. other borrowings: *ócáid(e)* with initial *o:*, *u:* and *uə*; *buatais* with *uə* and *u:*. Also *scúille* FGB, FFG20, but *scuaille* 866ESc135.36.

u: ~ *uə* in *lúitéis* FGB, FFG20, *lu:t' e:f* M, *luət' e:f* S; *brúcht bru:xt* generally, but *bruəxt* 36Pq. Cp. *úis* and *uais* (14).

> *u* in *lúthgháir lufɑ:r' ə* an old compound (with *ɑ:* in the following syllable); in the borrowings (some of which have short vowels in English):

búcla buklə M, FFG;

cúpla k/xuplə as indefinite adjective, with generally weaker stress than the simple noun *ku:plə* 'twins, couple (of roof-timbers)' (similarly, CGT §§65, 110);

múnla mu:nlə (also *mu:rlə* 01P) and *múnláil mu:nla:l'* generally, but *mūnlə* lenited *wū:nlə*, *mūnlɑ:l'* (all three 892M); cp. *Caladh Fhidhinse kalhə wi:nřə* generally, but *kalhə wi:nřə* 892M, 897P (II.XIII);

siúcra generally *fu:krə*, also *fu:rkrə* 05M, but *fukrə* noted once from 23C (who has a propensity for short vowel variants) in:

An gcaitheann tú siúcra? -gahən tu fu:krə 23C

Ha? -ha BóC

An gcaitheann tú siúcra? -gahən tu fu:krə 23C;

siúnta funtə generally but speaker 60Mq has *funtə* plural *funti:* (60M's father is from East Cois Fharraige where lengthening before *nt* is less common than in IA; this may have effected 60M's ahistorical form).

1.23 Other developments

au in *súgradh saugrə* (1.203); **ai** in *clúimhreach klaivʳəx* through shortening and lowering to **cloimhreach* (or the like, O’Rahilly 1942: 131, cp. *suaímhneach* > *suimhneach*), followed by diphthongisation before *-mhr-* (1.82); cp. *tórmach* > *tormach*. In *dúinn du:nʳ*, also **di:nʳ** by analogy with *linn* (which by analogy with *dúinn*, etc., is also *liúinn*) and perhaps through reduction in weakly stressed position. Vowels *úa* are generally retained, e.g. *túdille tu:ɑ:lʳə*, but reduced to **uə** in the speech of some speakers born since the 1940s: *tuə:lʳə* 43M, 45B, cp. further reductions, e.g. *láiḡhe* > *lái* (traditionally *la:i*) > *lai* for some speakers born even later (66N, 78C; 1.391). For *cnó*, *cnú*, see 1.3.

1.24 *ia, iai*

ia, iai generally = **iə**, e.g. *criach, diaidh, fiadh, liath*.

> **i:** /**ɨ** (i.e. in nasal environment) in some words:

fiadhnaise fʲi:nʳəʃi:, *Ó Niadh o:nʳi:*, *scian fʲkʲi:n* (including *sciaínín fʲkʲi:nʳi:nʳ*), *siamsa fʲi:msə*, *sian fʲi:n*.

iə ~ **i:** in: *liamhán lʲiəvɑ:n* S, *lʲiəmɑ:n* SM, 21Jq, *lʲi:mɑ:n* 892M, 06C, *liamhán mór lʲi:ɣɑ:n mɔ:r* 46.1167; *móisiam mu:fʲiəm mu:fʲi:m* (*mu:fʲi:mʳ* (?)); *sirriam* > *siorriam fʲoriəm* generally, but *fʲori:m* 892M3700; *srian fʲri:n* S, *fʲriən* 11Ct.

iə retained before *n* in:

cianta kʲiəntə, *grian grʲiən*, *pian pʲiən*, *rian riən* !(Aár)04B.

Three words, *Brian*, *mian*, and *trian*, retain **iə** in general but have **i:** in set phrases, mostly in palatal environments.

Brian brʲiən, vocative *a Bhriain ə vrʲiənʳ*, genitive *Bhriain vrʲiənʳ* also *Ó Briain o: brʲiənʳ*, *Uí Briain i: vrʲiənʳ*; but *mac Bhriain Uí Laidhe mā:k vʲi:nʳ i: lai* 11C (e.g. ARN3031, –36), *bád Bhriain Uí Laidhe bɑ:d vʲi:nʳ i: lai* 11C3045 (note stressed position); *Máirtín Bhriain mɑ:rʲi:nʳ vrʲi:nʳ* 18B and, of the same *Brian*’s cat, i.e. *cat Bhriain kut vʲi:nʳ* (*Uí Dhubháin*) 35E.

mian mʲiən M, but in phrases *ní mian dom ... nʲi: mʲi:n dəm ...* (Msc)03V; *mar ba mhian leis mar bə vʲi:nʳ ʲeʃ* 897S, (*is*) *mian le mʲi:nʳ ʲe* M.

trian trʲiən ~ *trʲi:n* ~ *trʲi:n*, e.g. *beidh trian agam bʲei trʲi:n a:m* 889Ptn, *dhá dtrian dhen obair í a thosaí ɣɑ: drʲi:n ...* S (proverb), *trian dhe tʲinín trʲi:ŋ gə tʲinʲi:nʳ* 11C and *trí thrían salachar trʲi: hrʲi:nʳ sa:ləxər* 11Ct. The proverb was also heard as *dhá thrían dhen obair ...*. Plural *na trí trianaí nə trʲi: trʲi:nʲi:* 11C. In the phrase also *trian le trʲi:nʳ ʲe* (frequent in runs) also *trʲi:nʳ ʲe* 11C and *chuaidh dhá thrían síos tríom xuə ɣɑ: hrʲi:nʳ fʲi:f trʲi:m* !S. In *dhá dtrian seoil agus trian seoil ɣɑ: drʲi:nʳ ʲo:lʳ oḡəʃ trʲi:nʳ ʲo:lʳ* (run)05Md. So also in 04B’s usage where, apparently, the frequent phrase *dhá dtrian* has been reanalysed yielding a base form **drʲiən* (given his lenited *dhá thrían acabh ɣɑ: ɣrʲiən akəb* 04B1), but again *trian le* > *dʲi:nʳ ʲe* 04B, and extended to other positions, in the run *trian le scéalaíocht, trian le fiannaíocht, trian ag*

caitheamh bídh agus dighe d'ín l'e f'k'eliox | d'ín l'e f'ioniox | d'ín ə kahə b'i: ogəs d'i: (Smbb)04B. Speaker 869P has a base *tr'ín* which is realised as *tr'ín tr'ín hl'ín dr'ín* in context in the following two runs (the initial consonant of the token transcribed as *dr'ín*¹ is unclear):

*chaitheadar an oíche sin trian le scéalaíocht, trian le fiannaíocht, trian le caitheamh togha bídh agus dighe agus trian le síorchodladh na hoíche ... thug sé trí trian seoil, trí thríán siúil, bíodh sí trí th-, dtríán faoin toinn faoin trian a mbíodh sí as a chionn*¹

xahədər ən i:hə f'ín | t'ʳ'ín l'e f'ioniox | tr'ín l'e f'k'eliox | tr'ín l'e ka'hə tau b'i:ə | ugəf d'i:ə | ugəs tr'ín | l'e f'jər'xolə | nə hĩhĩ ... hug fe t'ʳ'i: hl'ín fə:l | t'ʳ'i: hl'ín fʊ:l | b'i:ɔ f'i ... tr'i: h'ə | dr'ín | f'ín t'ín | f'ín tr'ín | ə m'ĩɔ f'i: əs ə x'ĩ:n |

So also *fiannaíocht f'ioniox*, *Fianna f'ionə* generally also in *leagha na bhFiann* *l'ɑ: nə v'ion* but (alveolarised before s):

leagha na bhFiann is ní bhainfeadh dhe mé
l'ɑ: nə v'ín s N'ĩ wæn'həx je m'e | 11Ctn.

1.25 -iath-

iə ~ i: (~ i ~ (e)) /_h in:

criathar k'ʳ'i:hər 'sieve' 46.671, 894Cst, S85, *kr'iahər* 'bog' S85, also *Criathar na Mónóg kr'i:hər nə mu:nə:g* S85, contrast *criathrach kr'iarhəx*;
sciath, plural *sciatha f'k'i:hə* (Smbb, run)04B;
sciathán f'k'ihən.

The place-name, which may be the reflex of *Dumhaigh Iathair* (< *iarthar*) or *Dumhaigh (Uí) Eithir*, from earlier hypothetical **du:əj iəhər* or **du:əj (i:) ehər* has developed the following by-forms:

Dúí Íthir !894C9 ⇒ **du:i: i'hər*, *i nDumhaigh Íthir ə nu:i i'ehər* also *ə nu: i'ehər* 11C, *Dúmha Íhir* 894C9 ⇒ **du:ə i'hər*, *du:ə jehər* 892M1181, *duə jehər* 892M1523, *du: ji:hər* 04Br, 15W, 46S.

As well as shortening before *h*, the by-form in *jehər* may be an example of *jiə > je* as seen in *nə 'je f'ín ina dhiaidh / dhéidh sin* ITM §155 for Tuar Mhic Éadaigh, *ina dhiaidh sin > 'na fheisin*, *ina dhiaidh > 'na dhé*, (de Bhaldraithe 1977: 269 §10, 270 §12) for Mionlach, *ina dhiaidh sin nə j'e:ə f'int* for Baile an Phoill (An Caisleán Gearr). For the variation in initial *j*, compare the variants of the adverb *mar dhóigh dhe* *mar o: 'jiə* 892M4148, *mar o: 'ie* S, *mar o je* P; and the form of *mar gheall ar mari* 'ɑ:l èr 46.794 for more common *mar jəl er*.

The diphthong is monophthongised before a long vowel in *fiadháin f'ia:n* generally, but rarely also remains or coalesces and *ɑ:* is lost > *f'ian* 36S, 66N; retained without coalescence in the derived adjective *grádh-diamhail grɑ:-d'ia:ɫ*.

¹ One might expect *as a cionn* here, the possessive referring to feminine *toinn*. Perhaps the masculine reference is a slip of the tongue or corruption (referring to the hero) in this complex run.

1.26 Other developments

- > **e:** in echo phrase *ciarsánacha cuarsánacha* **k'ei:ɾʃa:nəxi kuərsənəxi** (run) **05Md**, whose father has *círseánacha cúirseánacha* **864M_{LL}148**.
dian (~ *déan* FGB) is attested in both variants: *mo dhian*-(a)rá **!894C6** (*dianghrá*), *sna buillí déana* **866E_{Semr}104**, **d'ē:n** **889P**.
dias (of corn), later also *déas* DIL > *déas*, plural *déas(r)acha*, with anomalous variant **d'as:ɾəxə** [-ɾ-, etc.,] **894Cs**.
siabhra, etc., Dinn and *síofróireacht* FGB, FFG20 correspond to *síofráil* CAR (perhaps influenced by *sídh*).
striapach **ftr'i:pəx**.
trian usually **tr'ien tr'in** (1.24) but with -*éa*- (noted once in tale run): *i n-a trí treana*, *tréan le Fiannaidheacht*, *trian le scéalaidheacht agus trian le sógh sámh síorchodlata* **852Sb_{LL}92–3**; contrast (in the equivalent run): *trian le Fiannaidheacht* **852Sb_{LL}96**.
diabhal **d'aul**, rarely **d'iəl**.
(s)iad (often weakly stressed) **(f)iad** >> **(f)ed**, **(f)ed**.
Unstressed *ia* > **e:** in *síbhialta* **f'i:v'eiltə**; *speisialta* (also *sbeselta* DIL) **sp'efiəltə**, **sp'efeiltə**, **sp'ifeiltə**; possibly through ending replacement, cp. -*éalta* in, for example, *áiféalta*.
Unstressed -*igheach*, etc., **iəx** > **ɛ:əx**, **e:x** facultatively, e.g. *deoraíoch* **d'orɛ:əx** M, *Corcaíoch* **korke:x** **36P**. Cp. noun plurals, for example, 4.125 ff.
Unstressed in *giorrhíadh* generally **g'uriə** **g'iriə** less frequently **g'uri** (e.g. **21J**).

The future of *bí* has undergone various analogical changes, e.g. relative *bhias* is replaced by *bheidheas* and *bheas* **v'eis v'es** (*be*- and *bé* from the present subjunctive), conditional *bhiadh* by past subjunctive *bheadh* **v'ex v'ox**, less often **v'ex**. Genitive of *deirbhfiúr* **dr'ehur** is **dr'ef'i:r'ə**, perhaps based on historical dative *deirbhfiair*.

1.27 *ua, uai*

ua, uai generally = **uə**, e.g. *bruach*, *luaith* **luəhə** (generally), *luath*, *tuagh*, (*maide*) *luascáin* (**ma:d'ə**) **luəskə:n** M.

> **u:** /_N in nonpalatal and palatal environment:

cluanachán **klu:nəxən** **27Md**, *cuain* 'litter' **kū:n** **894Cs**, *gruamach* **gru:məx** M, *Luan* **lu:n** S, *Dé Luain* **d'e lu:n** M, *ruainne* **ru:n'ə**, *stuamdha* **stu:mə**, *suaiméad* > *súiméad* FFG, *tuama*, *tumba* DIL **tu:mbə** SM, ~ **tumbə** S, *uamhain* (*thalúna*) **u:n** (**halhu:nə**) S genitive in *Cat na hUamhnach* **kut nə hū:nəx**, *uaimh+ín* > *uaimín* **u:m'i:n** **21Jq**, place-name *Na hUaimíní* **nə hu:m'i:n'i** **21Jq**, *uan* **u:n** plural *uain* **u:n**. Cp. *cúán* DIL with *cuán mara* FGB > plural **ku:ntə ma:rə**. Also *fuainniméad* (*fuainnimint* FGB) > *fúinniméad*, adjective *fúinniméadach*, but also *fuinniméadach* CAR, cp. *fuiméadach*, *fuiméideach* S (speaker uncertain).

uə ~ **u:** /_N in some words:

buan **buən** ~ **bu:n**, *cuain* **kuən** ~ **ku:n** (e.g. **kū:n** **11C**) with inflection *cuain* **kuən** ~ **ku:n** (e.g. *trasna an chuain* **trasnə n xū:n** **11C**), *cuaphort* **ku:nfərt** **!39D**; *suan* **suən** ~ **su:n**; *stuaim* **stuəm** generally, but **stu:m** **03S**,

11C (cp. *stuamdha*); *Tuaim tuám'*, genitive *Thuamach hu:məx* S. The noun *uain* is confined to the obsolescent phrase *tráth is uain tra: s uən' 11C*.

uə retained /_N in mostly palatal environment (contrast *gruamach* with **u:**):

fuaím fuám', *gruaim gruám'*, *guaim guám'*, *luainneáil luən'á:l'*, *ruaim ruám'*.

u: /N_ finally in *nua nu:*, *snuadh* (later also *snódh*) **snu:**.

uə /N_ in *Nuala nuələ 11C*, also in *anuas ə'nuəs* related to *suas*.

> **u:** immediately before *á* and *ó*, e.g. *fuaigheáil fu:á:l'*, *cruadhóg kru:óg*, for alternative coalescence to **uə**, see *ó* (1.20).

ua ~ *ó* in *buachaill* ~ *bóchaill* SM, **45C6**, *seanbhuachaill* 'ja:m,wo:xəl' **892Mg**, *sluagh sluə* but *mórshluaigh* 'mɔ:r,hlo:t'ə, *tuairt* FGB *tuərt' tɔ:rt'* S, cp. *tuairt*, *tóirt* FFG20; *uabhar uəwər*, less commonly *o:wər*; *cuaifeach* FGB cp. *cóch*, *cuach*: *kuəf'əx*, *kɔ:f'əx* **21Pt**, *cóifeach* '894C9; *ruacan* ~ *rócan* (1.259). *Uarán* in place-names has **o:**: *Uarán Mór o:ra:n mɔ:r* (now spelt *Órán Mór*), *Barr na nUarán ba:r nə nɔ:ra:n* (*Barr na nÓrán* Rob.70, cp. *Loch an Óráin* Rob.116). Similarly, **o:** is indicated in (f)*uaigh* 'cave, inlet' > *Fó* apparently in place-names *Fó na gCacannaí*, *Fó an Phréacháin* Rob.91, but I have heard (f)**uə** only, both in toponyms and as a noun (cf. 1.226; perhaps Rob.91 was influenced by the pronunciation of English speakers in West Conamara). In unstressed syllable in *comhlúadar kū:lɔ:dər*.

uə ~ **u:** in borrowing *buatais*(í): *buətəʃi:* **11Ct**, *buətəʃ* **05Md**, S, **43M**; *bútais* **866ESemr**, **894C2**, *butəʃi:* S. Cp. *ó o:* **u:** **uə** and *ú u:* **uə** in some borrowings above (*ócáid*(e) 1.20, *úsáid*(e) 1.22).

> **u:** in *tuath*, etc., **tuə** 'country', *tuataí tuəti:* 'layman' but (perhaps differentiating from the semantics of *tuath*) *tuatach tu:təx* 'rude', *tuatail tu:ti:l'* 'rudeness'; *ruaille buaille* FGB > *ru:l'ə bu:l'ə*, *rúille búille* FFG; *ruailleach* > *rúilleachán* **875PCAR**; before second-syllable *á* in: *uathbhás* > *ufás* ~ *ífás* **866ESemr**84, 92, *u:həs* ~ *u:fəs*, *u:əs* **01P**, **04Br**; *uathbhásach* > *u:həsəx* **15W**, *u:həsəx* M, *u:hasəx* 46 s.v., *u:fəsəx*, *gá ífásaighe* **866ESemr**90; *u:wəsəx* **894Bl**, *u:"uəsəxə* **66L** (plural); *u:fəsəx*, *u:fəsəx* **S85**, *u:əsəx* **01P**, *u:əsəx* **04Br**, M, *u:əʃəx* **27Md**,¹ *u:wəsəx* M;

unstressed in: *coguas kogu:s*; *patuar* > *patúr* FFG; *gaoith*(e) *aniar'dtuaidh* generally *gi:hə n'iar'duə* but also reduced, e.g. *gi:hə n'iar'du'* **21Pt**;

uə ~ **u:** preceding **h** in *cruach kruəx*, *cruaich kruə*, genitive *cruaiche kruəhə* S, but also *kru:hə* **894Cs**, *kru:hə kru:ə* **894C**; *luaith luəhə* generally, but *lu:hə* **06C**, **21Pt**; *ruathar ruəhər* S, *ru:hər* **894Cs**, also *ruaithreadhach ruər'hux*, compare *rúfáil* (and, perhaps, *rómhthairt rú:fərt'*) with *ru:fər* **04Bl** 'assault'. Cp. *uathbhás* above. Cp. *Seaán Mhac Thuathail* *ʃa:n ə xu:l'*, *Mhac Thuathaláin* (*Mhac Fhualáin*) *ə ku:lə:n'* (*kuələ:n'*).

In reply to query **12S** produced forms of *suaith* with **u:**, e.g. *suaite su:t'ə* **12Sq**; other speakers have regular *suathadh suəhə*. In the meaning 'emaciated' only *suaite suəf'ə*.

> **u:** ~ **u** in *suaith/cheantas su:ntəs suntəs* and derivatives.

¹ This speaker has other instances of **s** > **ʃ** which may indicate an occasional or sporadic lisp.

1.28 Other developments

i: in *smuaineadh* **smi:n' u:**.

i: >> i in *suaimhneach* **si:mr'əx** (>> **simr'əx**) and related forms (1.85), (note *suaimhnis* **si:vn'əf** **04B** but also *suaimhneas* **suəvn'əs** **suəvr'əs** **04B**, the last two forms are presumably higher register).

wo ~ **wu** ~ **wi** ~ **uə** ~ **u:** ~ **wuə** initially in:

Ó *Uaithnín* (it can be difficult to distinguish e i here) **o** **win'hin'** **892M1682**, **o:** **wun'hin'** **25M**; **wen'hin'** S, *na Uaithnín(eacha)í* **nə won'hin'i:** ~ **won'hin'əxi:** S, similarly in place-name *Tulaigh Uaithnín* **tolə wu/in'hin'** M; *muinntir Uaithnín* **mi:nt'ər' win'hin'** **18J**, **21Jq**; also -n- > -r-: **o:** **wer'hin'** **11C**, **18J**, *muinntir Uaithnín* **mi:nt'ər' wor'hin'** **11C**; perhaps also *Uaithníneach a bhí ann* **wohin'əx ə v'i:** **ən** S; one speaker has **u:-**, e.g. *muinntir Uaithne* **mi:nt'ər' u:n'ə** **20M**, *na hUaithníní* **nə hu:n'i:n'i:** **20M**; by-forms (an) *Trá Uaithne* **trə: uən'hə** **18J**, **ən trə: win'hə** **27Mdq**;

uaithne 'green' **uən'hə** **866E**, **win'hə** **21Jq**;

in pronominal forms of the preposition *ó* **wo-** ~ **we-** ~ **wi-**, etc., *uaim* **wuəm'** is obsolescent (7.69).

uə ~ **o** in weak stress, e.g. in *Uachtar Ard* **ə noxtər ɑ:rd** >> **ə nuəxtər ɑ:rd** M, *buachallán* (< *buathfallán*) **buí buəxələ:m bi:**, also **boxələ:m bi:** **60M** (cp. *ó* ~ *ua*, 1.27).

Also often weakly stressed:

buail, e.g. past *bhuail* **wuəl' wul' wol'**, (cp. **buəl' u** (**bɔ:l' u**) *buailleadh* 46

Vocab s.v. *bualadh*; *dho do bhualadh* **gə də wulə** **73P**);

faigh past *fuair* **uə o u i**; *nuair* **nuər' nor' ner' nər'**, etc.;

teighre past *chuaidh* **xuə xo**, etc.; *tuairim's* **tuər'əm' s** ~ **tor'əm' s**.

See 'Verbs' (5.272, 5.297), 'Funcutors' (8.222). Cp. *buach* **buəx** generally, but *buachaint* **boxənt'** **78E**.

Of the variables *sochma* DIL and *sochma*, *suachmán*, etc., FGB, *suachma* and *suachmán* are found in FFG and only *suachmán* **suəxma:n** Mq is known to Máire. Cp. *óisc* ~ *uaisc* DIL and *uascán* **uəskə:n**. For *buaidhréan* **baid'ə:n**, see 1.9. Unstressed *ua* is retained in *fionnuartas* **f'inuərtəs** M (but **f'inuərtəs** **f'inuərtəs** FFG20) as in its base **f'inuər** M *fionnuar*.

1.29 a, ai, ea

a, *ai*, *ea* generally **a**, e.g. *ainm*, *bacach*, *baile*, *cas*, *daingean*, *gadaighe*, *maith*, *tacht*, *lag*, *fear*, *seal*.

> **o e**

ai **air er'**

fraigh **fro** SM, **fru** (?)

raisín (*roisín*) FGB **rofi:n'**

Saidhbhín **sev'i:n'** **27Md** (also **saiu:n'** **21Jq**)

saidhbhir **sev'ər'**

ea **beag b'og**, cp. *beargún* **b'ogru:n**, **b'orəgu:n**

beathadhach **b'ehiəx**

bheadh bheas bheitheá (of verb *bí*) **v'ex v'ox v'es v'eha: v'oha:**; for other forms, see 5.246

- a tarr-iall, toiriall tairiall* FGB **toríal 35E**, cp. *tarnocht* DIL older *tornocht*, and *tarrlomnacht*
cp. *stropa stropə* < 'strop, strap' English

Note also inflected forms, *ai*:

fairsinge forfN'ə and *fairsingeacht forfN'əxt*, both derived from *fairsing farfəN'*;

glais glof plural and genitive singular of *glas*, e.g. *bua glais agus géibheann buə glof ogəs g'e:v'an* (MP)04B;

saill sail' has genitive *seI'ə*, implying *saill* > *soill*, genitive *soille*; verb *saill* also > *soill sail'*;

stagh FGB, *stoith* FFG, **str 859P** = /sto/;

tairbh ter'əv' genitive singular and nominative plural of *tarbh*; contrast *marbh* > *mairbh(e) mar'əv'(ə)*.

> u i

ai aindeoin in'u:n'

ea ceamach FGB **k'uməx S**, cp. *cionach k'unhəx M*
creathnaigh kr'inhə SM, 23M, creathnú kr'ũnhu: 18J

dendgor DIL **d'unu:r S** (cp. *deannóg* CFT)

earball dr'ubəl, plural **dr'ibl'ə**, obsolescent **dr'i:bl'ə**

planc ~ pleanc FGB **pl'unğk S, pleancadh pl'unğkə** often, also *plancadh plaŋkə 21Jq*

spreagadh FGB **spr'ugə M**

steanc(-áil) FGB **f'tr'unğk str'unğkə:l'**, etc., M

> o e ~ u i

ai aig (OIr *oc*) **eg' >> ig'** and related forms, e.g. *aige ig'ə S*

raibh (of verb *bí*) **ro (re rə ru) rau-**, best derived from *robh-*

- a aca*, etc., (OIr *oc(c)aib*, etc.) > *acabh* generally **ak-** but sometimes **ok-uk-** and **ək-ə'k-**

agus (OIr *ocus ~ acus*) **agəs ogəs ugəs əgəs ɣgəs uɣəs uɣus əɣəs əgs gus gus gəs**, nasalised **əgə̃s ũgə̃s ɔ̃gə̃s ũ̃gə̃s 894Cs**, in (stressed) initial position also **αgəs 10B, | ɣgəs 869P**

gach gax gox gux gəx, and reduced forms, often weakly stressed or unstressed

> a ~ o e

ai The reflexes of EModIr forms in *gair-* / *goir-* derived from the adjective *gar* 'near' have **o**, except *gairid* which has both **a** and **o**: *gaire gor'ə* (in *i ngoire ná i ngaobhar*), *níos gaire gor'ə*, so also *gair* FGB (< *gaire*) **gor'**, *gaireacht gor'əxt*, *gairid gar'əd' gor'əd'*.

Note that *goir* (older *gair*), has the **o** vocalism, for example in the phrase *goirim do shláinte gor'am' də hla:nt'ə M*, but sometimes also **gir'am' M**; but **a** in *gairm scoile gar'am' skol'ə*.

Similarly, *doigh* (*daig* DIL) **do**, plural **doxi: dohəxi: dehəxi:**, but also

- dahəxi:** . Cp. *gloine* with a rare plural by-form *glainéachaí* (1.38).
 With semantic differentiation in *sail* 'beam' **sæl'**, 'willow' **sol'**, cp.
Doire Soileach **dor'ə sol'həx** 36S.
- ea* *fearsad* generally **f'arsəd** but *fiorsaid* [x2] 894C9 (indicating *f'o- or *f'u-), cp. plural **f'ærʃədəxi:** 894Ct
scealp, *sciolp* **ʃk'ælp** ~ **ʃk'olp** M
treabh **tr'ov**, rare **tr'av**
 Cp. *deacair docair* **d'ækər'**, **d'okər'**, **d'ukər'** 11C, 18J (but note the three variants, if transcribed correctly, in 'd'okər' (or **dokər'** or **d'akər'**) 46.880).
- a* *as ucht* **as oxt**, **'asəxt**, **asox(t)**, also **esəxt** 35E9258 (7.106) with **e** influenced by **e** in by-forms of *ar son* **erʃən**
dar (through analogy with the preposition *air* **er'**) > *dair* > *doir* **der'**
pataire **patər'ə** (*pat(t)án*, *pat(t)aire*, *patu* DIL), *patachán* (*putach(án)*)
 FGB **potəx** S, *potrachán* **potrəxɑ:n** M
 Cp. *gabh go gau gov* (5.141).
- > **a ~ u i**, often in velar environment in:
- ea* *cearc* **k'ærk** generally, old dative *circ* **k'irk'**, but ***k'urk** indicated in *tá an naosc ann tá an chiorc is tá an chearc fhraoí ann*. !894C (presumably a back-formation from *circ(e)*, cp. *leac*)
leac as noun **l'æk**, often *leic* **l'ek'** **l'ik'**; in *leac oighre* (*oighir*), generally **l'ek'** / **l'æk air'** M, 21Jq, 27Mdq, **l'uk air'** 43M (i.e. *leac* / *leic* / *lic* > *liuc*), cp. *leic oighre* **l'ik'eir'ë** 46.861, **l'ik' air'ə** 892M; the verb *leac* > **l'uk** M
spreas **spr'æs** SM, **spr'is** M, cp. *spreasán* **spr'isɑ:n** and *spreasachán* **spr'isəxɑ:n**, etc., Mq, cp. *spras* S, 14M
teagann (of verb *teara*) **t'ægən** >> **t'ugən**, the velar environment tends to favour **u** here, also possible influence from the future stem *tiog-*, see 5.293
- a* *amadán* **aməda:n** but *leathamadán* **'l'æhuməda:n** S, 36S, also **'l'æhaməda:n**
cat **kut** (for **kat**, see 10.11, also 14 *cat*), cf. 1.31 below
cnagaire **kragər'ə** in echo-word type of phrase *Cnogaire, Cnagaire* **krügər'ə krägər'ə** !11C (proper names in a run)
crap (a full verb) **krap**, related to less frequent **krup** which Máire claims she uses only in the verbal adjective **krupihə** M
paca >> *puca* SM
sac, *suc*: *suctha* 'up close' **sukihə**, *sactha* 'up close' and 'stuffed' **sakihə** in examples from Seán and Máire
snag ~ *snug* S
stalcaíocht **stalkiəxt** ~ **stulkiəxt** M
stangaid DIL **stəng**, but note also a related verbal adjective in *stangthaíthe* **st'ugkihə** M
- Note *raibér*, *ruibér* DIL > **riv'er**.
- > **a ~ o ~ u**
- ea* **br'æ'ləx** 'clam', *breallach* **br'oləx** **br'uləx** 'tattered, tatterdemalion', also *spriollach* **spr'uləx**

1.30 Other developments

> **ɑ:** in:

aibhéis (*aibis* DIL) > *áibhéis* FFG, probably also *áibhéisc* **11C**, genitive *háibhéise* Clad16; the *á* in this word may have been influenced by the root *áibhéil*, cp. *áibéis* DIL ‘boasting’ (cf. both long and short initial vowel in *aibheis*, *aibheiseach* SGDS);

badhún (also *bódhún*, etc., DIL) > *bábhán* **875T1**, gen *bábhúin* [leg *bábhúin*] SÓC1.81;

bra lín > *bráillín*;

cabús FGB ‘caboose’ > *cábús* **875PCAR** ‘mouth’;

cafarmach FGB > *caifearnach*, *caifirneach*, *fiodchafarnach*, but also *ceáfarnach*, *ceáfraíl* M.

daibéad FGB > *dáibéad* M;

deabhóid Dinn *d’ɑ:vo:d’* S, influenced by *deá-* < *deagh-* ‘good’;

*dragan*¹ ~ *dragún*² FGB > *drágúin* **866ESc308-1.11** (plural);

fafra LFRM > *fafrúil* (< *fabhar*) LFRM corresponding to *fáifriúil* **869PCAR**;

ladúsach > *ládúsach* **869PCAR**, cf. this speaker in SID.46 (1.32), *sládarúsach* **875PCAR**;

neamhní ‘N’*ã:ñ.n’i*: **881J**; the context is religious: *chruthaigh sé na daoine as neamhní* **881J**, and contrasts with the regular reflex of the prefix *neamh-* N’*æ(h/w)*;

plainé DIL, both *a* and *á* in Dinn, *pláinéad* FGB > *plɑ:n’ e:d’*;

scaraoid > *skɑ:ri:d’* **852Sb**, *scáraoid* **894C2** (x10+), *scáiréid* >> *scáiréad* **866E-Semr**, *scaróid* > *scárthóid* FFG;

sladarúsach FGB > *sládarúsach* **875PCAR** (also FFG20), cp. *ládúsach* **869PCAR**.

> **ɑ:** ~ **a** in:

adhnacal > *adhlanan* *ã:vləkɑ:n*, *ɑ:vləkɑ:n*, *ɑ:włəkən* (perhaps *auləkən*), *ɑ:vləkɑ:n*, with by-forms *annlanan* *ã:nləkɑ:n*, *ɑ:nləkən*;

cairín *kar’hi:n’* SM, P, *cáirín* FFG;

meamhlach ~ *meamhaíl* FGB, *m’æ:wi:l’* Pt ~ *m’ɑ:wi:l’*; cp. *meámhaíl* FFG20 and *meamhaíl* s.v.;

plabar M ≈ *plábar* S;

stair: *amhráin staire* *ɑ:ra:n’ stæ:ə* **03V**, but *ga:l’ : stɑ:r’ : fa:l’ Gaill : stair :* *Fáil* **!03V**; long **ɑ:** is indicated by the alternate spelling *stáir* historically, e.g.

by-form *stáir* Dinn, cp. *feis f’e:j’*; cp. *staraighe* ⇒ *staraí* **stari:* (e.g. CABI §179(f) v. 1, §180 v. 2); cp. *stáir*² FGB, plural *stártha* > *stára* ‘haste’;

stáid ~ *staid*: *ar aon staid* **!894C9** and *ar aon stáid amháin* **!(Acm)43Js** ‘state’, *stáid* and *stáidín* *stɑ:d’(i:n’)* ‘small pier’;

cp. *scafaire* P, *scramaire* FFG20, *scramachán* M, *scrathachán* FFG20, etc., *scráfaire* **24M**;

cp. *allaidh* in *madradh allaidh* *ma:dr’ ɑ:lə* SID.46 Vocab s.v. *madra*, *ma:d ra:lə* **04B1**, but also *ma:d ra:lə* >> *ma:d ra:lə* **11Ctn**, *madə ra:lə* Mq, plural *madəri: ɑ:lə* Mq. The anomalous **ɑ:** has perhaps been influenced by the by-form, recorded in GCF §126 note 2, *madradh allta* *ma:dər ɑ:l:tə* (heard in Iorras Aithneach as *madə ra:l:tə*) and by **ɑ:** in variants of *madr-* such as *madrá* *ma:dri:*, *madradh allaidh* *ma:də ra:lə*, *madradh uisce* *ma:dr ijk’ə*

P, also perhaps influenced by *áladh*. (For vowel lengthening before *dr*, see 1.203 ff.) Note the selfcorrection in **madə rəl | a'lə 881J**.

For *dearbh-bhráthair*, see 1.7 above.

Weakly stressed in the first element of *Sraith Salach* **sru sa:ləx 20Mlt**, **srə sa:ləx S**; also **ru / ra saləx 00C**, **ra saləx 09P**; perhaps reinterpreted as *Sruth Salach*, cp. *Sraith Sháile* (Rob.85) **ʃru hæl'ə 875P**, and note English spelling 'Scrahallia', as if from *Scraith Sháile*.

The *ai* in the initial element in *Baile Átha* ... is generally lost because of its weak stress: *Bleá Cliath*, *Bleá'n Rí*, *Bleá'n Luain 852S2*; lost in *taispeín* generally **spæ:n'**.

1.31 *a > u in cat*

The singular *cat* **kut** is particular to Co. Galway.¹ Based mainly on the information in SID q 204–9, the paradigm of *cat* (nom sg) *cait* / *cuit* (gen sg, nom pl) exhibits two main patterns; a historical non-alternating and an alternating pattern:

No vowel raising	kat, kat' <i>cat, cait</i>	North Connacht 34, 36, 49, 51–62, 87 (?); South-West Munster 8–18, 20, 21
Raising in inflection	kat, ku/it' <i>cat, cuit</i>	Mid, south-eastern and northern Ireland 1–5, 22–5, 28, 31, 33, 36, (64), 65–86a.

A few lects are mixed: 13, 17 and 18 in the middle of the southern *cat, cait* area also have *cuit*. Non-alternation is general in Scotland, except for a small area in the south-west, where a similar back-formation in the singular, and shibboleth status, occurs in an even smaller area (cf. Grannd 2000: 44–5, where, however, the Irish material is described with some imprecision; SGDS 158–60 *cat, cait*). Raising may once have been more widespread in South-West Munster; it is found there in the expression *cuit amach* used when driving cats away.²

Central and West Galway form an interstitial area with a morphophonologically merged pattern. There is raising of the historical vowel in *cait*, as to the south and east, but non-alternation of the vowel, as to the north, causing the phonetically unmotivated raising in the base form:

Raising generalised	kut, ku/it' <i>cut, cuit</i>	Mid and West Galway 25, 29, 30, 35–48, 50
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Point 36, on the border of the northern area, has *cat* ~ *cut, cait*; point 25, on the southern border, has *cat* ~ *cut, cuit*. An instance of *cat* in our point 46 is taken here as higher register.

The raised vocalism in *cuit* is an instance of morphophonological *ai* raising (in palatalisation of genitive singular, nominative plural, etc.). These three *cat* areas

¹ Cf. **kat** 10.11, 14 *cat*. There is a more general change *a > o, u* in the now extinct dialect of North Leinster. This general change, apparently, does not extend into East Galway. In North Leinster, however, raising (and backing) of *a* does not affect *cat* given **kat** attested from Magh nEalta (Moynalty), Co. Meath (Williams 2001: 288 §VII.9; Laoide 1914: 131 XLVIII).

² Máirtín Ó Murchú, personal communication.

correspond to three areas with regard to this *ai* raising in general. Using *tarbh*, plural *tairbh* SID1.3, as example (and ignoring nonrelevant localisms), the overall correspondence of isoglosses is striking:

No vowel raising	kat, kat'	tarəv, tar'əv'	North Connacht, South-West Munster
Limited raising	kut, ku/it'	tarəv, to/er'əv'	Mid and West Galway
Full raising	kat, ku/it'	tarəv, tir'əv'	Mid, south-eastern and northern Ireland

Iorras Aithneach complies fully with the central and West Galway model: **kut, ku/it'**; **tarəv, ter'əv'**. The **e** vocalism of *tairbh* can be seen as a clear compromise literally halfway between **a** (northern) and **i** (elsewhere). It is interesting that there is, apparently, no compromise area with regard to forms of either *cat* or *tairbh* along the Munster isoglosses.

The development of *cat* **kut** may be an example of a morphophonological hyperdialectism. The following hypothesis seems possible. The distribution of the raising of genitive *ai* in, for example, *tarbh*, *toluirbh* corresponds to the *cuil* area; nonraising of *ai*, i.e. *tarbh*, *tairbh*, corresponds to the *cait* areas (see SID1.3). The present *cut* area has (mostly) raising of *ai*, i.e. *tarbh*, *toirbh*; this would imply that the earlier pattern in our area was *cat*, *cuil*. By analogy with the dialectal contrast of southern (i.e. Co. Clare) *cuil* vs. *cait* of nonraising North Connacht, the hypercorrected contrast of *cut* vs. *cat*, was extracted.

Perhaps the lexeme *cat* is more frequent than the lexeme *tarbh*, which may explain why Ulster *tuirbh* is retained in Acaill (Achill) but not *cuil* (in SID). That the contrast *cait* ~ *cuil* is quite salient is clear from the contrastive versions of a proverb quoted by Erris speakers (IEM p.xii). Their own *siúl an chait ag an bpisín* is contrasted with Ballycroy's (and therefore also Acaill's) *siúl an chuit ag an phisín*. Furthermore the frequency of *cat* in contrast with *tarbh* may also explain why, in Galway, there is no hyperdialectism **torbh* or the like. As noted above (1.29), there are quite a few cases of *a > u* in the velar context anyway. Recall that the only partially raised *toirbh* is a compromise. Perhaps the compromise half-raising to *oi* meant no pressure on the paradigm, i.e. northern *tairbh*, central *toirbh*, southern and eastern *tuirbh*. Why then there is no **coit* in line with interstitial *toirbh* is not clear. It may be that the phonetic context between nonpalatal *c* and palatalised *t* effects raising to *u*. The absence of the **a** ~ **o/e** compromise in *cat* ~ *cuil* may have been a further cause of **a** ~ **u** > **u** ~ **u**.

Like other morphophonological hyperdialectisms, the genesis of *cut* can also be viewed as a type of merger, with the spread of (morpho)phonologically justified change from its original environment to an unjustified environment causing loss of paradigmatic contrast. On the other hand, *cut* may be an example of an adaptive rule; either (i) a hyper-Munsterism or (ii) a hyper-Connachtism or (iii) (the safest option) a combination of both North Munster and North Connacht influences on the interstitial South Connacht dialect. (These three possible modes of influence, without the hyperdialectism, are indeed relevant for the whole morphophonological *ai*-class which shows raising, e.g. *tarbh*, *toirbh*, with compromise raising to **e/o** rather than **i**.) As (i) a hyper-Munsterism, we can take *cat*, *cait* to be the earlier local pattern which when it encountered and came to adopt or adapt southern (i.e. North Munster) *cat*, *cuil* then hypercorrected to *cut*,

cuit. As (ii) a hyper-Connachtism, the opposite would hold, i.e. earlier *cat*, *cuit* would incorrectly adopt non-alternation of North Connacht to yield *cut*, *cuit*.

North Connacht	<i>cat</i> , <i>cait</i> non-alternation	} →	
Mid and West Galway	(i) <i>cat</i> , <i>cait</i> (?) (ii) <i>cat</i> , <i>cuit</i> (?)		non-alternation <i>cut</i> , <i>cuit</i> raising
North Munster	<i>cat</i> , <i>cuit</i> raising		

Historical (ii) *cat*, *cuit* seems likely to have been an earlier pattern in Iorras Aithneach (at least), given the occurrence of **kat** *cat* in set phrases and high register in our dialect and the complete absence of unraised **kat'** *cait* here.¹

1.32 /a/ allophones

Length of /a/; a ~ a' ~ a'; æ ~ æ' ~ æ:

/a/ > [a] /_h, (i.e. short) generally, e.g. *breath(n)ú b'ra:nu*, *b'rahu*: Mp 126, but examples of a' and æ' occur: *dhá bhraicheadh ga vra'hə* 20Mlt.

Back and front quality; a ~ æ

æ is common in the environment of palatal consonants but also in the environment of the phonetically nonvelarised broad (i.e. nonpalatal) consonants t, d, r, s:

radaireacht ræ:dər'əxt S
an samhradh seo ə sə'vrə fo M, *Sasana sæ:sənə* M
stad stæ:d S, *stadach stæ:dəx* S, *stad stæ:d* M
stramh(s)ach stræ:vsəx >> *stra:məx* M, *stramhach strā:vəx* S
strampáil stræ:mpa:l' S
transam træ:nsəm S (often)
trasna træ:snə SM, *trasnach træ:snəx* >> *tra:snəx* S.

Note the alternation in:

ag píleáil an aran̄j dhon Aran̄jmeain
 ə p'il'ɑ:l' ən æ:rən̄j' gən a:rən̄j' m'a:n' S;
dhon fharraige gən a:rəg'ə SM, *gən æ:rəg'ə* 16N;
 -Tá sé garbh. *ta* f'e ga:ru: M
 -Tá sé garbh, a Mháire. *ta* f'e gæ:ru: wa:r'ə 23M.

In *an íosaídh tú píosa dho sheanfata? N'isə tur p'isə gə 'ha:n.æ:tə* M one would expect 'hæ:n.æ:tə from Máire. Potential examples of sandhi, e.g. /a/ > æ, are often indistinguishable from other types of variation. For example, æ' in *go maith le haghaidh gə mæ' l'ehi* 20Mlt seems to be a case of fronting a > æ through palatalised sandhi but there are examples with æ such as *go maith gə mæ' | 56B* without the fronting environment. Each individual speaker's distributional pattern of /a/ allophones must first be ascertained before sandhi can be properly considered. There may be optional morphophonemic distinctions such as *ndath næ'* (< *dath dæ'*) contrasting with *nach na'x* (cp. *dhath yæ:* listed below). Many speakers have allophonic distributions, with regard to quality, as described

¹ Compare, however, obsolescent unraised *glaine* (1.38), now generally **glin'ə**; *mairbh mar'əv'*.

in ICF §§46–55. In the examples noted from SID.46, the highest allophone (ɛː, ɛː) occurs initially in voiceless contexts and in *leas-*, *nead*:

atuighthe ɛːtɪh'ɛ 167, *aibchighthe* ɛːp'ih'ə 653,
leasuighthe ɫ'ɛːsih'ɛ 629; *nead* n'ɛːd 131–2.

Examples of æ for more usual a (i.e. more usual for these speakers in these environments) are:

anam: tá a chroí is a *anam* in *Seaán* ta xriː s æːnəm ən'ʃaːn M;
dath: ná a dhath na' ə ɣæː | M;
d'fhan: an méid a d'fhan uainn ə m'ɛːd' ə dæːn wen' S;
ionann: ní hionann í sin an créatúr n' iː hæːnən iː ʃin' ə kr'ɛːtuːr M;
brath: -Inniu Céadaoin na Braithe. (ə'N'uw) k'ɛːdiːn nə brahə M
 -Ha? ha S
 -Inniu Céadaoin na Braithe. (ə'N'uw) k'ɛːdiːn nə bræhə M.

Cp. *go hannamh* gə hæːnə 897P, *taca* tækə 01C6051;

31M: *amach* ə'mæːx, *chaitidís* xæhəd'iːʃ, as an *ngarraí* æs ə ɣæːriː.

Sometimes the realisation of a single occurrence ranges across the front-back axis. This can be transcribed by using both main allophones, e.g. *dh'fhear* ɣæːr 894C.

In some speakers' usage, aː for aː is relatively common, e.g.

mara ngoide marə ɣod'ə 897S; *glan* glən M;
an garraí bán ə ɣaːriː baːn 20Mlt;
tá slam a'm ariamh ta slām a'm ə'r'iaw 20Mlt.

So also aː, merging with /aː/, e.g. *bhí sé geal uiliug* v' i ʃe ɣaːl ə'l'ug M.

There are many examples in SID.46 of aː for /aː/, e.g.

macnas maːknəs 46.80;
i bhfastú dho na clocha ə vaːstə (vəstəː) ɣənə 'kloxə 46 (s.v. *fastódh*).

In speaker **869P**'s recordings aː for /aː/ is less frequent than in Wagner's transcriptions but nevertheless present, e.g. following a palatal labial before a nonpalatal l, n:

an bealach sin ə b'aːlɛx ʃin' 869P, *an bhean óg* | n 'v'āːn 'oːg | 869P.

The high frequency of aː for (e)a in SID.46 may indicate a particular difficulty (for Wagner) in differentiating /aː/ and /aː/. We can compare his note to point 40 (Cois Fharraige, SIDIII, p. 131) where he states: 'It is very difficult to distinguish 'a' and 'q' in this dialect'. In fact de Bhaldraithe (1959: 17) finds fault with the inaccurate transcription of /aː/ in SIDI for point 40, where there are many cases of aː and æː undifferentiated and of aː for expected aː. There are also some examples in SID.46 of ɣaː for /aː/, e.g. *sásta* Vocab s.v. sɣaːstə, *dallta* 46.757 dɣaːltə. Many or all of the instances of ɣaː for /aː/ may be phonetically accurate and reflect actual fronting of the base allophone of /aː/. Cp. /aː/ > [aːaː] in 'Barróg' (1.376 ff.).¹

O'Rahilly (1932: 218) claims that '*ám*, *ád* (*át*), *áinn* (also, with short vowel, *am*, *ad* or *at*, *ainn*) are said' 'in parts of Galway'. This statement is rectified by de Bhaldraithe (1953: 154 n. 1) who claims to have heard only /aː/ in these words in Cois Fharraige. Similarly, Liam Mac Coisteala and others regularly transcribe or interpret *a'm* (= *agam* < *ag*), for example, as *á'm* (e.g. in material from **866E**),

¹ The term 'barróg' denotes addition of on-glides and generally change in the nucleus of vowels (1.376 ff.).

which is more likely to be **a:m** ~ **ɑ:m**, perhaps very rarely **ɑ:m**. This mis-transcription with *á-* is rectified by Ó Con Cheanainn (2002: 217, n. 124).

1.33 e, ei

e, ei generally = **e**, e.g. *de, te, deich, breith, ceilt*. More rarely **o**, e.g. *te* | **t'o** | **894Cs**. For *eo*, see *ó* (1.21).

e, ei > **e**: in open monosyllable, similar to preposition *le* **l'e**(:), in:

bheith generally **v'e**, with loss of final *-th*, but **v'e**: **48M**, cp. *bheadh* **v'e:x**,
beidh **b'ei**;

cleith **kl'e** generally, but **kl'e**: **73Pq**, cp. *cléithín* ~ *cleithín*;

cp. *lé / ré* in *gacha lé scatha, gacha lé (ré) ileán* 7 *gacha lé rud* **894C3**,
which I have heard as **gaxə l'e** only.

EModIr *tre* (OIr *tre, tri, tré, trí*) > *thrí hri*; the vowel *-e-* is heard in *thréna chéile hre:nə x'e:l'ə* **872P** (only) more commonly *frae(na) chéile fre:(nə) x'e:l'ə*.

e ~ o preceding nonpalatals (**r, h**) in some words, e.g. *beirt* **b'ert'** >> **b'ort'**, *ceirt* **k'ert'**, **k'ort'**^J **11C1142**, *ceirtlín* **k'e/orɫ'i:n'**. Between palatals in *feirméara* **f'e'l'əm'ə:rə** (**f'öl'-**) **46.959**.

o *beirthe* **b'orhə**, *bleitheach* **bl'ohəx** **SM**.

i /N regularly (i.e. in nasal environment), e.g.

deimheas **d'iv'əs**, *deimhin* **d'iv'an'**, *meil* **m'il'**, *meinic* **m'in'ək'**, *meisce* **m'ifk'ə**, *meisneach* **m'ifn'əx**, *neimh* **n'iv'**, *sceimheal* **ʃk'iv'al**, *sceinn* **ʃk'in' ʃk'in'**, *seinn* **ʃin'əm'**, *smeig* **sm'ig'**, *teine* **t'in'ə**.

e o /N in some words (mostly with initial *m-*):

meig **m'eg'** **43M**, *meigeall* **m'eg'al**, *meirbh* **m'er'əv'**, *meirg* **m'er'əg'**,
meirse **m'orɫə** **S**, *meitheal* **m'ehəl**, (*nead* >) *neide* **n'ed'ə**, *neidín* (in
rhyme) **894C9**. Cp. conditional of *bí*, *bheinn* **v'en'** >> **v'ein'**; *uainn* **wen'**
win', etc. Diphthong **ai** indicates base **e** (rather than **i**: lengthened from **i**) in
meilsceánach **FGB m'ailɫk'ənəx** **S**.

e ~ i in: *deichneabhar* **d'in'hur d'en'hur**;

cneidh > **kr'i**, plural **kr'ihəxi**; **kr'ehəxi**; also **kr'əhəxi**; < *cneadh*.

Cp. unstressed **é** > **e**(:) in *coiscéim* > *coisméig* **kifm'eg' kifm'e:g'**, but also
plural **kofm'ig'əxi** **60Mq**.

Raising *ei* > **i** occurs in the types of phonological environments where vowel
nasalisation is typical (surrounded by nasals, voiceless context). Some words
which retain *ei* unraised have phonological environments which often lack
vocalic nasalisation (voicing, beside *r*). This implies that raising occurs
principally where the vowel was phonemically nasalised. Cf. 'Nasalisation'
(1.269 ff., 1.275, 1.304); Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 129, note 28).

e >> **i** in some other words:

cheirt (lenited genitive of *ceart*) **x'irt'** ~ **x'ert'** **M**

ceist generally **k'eft'** **M**, but *gceist* **ə g'eft'** often **ə g'ift'** **M**, **ə g'eft'** ... **ə**
g'ift' **892M**

cleite generally **kl'et'ə** but sometimes **kl'it'ə** **S**

deis, **d'ej** >> **d'ij**, e.g. *aon deis aige e:n d'ij eg'ə* S

feic has forms such as **d'ek'an** and **d'ik'an**, see 5.281

leic **l'ek** >> **l'ik**, e.g. *leic oighre l'ik'eir'ë* 46.861

leid (variant *leide*) FGB, **l'id'ə** 11C, 14M, **l'ed'ə** M

leithchéad **l'ex'e:d l'ix'e:d**; *leithscéal* **l'efk'e:l l'ijk'e:l**

teideog ~ *tideog* FFG.

Also in borrowing *leibhéalta* **l'ev'e:ltə**, **l'iv'e:ltə** 899N, **l'iv'e:ltə** 20At,

l'ev'ə:ltə 25Tt, cp. current borrowing 'level' **l'ev'əl'ə:ltə**, **l'iv'əl'**,

l'ev'əl'.

i in:

breis | **b'ə'r'ij** | *blianta anois le cois ...* 869P, cp. *bliain bhris* SM 'leap year'

(perhaps < *breis* and *biseach*,¹ cp. *an chailleach a bhí briseadh le cois a' chéid* ! CABI §306 v. 6 transcribed by speaker 869P's daughter Áine);

feidín FGB **f'ig'i:n** S, also *fidín* FFG20, cp. *fidínteacht*;

leig (< *léig*) > *lig*; *éi* shortened possibly through influence of *leag* (D. Greene 1958: 45), but *ei* raised to *i* differentiated *lig* from *leag*;

leithéis FGB **lif'is** 875PCAR;

seile **ʃil'ə** 'spittle' influenced by *sileadh*.

Cp. *eiteán* **it'an**.

e ~ **e**: in *cleithiúnas* S ~ *cléithiúnas* S, cp. *cléithín* ~ *cleithín*.

ai in the borrowing *Eilís* **ail'i:f** (Queen Elizabeth), presumably influenced by *Eibhilín* which regularly yields **ev'əl'i:n** in our dialect (heard in the local toponym *Cartúr Eibhilín* **kartu:r ev'əl'i:n** 21C) but which is realised as **əi'f'i:n** in the Southern Half of Ireland.

1.34 **i, io**

Generally *i* = **i**, e.g. *bris*, *fir*, *min*, *slis*.

Generally *io* = **i/u**, e.g. *fios*, *ioscaid*, *liopa*, *lios*.

i

> **e** (in **r**(') environment) *fireann* **f'er'an**, *iris* **er'əf**, *ridire* **red'ər'ə** 869P, *tirim* (*tírim*, *tírm*) **t'er'am**; cp. *ithir* **ehər** S (perhaps influenced by *eitire* ~ *eitire* FGB, *etarche* DIL, see 14 *ethir*). Also *tile* **t'el'ə**. Cp. *idir* (EModIr by-form *eidir*) **ed'ər**; DIL *liter*, IGT *litear*, *litir* FGB, but also plural *leitri* Keat. ii 181, **l'et'ər**. The *r* environment is significant here and in words containing *io* > **e/o** cited further below. It seems that borrowings also tend to have **e**.

i ~ **e** in *ainspirid* **æn'spr'id**, **æn'sp'ir'id**, also **ansp'er'əd** (Aebi)03C the last form implies *spirid* ***sp'er'əd** 03C; (in) *Ifreann an efr'an* 62P, **efr'an** (MP)04B; often **ifr'an**, e.g. 894Cs, 11C; note *an phlá libíneach* P, *an phlá phlibíneach* M, *an phlá phluibíneach* Sq, *an phlá phleibíneach* FFG s.v. *pleibíneach* (perhaps related to *pleib*).

e (~ **i**) in many borrowings (11.29, 11.31):

bib **b'eb'ə** >> **b'ib'ə**;

grideall FGB **gr'id'al** ~ **gr'ed'al** S85, **gr'ed'al** 892M, 01J, 51P;

leiciméara ~ *liciméara* < 'limiter' (T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6b: 90–2);

¹ Cp. *bliain bhisigh* > *bliain bhreisigh* in West Kerry (Máirtín Ó Murchú, personal communication).

leipe FFG **l'ep'ə** M, *liopa* FGB **l'ipə** S;
pictúir DIL **p'ekd'ur**;
pil **p'il' ~ p'el'** S, *peil* FFG < 'pill';
*pilér*¹ (*peilér*¹) DIL 'pillar' > *piléar* **p'il'e:r** generally, but **p'el'e:r** **31P**;
filbín DIL *pilibín* FGB > *feilipín* **f'el'əp'i:n'**, also *Pilip(in)* recorded in *go lá*
Philipín Cleite **gə lə: f'el'əp'i:n' kl'et'ə** S, also *Feilipe* **f'el'əp'ə**;
piliúr **p'el'ur** M;
pilséar **p'aifse:r** S < *peilséar* FFG;
siséal FGB, also *seiséal* Dinn > **ʃife:l** generally, but **ʃefe:l** **872P**;
speisialta (also *sbeselta* DIL) **sp'efiəltə** **892Mg**, **sp'efe:ltə** **20A**, **35E**, **sp'ife:ltə**
896P.

The vowel is usually **i** in *bi(o)th* but it is lowered in:

ní aon déanamh amháin ar chor ar bith é **xor ə b'eh e'** **892M1518**;
ceárgó ar bith eile ... **k'ar:go: b'eh el'ə ...** **899P**;
ní fhearr ar bith é **n'i: ar ə b'e he** **14M85**; similarly **01P**;
rud ar bith a thiúrthas tú ... **'rəd ə 'b'e, 'x'ur'əs tu ...** 46.305 (cp. ... **'b'e**
' ... Mp 299);
... strus ar bith ort! **... sdrus ə b'eh ort** 46 (s.v. *strus*);
'b'e (b'ə) instead of **b'i** reported for Carna in Wagner (1959: §502 note).

Cp. also *istigh ag an gcladach ansin istigh* **əʃt'ih eg' ə gla:dəx ən'ʃin' əʃt'i**
21Pt or perhaps **əʃt'eh ... əʃt'ə**.

The **i** of *bi(o)th* is backed to **u** before pausa in:

gan conra ar bith **ʔəŋ kunrə b'u** | **894C**;
go Gaillimh ná go áit ar bith **gə 'ga:l'ə nə' gə 'a:t' ə 'b'u** | **01C6655**.

See also *amuigh* (1.45).

i: in: borrowing *limistéar* Dinn, FGB > **l'i:m'əʃt'e:r**, cp. synonymous
líomatáiste Dinn, FGB (cf. de Bhaldraithe 1977–9d);

díl: a chara dhíl mo chléiv **!894C6**, *a chara díl mo chroí* **!03C CABI**
 §70(b) v. 1, similarly **!869P** (c) v. 1 (corresponds to *caraidín* (d),
 (e) v. 1); influenced by *dílis*;

Sibéal: Naomh Síbéal **!(MP)894C9**, *Isibéal* **!(MP)852SC**.

i: before *ch* in the speech of **21Pt** (an Aird Mhóir) in *fiche* **f'i:x'ə** **21Pt**, *fichead*
f'i:həd **21Pt**. This would appear to be modelled on *Mícheál* (1.265); there may
 also be a blend of Iorras Aithneach **f'ix'ə**, *fichead* **f'ihəd** with Cois Fharraige
f'i:, **f'i:d**.

1.35 **io**

i and **u** normally, e.g.

aniogh **ə'n'i/u ə'n'i/uw**, *bionda* **b'ində** Sq, Mq, *do bhionda* **də v'undə** **01C6284**,
cion **k'i/un**, *ciontaí* **k'i/unti:**, *ciotach* **k'i/utəx**, *giorraigh* **g'i/urə**, *giorrfhiadh*
g'i/uriə, *giota* **g'i/utə**, *ionnta* **i/untəb**, *mion* **m'i/un**, *pionta* **p'i/untə**, *siodrabháil*
ʃi/udərəwə:l', *sionnach* **ʃu/inəx**. Note *aon phionnaí e:n f'ini:* **892M1026**. In fact
 this alternation can be treated as a variable, with network marking, e.g. *sionnach*
ʃinəx in clann Mhacáí: **869P** (e.g. **ʃ'in.əx** 46.133), and his nephews **20T**, **25M**. So
 also *gliomach/-aigh* **g'l'iməx/-ə** 46.581, **g'l'qm-** [x3] 46.1124, and **869P**'s
 daughters **gl'iməx** **04Br**, **15W**, *smeachóid* **sm'ixə:d'** 46.549, **04Br**, **15W** (also

smuxo:d' 46.852), cp. *gearrán g'ĩra:n* 46.170, *gearán g'ĩra:n* 46.370. Similarly, *sioc fuk* generally, but *f'ik* (or *f'ok*), ... *f'ik* 46.859–60, but *liobar l'ubər* 869P. The variation here can be related to **u** ~ **i** in *u* (1.44). Speaker **16P**, for example, has frequent use of **i** before nonpalatals, heard in the stressed syllable of *cosán*, *crosán*, *gliomaigh*, *sioscadh*, *stumpa* (all **16P**). Note also: *iomarca umərka* but *an iomarca ən' i/umərka*.

i generally (following a palatal consonant and preceding *s*) in:

briosc br'isk M, *brioscar br'iskər* S, *fios f'is*, *lios l'is* M, *liosta l'istə*, *piostal p'istəl*, *siosma fismə* 04B1, *siostal f'istəl*. Also *ciotóg k'itə:g*.

u initially (before *m* and *ng*): *iomaire*, *iomarca*, *iomdha*, *iompar*, *iomramh*, *ionga* (*ionga* has rarer **i**, 1.2; *iompar*, *iomramh* have by-forms with long **u**).

u also (before labials and velars in particular) in:

cliobadh kl'ubə M, *dioc d'uk* S, *driog dr'ug* M, *giongach g'ungəx*, *liom l'um*, *pioc p'uk*, *prioc* FFG20 *pr'ukə* M, *sciorta f'k'urtə*, *siolla f'ulə* M88, *siorc f'urk*, *stiocaire f't'ukər'ə* S. Cp. the borrowing *siopa f'upə*.

u and **i** are found in *l'ib-* *l'ub-* *l'ip-* *l'up-* *f'ulub-* in:

liobar l'ubər 869P, *l'ibər* S, *liobartha l'i/ubri:*, *liopa l'ipə* S, *liopasta l'upəstə* P, *sliobar f'ulubər* SM.

Note *rith*, *rioth rix' ri ru* and inflected forms (5.134).

e and **o** (before **l**, **r**, **x**) in:

iothlainn olhən', *piorra* (borrowing) *p'erhə* FFG, *i riocht ə r'ox*t, *sirriam* (borrowing) > *siorriam foriəm*, *sliocht f'ul'ox*t.

i and **e** in:

fios f'is so also *fiosrach f'isrəx*, but the verb *fiosraigh* was noted three times in higher register meaning 'recount', twice with metathesis and vowel lowering:

go bhfiosraís gə v'erfi:f !04B, *go bhfeirsat mé* !894C9, CABI §545(b) v. 4;
go bhfiosruighí mé ! CABI §545(a) v. 6.

Cp. lengthened *ionlach ě:nləx ě:nləx* 45C, *i:ml'əx* (apparently also *i:mləx*) S.

o ~ **i/u** in:

bior b'i/u/or, e.g. *bior b'or* S, *b'ur* P, *biorach b'irəx* P, *bhioraigh v'irə* 11Ct, diminutive *birín b'ir'i:n'*;

giolla g'ulə, *g'olə*;

iolrach olrəx M, *ón* ~ *o:n' ulrəx* 892Mt, *ilrəx* (or *ol-*) 46.833 *ən t'ilrəx* IV.1;

ioscaid i/uskəd' generally, but nontraditional *do ioscaid do oskəd'* 66N;

scioll: f'k'ulfi: 12J, *f'k'ulə* S, but *f'k'olə* 43M.

a in *ionann anən*; one example of *ionnta* (< *i* 3 plural) *antəb* 00C (Doire Iorrais); cp. compare *geamh-* (in *geamhchaoch*) with *gim* DIL.

Prepositional pronoun *le* > 1 plural *linn l'in'* also *l'u:n'* by analogy with *dúinn*, etc; *i* > 1 singular *ionam unəm* generally, but *inəm* from Séamaisín Sonaí Uí Dhúáin only (son of 894Cs) through analogy with 3 plural *ionnta i:ntu:*, *intəb*.

i: in *Iodálach: na hIodálaí nə hi:də:li:* (SGuair) 11C.

1.36 o, oi

o, oi often = **o**, e.g. *bog, bolg, codladh, cogadh, col, dorus, follasach foləsəx M, loscadh, obair, poc pok SM, pocaide pokəd'ə P, pota, sop, toradh, torann, goirt*. Note **o** in *orchar orəxər, orchóid orəxo:d'*, which have alternate *ur-* in EModIr.

1.37 o

> **u, i** /N, regularly (i.e. in nasal environment), e.g.

cnoc krūk, con kun, cromadh krumə, lomadh lumə, modh mu, mogall mugəl, mol mul M, moladh mulə M, mhol sé wu'l' je M, mothaigh mūhə, onóir unor', ronnach runəx, sonas sunəs. Cp. *cnuga* Dinn, *cnoga* FGB *krugə*.

o retained following a nasal in some words (mostly preceding *ch*):

anocht ənoxt, noct noct, Nodlaig nolək'; variably in *moch mox mux*.

> **u** (also **i**) and **o** ~ **u** beside labials, velars, and coronals in:

bocáil buka:l' M, also *boka:l'*

bodach bodəx generally, including *Cnocán an Bhodaigh krukə:n ə wodə 20M*, but *krukə:n ə wudə 21Pt*

bollaireacht FGB > *bullaireacht* FFG, *bulaíocht, bullóireacht*, also *bolaíocht 875PCAR* (in response to query, speaker uncertain) where the spelling *bol-* may well represent *bul-*

bolta bultə 894Cs

bosca buskə

broc brok M, bruk P, 60C

brocach 'dirty', generally *brokəx*, but *brukəx P*, for *brocach* 'den' note *Brocach brokəx Thomáis Cúig 20M, Garrdha Bhrocach an tSionnaigh gari: vrukəx ə t'unə 25M, procach* 'den' *prokəx* 46.149; but *brocaigh* (verb) *brokə P*

brostaighim brusti:m' (Smbb)04B

brothallach: bruthallach SM

croca krukə

crotach: Garrdha na gCrotach gari: nə grutəx 29P

dor dor SM, 43M, dur M, 52T, dur CAR

doscughach dusku:x (Sdás)04B

floscadh cainte fluskə ka:n't ə M

focal fokəl fukəl

folá (genitive of *fuil*) *folə 11C, 19P*, also 46.475, *fulə 894Cs*, also 46.51; *barr folá air ... ag tabhairt fhola bər | fol er' ... ə toir't ulə | 889P*

folcadh fulkə M

folt fult (MP)04B, folt fult M

glota glutə S

gogaí gugi: Mq

gogaide gugəd'ə, gogaidín gugəd'i:n' S

gor gur noun (raising in the noun was perhaps effected by the genitive, e.g. *cearc ghoir*), *gor* verb

log lug S84

ocastóir ukəsto:r' S

ocras okrəs, ukrəs

cp. *ogh*, *ugh* **u**, **uw**, **u**:

orsainn ursainn **o**/urʃənʲ/, e.g. *an ursainn* ənʲ urʃənʲ M

oscar **i/u** in *t'oscar*, *m'oscar* t'iskər, m'uskər 04Bl, *oscar snámh* uskər snə:w 21Jq

Oscar **i/u**, e.g. *iskər* !892M5381

plob- FGB *plub*- SM

portach **portəx** S generally, but **purtəx** M93

ros occurs in place-names generally as **ros**, e.g. *Ros Muc* **ros muk** M, but *ros an bhaile* **rus ə wa:l'ə** SM

rosach **rusəx** M

rosta FGB **rīstə** SID.46 s.v.

sclog(-) FGB **sklug**(-) S, P

scofall FGB: *scufal* FFG20

scoth: *scoth gheal* (*na gclár*) **sko jæ'l** !(Ams)04B; prefixed *scoth*- **sko** S, **sku/i** M

slog FGB: *slogadh* **slugə** M, *slugaide* FFG

so- prefix, often **su**-, but also **so**- 21Ptq

socamhlach **siku:ləx** 892M, but **sokru:ləx** 21Ptq, noun **soku:ləxt** M

soicéad FGB, *socaed* **suke:d** 894Cs

soláthar **sulər**, *soláthraí* **sulər'i**: M

stoc (*ar an talamh*) **stuk** (**er' ə ta:hlə**) M, *stoc* **stʉk** 892M1015 (for *bréidín*), and derivatives, e.g. *stocadóireacht* **stukədo:r'əxt**, genitive of *stoc* is *stoic* **stik'** M

stoca **stikə** **stukə**; *stoca* in the phrase *péire stocaí* **p'ər'ə stiki**: Sq. is, according to Sq. homophonous with *stuca* in **stuk a:rur'** Sq *stuca arbhair*. The form **stu/iki**: can represent the nouns *stocaí*, *stucaí* and *vadj stuctha*, cp. *stoicíní* **stik' i:n' i**: S. For *stocaí* **stə:kr**: 46.225, *stuca* **stə:kə** 46.667, see below (1.39)

trosc often **trəsk**, but **tr.ĩsk** 46.1167 (contrast *troscadh* **trəskə** 46.796).

EModIr *gol*, *gul*, *gal* yields **gul** 35E7459.

1.38 **a ~ o; for-**

a in certain words where EModIr has both *o* and *a*.

arc also *tarc*, *artha* which has an obsolete variant **aurhə** (< *orrtha* ?), *baladh*, *cagnamh* > *cangailt*, *cara* 'weir', *coradacht* DIL also *caraigeacht* from early sources > **kariəxt**, *cascairt* with genitive *cascartha*, *craith*, *fascadh*, *falamh*; *faltanas* **fəltənəs** 20C (/a/ and /a:/, LFRM s.v. *faltanach*), also *i bhfoilteanas nó i bhfaltanas* **ə wult'ənəs | nū' wa'ltənəs** (run)869P.

a also in: *droma* (genitive of *droim*) **dramə**, *fosair* cp. **fasər'**, *mongach* **mangəx**, *oscardha* **askri:**, etc., *somhaoín* **sə:vi:n'** M, *fo-rír* DIL *faraor* FGB **fare:r fari:r**. Perhaps also *don* DIL (s.v. 1 *don*) in the phrase *i ndon* > *i ndan* 'able' **ə nan**, unless from *in ana* (T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6b: 85–8).

Cp. words which have EModIr *a* with **a** retained: *cairt*, *casaoíd*, *craiceann*.

Also **a** in (words influenced by) borrowings:

Protastún FGB **pratəstun** **pradəstun**;

cras- > *cras*- in *crasbhóthar* generally (in West IA), but (plural) *crasbhótharacháí* **'kros,wə:rəxi**: 76Mt (Doire Iorrais), **o** also retained in higher register *crasbhóthar*; cp. *croisaint*, *croischain*; *posóid* (*pasóid*) FGB > *fasóg*, *pasóg*, *fasóid*, etc., S.

a **ɑ:** in the borrowing *bontáiste*, *buntáiste* Risk 1968–71 §46, *bantáiste*, *bonntáiste*, *buntáiste* Dinn and FGB > **bantɑ:ft̪ə** (e.g. 892M1317, 21Jq), also **bantɛft̪ə** 31D; **bɑ:ntɑ:ft̪ə** commonly, e.g. 35E; also **buntɑ:ft̪ə** 27Mdq.

Also **u** ~ **a** in *bullaireacht* FFG (*bollaireacht* FGB), *balaireacht* CAR, also *bolaíocht* 875PCAR (in query, speaker uncertain).

Earlier *tafann* ~ *tothann*, etc., has reflexes **táfən** and **tunt̪**, the latter presumably via **tóint* with loss of the intervocalic consonant and lengthening of *o*.

o ~ **a** *bram-* and *brom-* forms found: *bram-* gives *bramannaí*, *bramaire*, etc., *brom-* gives *bromach(án)* **bruməx(ɑ:n)**, *bromaire(acht)*, also *broimneacht* **bri:m̪'əxt** S; sg *broim* **bri:m̪**, pl *bramannaí* **clɔx klox** but *clachmhóin* **'klax,wu:n'** generally, except **'klox,wu:n'** 889P
colbtha 'calf of leg' **kaləpə** but 'unit of grazing land' **koləpə** also *leathcholapa* FFG 'yearling'
colg **koləg**, *colgach* adjective **koləgəx**, *Calgach* in place-names, e.g. *Loch na Calgaí* **lox nə kaləgi:** 20M (Rob.88)
cor **kor** but *car* in the echo phrase *cor ná car* S
folach: *folach lócháin* **foləx lo:xɑ:n'** SM (a specific cover), **faləx** SM 'covering', i *bhfolach* **ə waləx**, *folaigh* > *falaíonn* FFG.

Cp. **farə** with *foradh*, *fara*, *forú* FGB; *farraid*, *forraid* > *araoid*; *sompla* *sómpla* IGT generally **su(:)mplə**, but **sɑ:mplə** 52Cr 'sample' probably a borrowing from modern post-revival period Irish.

So also *caisric* generally **kafrək'** but sometimes **kofrik'** S, *coisreacan Dé orainn* **krofk'ərən' d'e: ərən'** S, *coisreacan korfrək'ən* 25M. *gloine* generally **glin'ə**, but *glaine uaire* 'hour-glass' occurs in higher register, e.g. in a song by a local poet Mícheál Mharcais: *Sin is glain' uaire ...* 1894C9. According to Máire, *glaine* is used locally but I have noted the **a** vocalism in the plural only: *glainéachaí* from Seán and Pádraig (P) who, however, have singular *gloine*. Cp. *doigh* (*daig* DIL) **do**, plural **doxi: dohəxi: dehəxi:**, but also **dahəxi:**. Note also **o** (> **u**) and **a** in echo words such as *ar bhois agus ar bhais a mhaide ráimha* (e.g. Sc125.37, 869PB16.117, but cp. *chuimlíodar bas dhá súile* (run) 852SBTS123), *baslach*, *bocánta bacánta* **bukɑ:ntə bakɑ:ntə** and *bocóideachaí bacóideachaí* **buko:d'əxi bako:d'əxi** (most common in tale run). Cp. **u** ~ **a** in reflexes of *gnó* (1.3). Cp. *foichne* > *foichnín* **fu:n'hin'** (*o* > *ó* through influence of *feódh-* 'wither' according to O'Rahilly 1927: 252–3 s.v. *feóithne*, *foichnín*, cp. short by-forms in West Galway cited by de Bhaldraithe 1977–9a, possible *foichnín fin'hin'* Mq), with **a** in an echo word in *foichnín ná faichnín* (or *faithnín* < *faithne*) **fu:n'hin' nɑ: fan'hin'** S.

For **o** ~ **e** (~ **u** ~ **i**) before *s*, e.g. *osna* **osnə esnə**, see 1.40.

o u i / **s, d**, and /**t, n**, (less often) /**k, n**, in a number of words, e.g.

sodar(s) **sodər** ~ **sidər** ~ **sedərs** S, *tonna* **tunə** >> **tinə**, cp. (before *á* in following syllable) *dosán* **disɑ:n** SM; *sconnsa* **skʊnsə skʰinsə** 894C.

for-

uə in prefix *for-* (cp. *fó-* ~ *fua-*, 1.20): *forainm* 'fuər'æn'əm', *forfhocal* 'fuər'ukəl, cp. *fuaírimh* FGB, *fornimhneach* FGB, *fuarnimhe* FFG20: 'fuərn'iv', but *fordoras* > *fardoras* > *fərdorəs* perhaps also influenced by, or related to *barr-*; similarly *foirnéis* > *fərn'e:f fərn'əf* S, *fuərn'e:f* M, 11C, perhaps via **fairnéis* and influenced by *faisnéis* or *fáir*, common in the set phrase *fáir ná foirnéis fərn'na: fərn'e:f*. For another conjunctive phrase containing this word, note *tuairisc ná foirnéis* (Smbb) **04B tuər'əfk' nər fərn'əf** (⇒ /fərn'e:f/).

1.39 o vs. u in Connacht; *stoca* vs. *stuca* in SID

Máire, speaker 16M, has the same stressed vowel in *kuhəx cuthach*, *kuhərə comhartha* and *kuhi:s coimhthíos* Mq, whereas *kohərə* and *kohi:s* are given in FFG. So also *kōhərə* 11C but *kūhərə* 35E, *kūhəriəxt* 11C. In this post-velar environment preceding **h** it is very difficult to distinguish **o** vs. **u**. T. S. Ó Máille's transcriptions of these two vowels in LFRM are probably erroneous in some cases; for example *krōk cnoc* and *krōk:n cnocán* for expected *krūk* and *kruk:n*. It has been claimed by R. Hickey (1986: 215–6) (and, less categorically, by Annuntiata le Muire and Ó Huallacháin 1966: 28, 105) that there is no /**o**/ vs. /**u**/ opposition in western Irish. This claim is not supported by any other analyses or descriptions and has been competently refuted by S. Ó Murchú (1987). The phonetic distance between **o** and **u** is small, however, the main acoustic clues for **o** being its general lack of both height and rounding (resembling ə), and loss of opposition is therefore not surprising in particular environments or lexemes.

The merger to **u** of the historical minimal pair *stoca* ~ *stuca* (as well as **u** in *stoc(-)*) in Iorras Aithneach is a case in point. The dialectal strength of the opposition in this pair in the Irish of Connacht and Co. Clare is illustrated in Table 1.2, based on SIDII–III q 225 'a pair of stockings' *péire stocái*, and q 667 'a stook' *stuca*. Point numbers in bold in Table 1.2 indicate merger to **o** ((31), 32–3, 54–7, (57)); those underlined, to **u** ((41–2), 43a, 48–9, 60, (61)). The remaining 23 points, approximately, show retention of the opposition, in SID's transcription basically, **o** vs. **q** (43b ə / **q** vs. **u**).

Point 46 (our SID.46) returns *stō:kr:* 225, *stōkə* 667. The anomalous length in the stressed vowel of *stocái* here can be taken either as a result of a typological error or (as is evident from other entries in SID.46 discussed in 1.425) it may be an indication of the phonetic, rather than the phonological, length of **869P**'s frequently stressed, slow and deliberate speech. In either case the opposition stands for SID.46, unlike Seán (12S) and other Iorras Aithneach speakers, whose merger to **u**, however, is consistent with the direction of merger in Conamara generally. Merger is nonetheless evidenced in the recording of Wagner's main informant in SID.46, *stocái stuki:* **869P**, casting doubt on the precision of any conclusions based on Table 1.2. For Connacht in general, Table 1.2 shows that merger is quite common and widespread. There are, at most, 14 cases of merger, half of which merge to *stoca* (East Galway and North-West Mayo), the other half to *stuca* (Conamara and South Sligo).

Table 1.2 The *o* vs. *u* contrast in *stocaí* q 225 vs. *stuca* q 667; SIDII–III

	<i>stocaí</i>	<i>stuca</i> (<i>stoda</i> Clare)		<i>stocaí</i>	<i>stuca</i>
22	ǫ	stōdǫ, stōdǫ stō'di:	43b	ə (a), ʊ (b)	ʊ
23	o	stōdǫ	44	o	
24	o	sʰidǫ sʰi'di:	45	o	ʊ
25	o (x2)	stōdǫ stōdi:	46	o:	ʊ
26			47	o	ʊ
27		ʊ	48	ʊ	ʊ
28	o	u	49	ʊ	ʊ
29		stáca	50	o	ʊ
30	o	stōkǫn	51	o	ʊ
(31)		stōk'i:n' (<i>alt. stok</i>)	52	o	ʊ
32	o	o	53	o	ʊ (x2)
33	o	o	54	o	o
34	o	ʊ	55	o	o
35	o	ʊ	56	ɔ	o ɔ
36	o	ʊ	(57)		o
37	o	ʊ	58	o	ʊ
38	o	ʊ	59	o	ʊ
39	o	ʊ	60	ʊ	ʊ
40	o	ʊ	(61)	ʊ	stáca
(41)	ʊ	coiriceog	62	o ə	ʊ
(42)	ʊ	coiriceog	63		
43	o	ʊ (~ <i>coiriceog</i>)	87		
43a	ʊ	ʊ			

The **u** realisation of *stoc* **sduk** in GCF §415 shows a near minimal pair opposition with *stocaí* **sdoki**: GCF §22n so that de Bhaldraithe's analysis corresponds to the returns from point 40 here, i.e. nonmerger. This instance of *o* > **u** in *stoc*, is not listed in the relevant paragraph in ICF (§451), presumably through an oversight. Similarly, *stoc* FFG20 and *stocadóireacht* in FFG19 should more accurately read *stuc* and *stucadóireacht*. ITM §§133, 403 also has **u** in *stocaireacht*. LFRM has both **o** and **u** for *stoc* and derivatives, as well as **o** (only) for *stucadh* (which T. S. Ó Máille spells *stocadh*). This may reflect the Conamara tendency to merge to **u** as well as the (East Galway) merger to **o**; or variation in use or imprecise perception on T. S. Ó Máille's part. IEM §519 has *stoca* **sdokə** agreeing with point 56, but there is no mention of *stuca* or *stoc*.

1.40 *oi*, *o* and other sources of fronted *o*

Both *oi* and *o*, as well as other sources of /*o*/, have front and back allophones. These have both rounded and unrounded realisations. As well as the well-documented fronting and raising of *oi* (in palatal contexts), certain nonpalatal environments (especially *s*, also *t*, *d*) cause fronting or raising of /*o*/ < *o* which can in some cases merge with allophones of /*u*/.

1.41 oi**oi > o**

o *boicht* **boxt'**, *coise* **koʃə**, *foirseadh* **forʃə**, *troigh tro* plural *troighthe trohə*.

oi > e

e *foirm* **fer'am'**, *loisc* **leʃk'**, *loit* **let'**, *oifige* **ef'əg'ə**, *oile* > *eile* **el'ə**, *oir* > *feil*, *troid* **tred'**.

oi > o e

o e *coille* **ko/el'ə**; *coilleadh* **ko/el'ə**; *droichead* **dro/ehəd**; *foireann* **fo/er'an**; *goid* **go/ed'**; *goile* **go/el'ə**; *loigh(-)* (also *luigh(-)*, from earlier *laigh(-)*): *loigh sé síos lo ʃe ʃis* Mperm, *luiteachas* FFG **lot'əxəs** M, **let'əxəs**, *luiteanach* **lot'ənəx** M, etc.; *Oisín* **oʃi:n'** ~ **əʃi:n'** 04B1, **oʃi:n'** M (not e- Mq), other speakers have **əʃi:n'**; *scoil* **ske/ol'**; *soilgheas* **sef'is**, *an tsoilgheas* **ə tof'əs**; *soir* **ser'**, but also **sor'** 897St; *toirt* **tert'** S84, *toirteach* **tort'əx** M, 43M88. In inflected forms with *o* in the non-inflected base, both **o** and **e**, e.g. *boilg*, *broibh*, *oilc*.

Cp. *thoir* often **her'** but note *as an domhan thoir anoir anseo* **æs ə daun hor' ə'ner' ən'ʃo** 11Ct; possibly a rare example of sandhi backing from nonpalatal **n** of *domhan* through **h**.

oi > o e, rare e:

soitheach **sohəx** is common, *shoitheach* **hohəx** 11C, *soithighe* **sehi:** >> **sohi:**; less common **s'ohəx** 04B, rare **se:həx** 32P (only).

oi > i

broid recorded in *gan bhroid* **gən vrid'** 04B1 (similarly *bruid* FFG20, 24); *coir kir'* (earlier *cair*), *Coisteala* < *Mac Oisdealbhaigh* **kift'ələ**, *coitchianta* **kit'iantə** M, *froigisí* **frig'əʃi:** M, *goirín* > *guirín* FFG19, 20, 24, *Roibeard* **rib'ərd**, *roide* yields both *ruide* SM and *ruille* FFG, *roilleach* > *ruilleach* SM, FFG, *roilléire* **ri'l'er'ə**, *roithleagán* > *ruilleacán* FFG, *sloig* FGB *sluicid* DIL > **slig'** M, cp. *slogadh* **slugə** M. Cp. *suifeanach* (< *soicheallach* ?) **sif'ənəx** SM, **sif'ərnəx** M, *suifeanach* FFG, *suifeanacht* FFG. Cp. *foisteanacha* *faisteanacha* **friʃt'ənəxə fa:ʃt'ənəxə** (run)04B, **fif't'e:ləxə fa:ʃt'ənəxə** [?] (run)869P.

Also in inflected, palatalised forms with *o* base: *bloics* **blik's** 05M, *boic(s)* **bik' bik's** 37M, *boicín* **bik'i:n'** M, *broicín* **brik'i:n'** M.

oi > u i

cairéal > *coiléar* **kul'er** 899DARN6090, **kil'er** 46.613.

oi > o e ~ u i

clois perhaps generally **kluf** but also **kloʃ**, e.g. *an gcloiseann* **gloʃən** (Ascen)19S, cp. *cluín* generally and regularly **klin'** but apparently influenced by *clois* (in the same passage) **glen'an an gcluineann** (Ascen)19J.45.

coiscéim > *coisméig* **kifm'eg' kifm'e:g'** (cp. *cuis* DIL s.v. *cos*). Younger speaker 60Mq has plural **koʃm'ig'əxi** or **/koʃm'əg'əxi/**; speaker 76Nq has (slightly unsure) **koʃm'egn'əxi**.

foide / *faide* (comparative of *fada*) **fid'ə fed'ə**, e.g. **füd'ë** 46.870, **fid'ə** 04B, 04Br, **fed'ə** 04B.

goirim **gír'əm'** and **gor'əm'** M, also **ger'əm'**.

lucharpán (with alternating palatality) **loprəxɑ:n** M, **lo/epɾ'əxɑ:n** S, **l'ip'ɾ'əxɑ:n'** (plural) 46.823, **l'ep'ɾ'əxɑ:n** 27Mdq, (cp. *leipreachán* FFG20, *loipreachán* ICF §636).

uiread > *oiread* (**ən**) **er'əd** commonly but also *an oiread* **ən ir'əd** 18J8148.

poitín generally **pot'i:n'** but *mo phoitín íocshláinte* **mə fut'i:n'** 'ik.la'nt'ə (Smbb)04B.

Roisín generally **roʃi:n'**, e.g. *Roisín na Mainchíoch* **roʃi:n'** (**n**)ə **man'hiəx** M, **roʃi:n'** (**n**)ə **man'hiəxt** S, but also **ruʃi:n'** (**n**)ə **man'hiəx** (e.g. 05M, 52T).

stoirm **stər'əm'** generally, but **stir'əm'** 18J7091, *gealstoirm* 'g'ælstir'əm' P.

soiscéal **ʃɪʃk'e:l** 46.791, **siʃk'e:l** S, **soʃk'e:l** M; Seán claims that the last-mentioned is *an rud 'ceart'*.

toil (OIr also *ui* in genitive and dative singular) **tíl'** generally, but contrast *tá toil a inntinn ...* **ta til' i:nt'ən' ...** (Sdás)04B with *más é do thoil é ma: ʃe: də hɛl' ɛ* (Sdás)04B, also **mā: ʃe: də 'hɛl' ɛ** | 11C.

troid generally **tred'** but *ina throid* **nə xrid'** 63S.

Cp. *froisin* **froʃən'** most often, **fruʃin'** 19P, 73P, perhaps also **u** in **ə'fruʃən'** noted from 37M (an Aird Thoir); *toirseach* **torʃəx** generally, but *tuirseach* **turʃəx** 15W.

oi > u i (/N) in nasal environment generally

anois **ə'n'ɪʃ ə'n'ɪʃ ə'n'ɪʃ**, *coin* **kin'**, *coinneal* **kin'əl**, *goin* **gin'**, *moirtéal* **mūrt'e:l** 869P, *sloinneadh* **sli'n'ə**, *soineanta* **sin'əntə**, *roimhe* **rīv'ə**, *roinneadh* **rin'u:**, as noted below *goimh* **gív'** (<< **gāv'**), *coimín* (*cuimín*) DIL > *cimín* (contrast male Christian name *Cuimín* **kim'i:n'**).

oi > o e ~ u i (/N)

coimhthíos **kui:is** M, *nach beag dhe choimhthíos ...* **nax b'og ə xih:i:s ...** M, **koh:i:s** FFG, *coimhthíoch* **kōhiəx** 14M, **kohiəx** 889P, **kūhīəx̃** 18J.

coinín **kin'i:n'** generally, but **kon'i:n'** 03C.

moill **maɪl'**, genitive *moille* **meɪl'ə**, the diphthong **ai** (rather than long **i:**) indicates earlier *moill* ***meɪl'** for our dialect as in present-day dialects to the north (e.g. **meɪl'** ITM §§281, 488). Also in inflected forms of the adjective *mall* **ma:l**, comparative *moille* **meɪl'ə mi:l'ə**, genitive *moille* **meɪl'ə** (MP)04B.

tomhais 'measuring' **teʃ** 24Nt, 01C, SM, **tiʃ** 20Mlt, (P87, S87), **tiʃ** 46.1170 (= Mp 286), also **tos** 894Cs, **tos** 'measure, amount' 06C, **tu's** 889P.

oi > i ~ a

i ~ a *boinéad* (borrowing) > **b'in'e:d** S, **bān'ē:d** 881J

goimh **gāv'** >> **gív'** (the latter from queries only, e.g. *tá goimh gív' ar an lá l duine* Mq).

Cp. *foirgthe* FGB **fer'ək'i:(hə)** with **farki:(hə)** (verb *farc* verbal noun *farcadh*); *rois* FGB, *rais(e)* FFG.

oi > u: in *foichnín* **fu:n'hi:n'** SM. The variation of **u i ~ u:** in *i bhfoisceacht* is exemplified in 1.43.

1.42 o

o > **o** ~ **e** following palatal *s* word-finally:

o e *anseo* ən'ʃo >> ən'ʃe, ən'ʃæ; *seo* ʃo most often, but *seo anois* ʃe n'ij
æ 11Cta19.

o > **o** ~ **e** following nonpalatal *s* word-finally:

Seanadh Soith ʃæ:nə sɔ 20M, ʃæ:nə se 20M's brother.

o > **o** ~ **e** following nonpalatal *s* before *d* in *soda(i)r(s)* **sodər'**, **sedərs** S.

Cp. following nonpalatal *s* before *t* in *sotaire* (~ *sotach*) FGB, *sutach* FGB, FFG20, *sotach* FFG19, 20, **sötəx** 46.765, **setəx** SM, **sitəx** M.

o > **o** ~ **ɤ** ~ **ʌ** ~ **ə** ~ **æ** ~ **ɛ** ~ **e** ~ **i** ~ **u** before *s* initially and following *t*:

875T1 has *o* ~ *e*: *esna* very often, ~ *osna*; *d'oscail* with *e* written over *o*. In his short recording **875T** has an advanced vowel (with slightly rounded or possibly neutral lips): *i dtosach ar na ... go dtosaíodh siad ə dəsəx er nə ...* gə 'dəsi:əx ʃiəd **875T**.

SID.46 has **o** **ö** **i**: *thosaigh sé hosi* ʃe 269, *tosaí tösi*: 270, *toso:míð* 271; *trosc tr:isk* 1167;

869P has *thosaigh hisə*, *chun tosaigh ən tisə*, *i dtosach ə disəx*;

04Br (**869P**'s daughter) and her son **46S** both have *i dtosach disəx*.

892M: *i dtosach ə dɤsəx* ARN1559.

894C2 has *e*: *thesa'*, *hesa* for *thosaigh*.

04B has quite frequent fronting to **æ** **ɛ**: *i dtosach ə dəsəx*; *sos* sœs; *tosuighthe orthabh tɛsi*: **orhəb**; *osna* ɛsnə; *d'oscail dæskəl'*. Cp. *soitheach s'ohəx*; *Oisín ofi:n' ~ ɛfi:n'*.

05M has *oscail uskəl'*, *thosaí hosi*.

11C has *i dtosach ə dɤsəx*.

M *tosach tAsəx* (unrounded vowel in /**o**/ position).

o > **o** ~ **ə** ~ **e** ~ **u** ~ **u** ~ **i** ~ **i** in *oscail* by speaker (network)

Clann Mhacáí: **875T1** has *e*, SID.46 has **o**.

875T1: *d'oscail* with *e* written over *o*, interpreted here as **e**, **æ** or even **ə**;

SID.46: vadj **oskɫ'ɛ** Mp 146, **o** also 486, 489.

Clann Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola: Máire has **o** ~ **i** ~ **ə** (this **ə** is perhaps /**u**/, as well as reduced by-forms and unstressed forms); her brother Pádraig has **u** ~ **i**.

M: impv 2sg **oskəl'** ~ **iskəl'**, cond 2sg **dəsklɑ**: ... **nax nəsklɑ:hɑ**;

P: vadj **iskli**:, cond 2sg, 1sg **ən nusklɑ**: ... ? ... **dusklɑ:ɲ** |, **disklɑ'ɑ** ... **nax nusklɑ'ɑ**.

Seán, Máire and daughter. Seán has **i**; his wife, Máire, **o** ~ **i**, etc., as mentioned above; their daughter, **43M**, has **o** ~ **i** also.

S: cond 2sg **nisklɑ**; **43M**: VN **oskəl** ~ **iskəl**.

892M: pst 3pl **duskli:dər** ARN1102.

20Cq: pstsbj 2sg **gɑ nusklɛɫ'ɑ**.

31Mq: cond 2sg, fut, cond **ə nisklɑ'hɑ**, **isklɑ**, ... **nisklɑ:x**.

37M: vadj **æsklihə** **37M**.

1.43 Other developments

wu- ~ **wi-** ~ **wu-** ~ **wu:-** ~ **u:-** ~ **wuə-** ~ 'o''**wu-** in *i bhfo(i)s(-)*

i bhfoisceacht:

wi:fk'əxt SM; **ə wu:fk'əxt** 06C, P, 31P, 60M, e.g. *i bhfoisceacht leithmhíle*

wu:fk'əxt l'ev'i:l'ə P; *bhí mé i bhfoisceacht ... v'i: m'e' u:fk'əxt |* 06C.

fos, *i bhfus*, etc., DIL:

u : **ə wus** M generally; **i** : **ə wis** 01J, S;

u' : **ə wus** 31M, 35E, a phonemic analysis as /u:/ here is not certain;

u: : *i bhfus agus thall ə wu:s əgəs hæl* 889P, *i bhfus anseo wu:s ən'fo*

894N, *taobh i bhfus aríst ti: wu:s ə'r'i:ft'* 20M, *bhí sí i bhfus ar maidin*

v'i: f'i: wu:s er' mæ:d'ən' M, but Máire does not accept **wu:s** MØperm;

'o''**wus** : *an mbeidh sí i bhfus? m'ei f'i: 'o''wus* P. This can be compared

with the transcription *a' fear ú-us* (glossed *i bhfus*) [x2] 894C6, which

might stand for ***uəs** or perhaps ***u:wəs**;

əwuəs 79S regularly; I have transcribed *abhuas* (once, perhaps 12S87) in my early notes.

Cp. *oi* > **u**: in *foichnín fun'hin'*.

faghairt FGB ~ *foghairt*, *fagairt* (verbal noun of *fo-geir* (?) DIL, in our dialect *foghairt* seems to be the base for **faurt'** M.

socamlacht DIL *sócúlacht* FGB **sokw:ləxt** M, adjective **sokru:ləx** 21Ptq; *roisín* FGB > *róisín* FFG.

1.44 *u, ui, iu*

u, iu normally = **u**, e.g. *cuma, gus, muc, rug, sruth, tiugh*. For *ui* > **u i**, see 1.45, 1.46.

u > **o** ~ **u** (/ _l, r) in a few words:

mullach **muləx** SM, ~ **moləx** S88; *curach* [boat] **kurəx** P, others **korəx**. There is an instance of *u* > **o** in vowel harmony in *chugainn* in *an tseachtmhain seo chugainn t'əxtən' fo hogən'* 52P, generally *fo hugən'*.

u, iu > **o** (e) / _l, r, ch in some words:

anuraidh ə'norhə, *culaidh kolhə*, *Cú Chulainn ku: xolən'* 11C (cp. *colainn kolən'*), *curfhás korəs*, *fiuch f'ox*, *fliuch fl'ox*, *a bhfurmhór ə worəwə:r*, *luch lox* homophonous with *loch*, *lucharpán loprəxən* M, *lucht loxt*, *purgadóir porəgədo:r'*, *purgóid porəgo:d'*, *pursa porfə* M, P, *triuch tr'ox* S, 11Ct, *tur tor* SM, and also > **a** in the echo word *tor tar*, *turas torəs*, *Turcach torkəx*, cp. *ui* in related *An Tuircéis ən terk'e:f* !11C; *ucht oxt* homophonous with *ocht*, *neamh-urramach* FFG 'N'a.horəməx, *urdhubhadh oru: eru:*, also *əru:* Mp 264, *ellmaigid*, *ollm-*, *ullm-*, DIL, **ol-**, e.g. *ullmhaighthe oli:*.

Also in *bruscar broskər* S, **bröskər** 46.570, cp. *turscar* FGB, *trosgar trágha* Clad1223; *slusaí* FGB, cp. *tlus* ING, **slosi:** S *slosaí* FFG; *cudal* (codal) FGB **kodəl** 21Pt, **kudəl** M.

u > **u** ~ **i** commonly in the environment of the nonvelarised coronals, *t*, *r*, *s*, *d*, particularly common when flanked by such coronals. Older speakers probably

also had nonvelarised *n* with **u** ~ **i** as in the example of *gunna* cited immediately below. There is also limited fronting to **u** before *g*.

/_s: *dusta* **du**/istə, *gusta*(f) ~ *dusta*(f) **d**/gʊstə **d**/gisti: M; **güstə** 04B, *luspairt* **luspərt** ~ **lispərt** M, *truslóg* **truslo:g**, *go thrislóig* 869P2, *trust* **trust** >> **trist** S, *tusa* **tu**/isə.

/_n: *gunna* **gunə** >> **ginə** (e.g. **ginə** 892M4672).

/_g: *agus* **ugus** 892M1571, *uiliug* ^a**l** **ug** 892M1572.

/d_: *dubh* **du**(w) **di**(w) **di**(w) **du:**, note the high vowel allophone '**duv**' 852S in contrast with common [**dōw**]; also *dusta* above.

/t_: *stoca* **stikə** **stukə**; *péire stocáí* **p'ér'ə** **stiki:** Sq, *na stopóige* **nə** **stipə:g'ə** 892M1540; *stumpa* **stu**(i)**mpə** generally, but **stimpə** 16P; *tobán tuba:n* SM, 47P, *tibə:n* M; *tonna* **tunə** but 'pron[ounced] *tuionna*' 894C2 and *leath-tonna* 'l'ætinə 897P, *cheithre thonna* **x'ér'ə** **hīnə** 892M; *tufóigín* **tufə:g'ín** **tifə:g'ín** S, *thufóigín* **hifə:g'ín** S; *tutáil* **tita:l** SM, *tutáil* **titi:l** SM, also *tusa* above.

/s_: *sucadán* **sikəda:n** **sukəda:n** SM, *sumóid* **su**/imə:d' M, **su**/imə:d'əx M, *sutar* **su**/itər M, *sonda*(f) **su:ndə** S, **sundi:**, **sində** 20A.

/r_: *cruthaigh* **kruhə**, *cruthaighthe* **kruhi:hə** >> **krihi:hə**.

u ~ **u:** in *cuthach*: *cuthach* 894C2, **kuhəx** SM, but a minority of speakers have **ku:həx** (for other by-forms, see 1.122); in the borrowing *crusta* **kru:stə** 46.261, S, **krustə**, cp. *búcla* **buklə**.

iu > **u** ~ **i** in *aniugh* **ə'N'u** **ə'N'i** **ə'N'uw** **ə'N'iw**.

a in: *mullach* **malhəx** in specialised meaning 'creel load' (according to FGB *malach*² = *mullach* 6 (more relevantly 7), but given simply as **malach* in ICF and *mallach* FFG);

of the by-forms *tulach*, *tolach*, *talach*, **toləx** is the general form (also **tuləx** M), *talach* surviving only in the tale run *ar thaobh na tulaí talaí taébháí* 869P2;

cp. *muna* **marə** (< *mana*).

1.45 **ui**

i in: *cruit* **krit'**, *cuir* **kir'**, *duine* **din'ə**, *muileann* **mil'an**, in short vowel by-form of *muinntir* **mint'ər'**, *Muire* **mir'ə**, *uisce* **ifk'ə**.

i ~ **u** in: *amuigh* **ə'mu** **ə'm'u** **ə'mix'**, (*an*) *blhfuil* **wu/il'**, *bruith* **bru/i**, *buidéal* **bu/id'e:l**, *cuid* **ku/id'**, *cuisle* **ku/isl'ə**, *cait* > *cuit* **kit'** generally, but **kut'** 77C, *fuil* **fil'** usually (but **fü.l'** 46.474), *gach uile* **xu/il'ə**, *gach uile dhuine* **xu/il'ə** **yw/in'ə**, e.g. **xul'ə** **yun'ə** 64M, *suigh* **su/i**, e.g. *Suigh!* **su** 36S. Examples have initial labials and velars, also initial *s*.

ui > **o** **e** **i**

chuig **heg'** and related forms (minor variants in **i**), resembling *ag* **eg'**, but retained in *cad chuige* **gə** **tig'ə**; *cruimhe* **krēv'ə**; *Diarmaid ó Duibhne* > *Doibhne* (also *ó Duinn*, *Donn*) **d'iarəməd'** **o:** **daivn'ə** / **dain'ə** / **devn'ə** / **dev'ən'ə** / **dain'** 00Ttn, also **o:** **dowən'** 869PZCP161; *fuiling* > *foilinn* **fel'ən'**;

luiseag loʃæk SM; *suirghe* generally seɫ'i: in *mac suirghe* also *suirghe Fionn* seɫ'hi: f'un ... ~ seɫ'əji: f'i:n | 04B1; *uile* in *sin uile* and such phrases > eɫ'ə, otherwise combined with *gach* in the form il'ə; *uiread* (airet, eret, etc., DIL) eɫ'əd; *uireasbhaidh* ~ *aireasbhaidh* feɫ'əsə M but also *dhá bhfuireasbhaidh* ga: wiɾ'əsə M (or perhaps ga: weɾ'əsə); *uirthe orhə* (cp. *orm*, *orthabh*, etc.); *mhac Uisne* wak ɔf'ə (Ascn)04B, *clann Uisne* klā:n eɫ'ə 11C.

1.46 *ui* > *i* ~ *o* *e*

cluithche (*cluiche*) often klif'ə, but kleɫ'ə (Ascn)19S, (Ascn)19J.45, 21Pt, kloɫ'ə 852S, 896P, 06C, *chuile chluiche* xil'ə xloɫ'ə 31P; both *i* and *e* from the same speaker in the meaning 'game' *cluiche fichille* kleɫ'ə f'ihəɫ'ə 04B1, klif'ə (Ascn)04B, note the variation in 'game' klif'ə 46.328, -9, 'flock' klif'ə 46.158, but 'shoal of fish' klöf'i: klöf'[ə] 46.1131, 1167.

cuileann often kil'an, but kol'an 11C.

The vowel in *amuigh* is usually i ~ u but it is lowered in the final two tokens from 899P in the following exchange:

-Ó amuigh ag an mball. o: mix' eg' ə ma:ɫ | 899P

-Amuigh ag an mball. mih eg' ə ma:ɫ Pádraig Mac Donncha

-Amuigh ag an mball ... m'eh eg' ə ma:ɫ ... m'eh eg' ə ma:ɫ 899P.

The glide following *m* in by-forms of *amuigh* is regular before front allophones but is commonly transferred to position before back *u*, i.e.

ə'mu, ə'm'ix' and ə'm'wi (all three regular) > ə'm'u (through analogy).

Note ,na: b'i: ə'm'wi sə 'ma:ɫ'ə, 46.847 ná bí amuigh sa mbáistigh.

Short atonic vowels

1.47 Short pretonic vowels

Short pretonic vowels generally = ə, e.g. *amach* ə'max, *anuraidh* ə'norhə, *iontruist* ən'truɪɫ', *ro-bheag* rə'v'og, *tobac* tə'bək. Preceding vowels, *ro-* is only sometimes elided, e.g. *ro-fhada* rə'æ:də ræ:də; sometimes a clear (i.e. non-schwa) vowel is heard, e.g. *ro-fhada* rə'æ:də 892M1398, *ro-mhór* rə'wo:r ro'wo:r.

With stress shift, the short pretonic vowel is lost preceding *r* (including *r* < *n*) and *l* followed by *á*, *ó* in *conách* kra:x, *coróin* kru:n', *corónta* kru:ntə, *biorán* br'a:n, *foláir* fl'a:r. So also generally *arán* ra:n, rarely ə'ra:n; similarly *taisbéan*, rarely tu'ispa:n', generally spa:n'. Cp. *dorgha* doru: dru:, *tlú* tolu: << tlu: (tolu: has been noted from 892MDU, 05MAO and her granddaughter 76Nq, 11CMR, 18JAO, 45CAI, 21JRM, 52TRM and her daughter 79MABq who claims to use both; also (genitive) *olú* in the saying *ní raibh breac an (t)olú agam n'í ro br'æk ən olu: am* 35EAOt; for discussion, see de Bhaldraithe 1991: 130); words similar to *bolgam* > *blogam* are listed under 'Metathesis' (1.241). Retained in similar words: *coláiste* (generally), *galánta* (generally), *paráiste*; and before *é*: *Bairéad*, *Mairéad*.

Lost generally in a number of verbal forms: *atá*; but occasionally retained in *adeir* ə'd'ər', often in *adéarfainn* (5.241 ff.). Preverbal particles *do* and *ro* generally > *d'* and *-r*; however, in the case of *ro* in phrasal sandhi positions forms such as *gur* (go ro) *bhain* gəɾə wə'n' are heard (1.367 ff.). There is no initial ə in

'America' > *Meiriocá m'er'əka:* and other borrowings (11.104 ff.). Cp. much older *Uilliam* > *Liam* and also *Anábla* (< Annaple) (Risk 1968: 628) > *Nábla na:blə*, also *Nápla*. For cases of varying stress with vowel weakening and elision, see 1.378 ff.

Pretonic ə is affixed to some adverbs, e.g. *riamh ə'r'iaw*, *choidhche (ə)'xi:hən'*, *froisin ə'fruʃən'*, the last form noted from 37MAO only (perhaps ə'fruʃən'), cp. *a chuigint* Clad189, *a fheiceál 'chuigint*, Clad1118 (< *chuige*).

1.48 Short post-tonic vowels

Post-tonic *a*, *ai*, *e*, *ea*, *i*, *iu*, *o*, *u*, *ui* regularly = ə, e.g. *madadh madə*, *éadach edəx*, *banais banəʃ*, *Nodlaig nolək'*, *cleite kl'etə*, *duine dinə*, *aisteach astəx*, *imirt im'ərt'*, *faicim f'ek'am'*, *Gaillimh galə*, *froighfhliuchas frel'əxəs*, *frail'əxəs*, *easbog aspək*, *cumus kuməs*, *easbuig aspək'*.

With substitution and development of morphological endings:

Genitive feminine noun in *-e ə* generally, but also *i:*

Comparative of adjective *-e ə* generally, more rarely *i:*

Plural noun *-ale ə i:*; *-acha əxə V:xə əxi:* *V:xi:*; *-anna ənə << əni:*

Nonpersonal past indicative and present subjunctive *-ale ə i:*

2pl imperative *-idh i:* *əg'i:*

Verbal adjective *-tha hə hi:* *hi:(hə)*, etc.,

2pl prepositional pronoun *-ibh əb'*, *i:*

3pl prepositional pronoun *-alaibh* > *-abh* generally *əb* / *u:*, and the now obsolete *əf*; *-ibh* in obsolescent *əb'*, but also *ə* in *eidir eatarra ed'ər' æ:trə ~ ed'ər' æ:tru:* M; also innovative mixed *u:b*.

Both long-vowel reflexes of the shape *-V:hV:* as well as short-vowel reflexes of the dissimilatory shape *-V:hə* are attested in two 2 Conjugation verbal endings where EModIr has a choice of forms:

past habitual and past subjunctive passive *-ighthe ~ -ighthí* > *i:hə* (obsolescent) and *-íthí* (obsolete), now generally *i:t'i:*;

2sg conditional *-eóchtha ~ -eóchthá* (~ *-ghth-*) > *-o:hə -a:hə -əhə*, and *-o:ha: (-o:a:) -a:ha: -əha:*.

In the case of the 2sg in particular, rather than reflecting historical *-a*, the forms in *-ə* may represent weakened *-a:* or weakened and metathesised medial *-ə-* (or both). Medial *-ə-* may be a reflex of 2sg past subjunctive *-ightheá* > *-i:ha:* > *-ihə:* *-əha:* (also, with replacement of endings, *-a:ha:*, etc.). See 5.65 ff.

Speaker 71D has some unhistorical *-e -i(:)* of the type found in his mother's dialect of North Conamara, e.g. *muide mud'i* 71D, cp. *ag iarraidh g' iəri* 71D for regular Iorras Aithneach *g' iərə*. Semi-speaker 22P (Leitheanach, North-West Iorras Aithneach) has *-i:* in *réasúnta re:su:nti:* 22P and *dona duni:* 22P in contrast with 20MI (Leitheanach) who has regular *-ə* here.

For compensatory lengthening in unstressed syllables, see under the relevant fricative consonants below. For stress on originally unstressed syllables, see 1.378 ff. For loss and addition of post-tonic syllables, see 1.49 ff.

Post-tonic deletion of *ə* between homorganic consonants may occur in more

casual speech (cf. 2.4), e.g.

céard a lasfas an geas díbh? k'ɛ:rd ə lass ə ɡ'æ:s d'i:b' 21Pt.

Unstressed **-ən** > **ɪ** is common in the speech of a small minority of traditional speakers (following *r* and *d*, and also found in younger speakers):

in Éirinn n'ɛ:r'ɪ 04B; *go hÉirinn ɡə he:r'ɪ (MP)04B*;

an ghabhail éadain ə ɣaul' e:dn' (Smré)04B;

tharraing sí hærɪn' ʃi' 11C. Cp. *cainteannaí kæn'hni: 892M1258*.

Speaker **20MI**'s use may be a result of the influence of English phonology:

Sathrann sahærɪn 20MI; *fireann f'ɛ:r'ɪ 20MI*.

There are also examples of **-nə** > **ɪ**, e.g.

rinne tú bealach Dé ina thúis riɪn' tu b'æ:ləx d'e: nə h'u:s | 17M.

Syllabic **l** occurs quite occasionally in unstressed position in native words, although commonly in one lexeme: *baramhail baru:l' ~ barəl' M*, *ba:r'l' M*. Also *creatachaí, creatalacháí kr'ætəxi:, kr'ætələxi:, kr'æt'ləxi: M*. Cp. *focal foql 892M1594*. Irregular past tense *tháinig ha:n'ək'*, sometimes *ha:ŋk'*.

1.49 Apocope, **-e, -a** > **Ø**

The apocope following voiceless consonants described in this section is in many instances part of the phenomenon known as caducous schwa which is far more common in dialects further north (O'Rahilly 1932: 138–9; Watson 1985).

Following a voiceless consonant in certain words (although the development in some words is arguably analogical):

uisce coisreacdhá (caisricthe) iʃk'ə ka:ʃrək', also *iʃk'ə ka:ʃ'ik'* 46.783;

daibhche (genitive of *dabhach*) in toponym *Leitir Daibhche l'et'ər daif'*; attest-
ed genitive: *daif'i*: GCF §89 n. 10, *döif'i*: SID pt 40 Vocab s.v. *dabhach*;

feacadh, in *fillleadh ná feacadh* commonly *f'il'ə nɑ: f'ækə*, but *f'il'ə nɑ: f'æk* **10B**, cp. *spreacadh* further below;

fiadhnaise f'in'əʃə, generally *f'in'əʃi*: (cp. agentive *-í*); compound preposition *i bhfiadhnaise ə v'in'əʃə ~ ə v'in'əʃ*; also apparent examples of loss of final *-e* in noun: *a fhiadhnaise i:n'əʃ ortsá, a Mhaighdean Muire* [sic] **!05M**, *dar m'fhiannais ach gheobhaidh tú duais* **!04B** CABI §38(a) v. 5 (transcribed by **35E**);

fiche f'ix'ə before consonants, e.g. *fiche pingin fix'ə pi:n'* but in some phrases (finally) *f'i(x')*, e.g. *is fiche əs f'ix', əs f'i*, and *f'ih* when this phrase pre-
cedes a vowel, e.g. *is fiche ann əs f'i ha:n*;

cp. *grafadh* > *graf* S, *Garrdha Graf ... graf gá dhó* **20M**;

húirte háirte FGB > *hurt' hart'* **892M**;

lasca FGB *lasc* S;

maise > *smaʃ*; *-e* retained in, for example, *dána an mhaise dho, gan smais gan mhaise*;

muise (interjection) has a by-form *muis*. The form with *-e* is found alone and intrasententially, e.g. *Muise!*, *Ara muise níl!* The form *muis* is found following other elements when in prepausa position, e.g. *Tá muis!*

murdhúcha muru:x 46.1056, *an mhúrdhuach* DT85–6, *an mhúrdhach* DT86;

réalta FGB *re:lt* S, and generally, including *réalta na maidne re:lt nə ma:n'ə*, but *re:ltə nə 'ma:d'in'ə* (or *'ma:n'ə*) 46.911, *re:ltə* 46.897 (sg, according to SIDIII xiv);

spreacadh, generally **spr'æk**, e.g. *le spreac coisíocht* **11C**, *spreac mór* **892M-4229**, **spr'æk** **!39D** (cp. *spreacadh Mhaolra spr'ækə wilrə* **892M4224**, perhaps phrasal epenthesis);
mí Lughnasa(dh) m'i: 'lū:nəs 46.904, *lá Lúnas* **!01S** CABI §244(a) v. 8, *ó Lúnas go hInid* **!** CABI §519 v. 3, *faoi Lúnas* **!SÓC1.83**, also **!(sns)869PZCP158**, but **lū:nəsə** Sq, Mq;
is dócha (liom) with loss of schwa > **s do:x** (**l'um**), perhaps influenced by *is dóigh (liom)*.

Following a voiced consonant (**l**, **r'**, **d'**) in:

aithmhéala æf'e:lə **11C**, M, *aiféala* **852SbTS136**, **æf'e:lə** ~ **æf'e:l** **21Pt**, because of frequent collocation preceding the preposition *ar*;
foidhíde faid' (e.g. 46.1139), perhaps also owing to frequency of collocation preceding the prepositions *ar*, *ag*;
goir (< *gaire*) **gor'**, because of frequency of collocation preceding the preposition *ag*;
lompaire FGB **lumpər'** SM (LFRM *lompair*, gensg *lompaire*), cp. *lumpaire* Mq, FFG; cp. *tarngaire* DIL **ta:rəgər'**;
séire, ba:l' fer' SM, e.g. *nár thé an ball séire thart!* **nər he: m ba:l' fer' hart** SM, because of frequent collocation preceding the preposition *ar*;
teoide FGB, FFG20, **t'oid'** M, also common before *ar*.

Note also *díogha d'i:w*, *trágha tra:w*, verbal nouns *scríobhadh fkr'i:w*, *trághadh tra:w* and cp. *gábhadh ga:w*; *d'fhágaibh da:g(ə)*; *aithinne* has a by-form **æhən'**, a back-formation from common plural *aithinneachaí*; *céibhe (céidhe)* DIL (IGT) **k'e:v'**, a back-formation from the genitive **k'e:v'ə(x)**; *tine chreas* and *tine chreasach* (E. Ó Neachtain and **866E**, in Ó Con Cheanainn 2002: 210, 223–4; FGB *creasa*¹ variant *creas*, also *creasach* Dinn); *roimhe* simple preposition generally **ri:v'ə** (based on 3m prepositional pronoun) less often **ri:v'**.

1.50 -ə ~ Ø

In voiceless environment frequently, nonetheless optionally, in:

Domhnach Cásca du:nəx kə:sk(ə), etc., (3.33);
Domhnach Cingcighise ,du:nəx 'k'ij'k'i:f, 46.800;
gaíse DIL, *gaís* = *caise* FGB, **ga:f**, e.g. *gaís ghainimh ga:f ya:n'ə* S, *amach an Ghais ma:x ə ya:f* M, *ar an gaise er' ə ɲa:fə* M, **gaɣ:fə** P;
íocshláinte in mo phoittín íocshláinte mə fut'in' 'i:k,lə:nt'ə (Smbb)**04B**, **mə fot'in' 'i:k,lə:nt'** **11Ct**, **pot'in' 'i:k,lə:nt'ə** M;
Loch Con Aortha lox kə'ni:r'hə (e.g. SM), also **lørə kə'ni:r'hə** **889P**, less commonly **lox kə'ni:r** (e.g. **03C**, **20Mlt**), most rarely **lox kə'ni:r'h** **14M**;
lota generally **lotə** but (in run) *dhá leon ar lota ya: l'on or lot* | **869P**;
nádúrtha na:dur(ə), e.g. *na:durə* **04Br**, S, **20Ml**, *na:dur* S, **15W**;
rite reaite rit'ə ræ't'ə SM, *rite reait* FFG19, 20.
Compare *faoch* 'nothing', frequent before *ar*, with *faocha* 'periwinkle'; *grásta* > *gpl grásta* ~ *grást* (3.47), with *grás trócaire* (14 *grás*) compare *go ndéana Dia grásta agus trócaire ar a anam* **05M**.
Following *r* in *tarngaire* DIL **ta:rəgər'** SM, *insa taragair* **869P5**, **sə ta:rəgər'ə** **20T**, also *Targaireacht Cholm Cille* **869P5**, **sə ta:rəgər'əxt** **32P**, **34M**, *targaireacht* FFG20.

Otherwise loss in the voiceless environment occurs quite rarely, mostly before pausa:

-*Tá tú cinnte? -Tá mé cinnte* -*ta tu k'i:nt', -ta m'e k'i:nt'ə* 11Ct;
mar gheall ar an bpáiste mar jæl er' ə bə:ft' M;
Cé na trí bhreac nach mbéarfaidh ar aon bhaoite? ... m'ēr'h ər ən wi:t' P;
dhéanfadh sé na gnotha ... j:nhəd fe nə grūh | S;
muinntir Mhaínse mi:nt'ər' wi:nf' (perhaps wi:nf'ə) S;
Dé Domhnaigh seo caite d'e dū:nə fə kə:t' | M;
cailleadh roinnt caorach sa sneachta ... kɛrəx sə 'f'n'əxt 46.93;
sneachta dhá ... f'N'ə:xt gə: ... !04B;
is avae léithi əs 'a'we: l'e:h | 897P.

- ª: *colbtha* generally *kaləpə*, cp. *kaləp*ª 46.460;
beainín bheag íseal drochmhúinte b'æn'in' v'og i:fəl droxu:nt'ª | P.

In this environment voiceless ə is not uncommon, especially in relaxed articulation, e.g.

gach aonduine acú ag iompairt páiste ... g'umpərt' pə:ft'ə | 17M.

Following *n*, caducous schwa has been noted in the following examples:

ar na daoine er' nə di:n' | S; *Dé Domhnaigh ... d'e dū:n | S*;
tráth nóna trən'hun | S; *Sasana sa:sən |* or *sa:sən: | 39D*.

Cp. toponym *Aill na Móna* *al(ʰ) nə mu:n*, perhaps < *Aill na Móna*; surname (Ó) *Cuana* recorded in *Céit Mhurchadh Cuana k'e:t vroxə ku:n S*.

Cp. loss of *-ach* in lax speech in *sailcheánach seil'hən* 892M1532.

Note *ə* retained in *cumhachta: ku:xtə* 04B, *ina cumhachta ənə ku:xtə* 22M, but also *ku:xt* ! (Amm) 39D, and *Dearg Cumhacht d'æræg kū:xt* 00T (name of character in tale). (Present-day *cumhacht ku:xt* 'power' of younger speakers, in the by-form without *ə*, may be a more recent borrowing from modern post-revival Irish.)

1.51 Addition of final schwa

Addition of schwa occurs following *h*, i.e. *h## > hə##*, mostly following a long vowel, which is the weakest position for lexical retention of final *h*. Words noted, including some with unhistorical *h*, are listed here.¹

ádth: generally *ɑ:* with frequent *h* in sandhi before vowels, e.g. *an t-ádth ort*, *an t-ádth air ən tɑ:h ort*, *ən tɑ: er'* S, less often *an t-ádth air n tɑ:hə er'* S, *go n-éirighe an t-ádth leat gə N'air'i: n tɑ:hə l'æt* S.

áth: *ɑ:* or *ɑ:hə* SID.46 Vocab, *an áth ən ɑ:* 892M; *a' t-átha*, 852Sb6.78, TS135; also *ɑ:(hə)* (contrast *áith > áithe ɑ:hə ɑ:hə*, consistently disyllabic).

cath: *kə' | 04B*, but *ag troid i gcath ə tred' | ə gahə | 06C*, (possible attestation of) genitive singular *catha* in *le haghaidh an chatha ɿ ...* 869P4. Perhaps *cath > cathadh* (i.e. *kahə*) 'ordeal' in *-Tugadh as cathadh mór mise agus tá mé tuirseach* LL84.

¹ The phenomena of loss of intervocalic *h* in Mid Cois Fharraige, shortening of long vowels before *h*, and insertion of unhistorical *h* intervocalically in West Cois Fharraige in particular, need to be considered in the context of this set of words. (Cf. an inadequate discussion by M. Dillon 1962: 577–8; Watson 1996b.) There may be some rhinoglottophilia (connection of nasalisation with high airflow) involved in *cumha* (*kū:* of older speakers) > *ku:hə* and comparable *crónachan* *krū:həxən* 06C. (Cp. 1.304.)

clé: generally *clé* ~ *clí* with obsolescent genitive *cléithe*, but *cléithe* also nominative in *a' láimh cléithe (sic) agus ...* !894C9.

cumha ku: generally, but *cumha mhór*, *cumha agam ku:hə wɔr*, *kuə wɔr*, *ku:am* 26Pq.

féith f'e:hə SM, *féith ghorm f'e:hə ɣorəm* M, but also *féith i mo chuimhne f'e: ə mə xi:vɾ'ə* S, *féith ná comháireamh f'e: nɑ: ku:r'ə* S, plural *f'e:həxi*: S, *f'e:əxi*: SM, *féith na fola* CAR, singular *f'e:* > plural *f'e:t'ə* 04Fq.

gaoth gɪ:hə SM, 46.Mp 223, and so identical with historical genitive singular *gaoithe*; *gaoth thimchill gɪ:hə hi:mp'əl'* S. Rarer is *gɪ:*, e.g. *gə ɣi: ɔ'n dhe ghaoth ann* 892M1613, *sruth agus gaoth léithi agus í ag tabhairt a haghaidh ar Ghaillimh | fru gus gɪ: l'ehə gəs i: tɔrt' ə hai er' ɣæ:l'ə |* 11C, *thairníodar an ghaoth ɣi: siar faoi ...* 18J7101, *mar a d'athródh gaoth gɪ:* 18J7115, *ní raibh gála, gaoth ar bith anois ann n'í rə 'gɑ:l'ə | 'gɪ: b'ɪ 'n'ɪf ɔ'n* 18J8127, *d'fhaigheadh na báid seoil an ghaoth ɣi: fabharach* 35E7924.

leith (the fish), *L'ehə* (less often *L'æhə* M).

luaith luəhə (identical with historical genitive singular) generally, but note the lack of expected *h* following *luaith* in *ná caith an luaith amach nɑ kah ə luə mɑ:x* 894C; also *luə* 52P (mother from An Cheathrú Rua).

luath, luə generally, for a small minority also *luəhə*, e.g. *luəhə* 04Br, 15W, 11J, 20T whose father or uncle 869P has *h* before a vowel, relatively rare in this environment, in *déan go luath é d'í:ən gɔ 'lu:əh ə* 46.874 (2.42). Both *cho luatha* ₇ and *cho luath* ₇ occur in 852S4.

maith, ma(h) generally, including in *gan maith ná maoin gən ma nɑ: mɪ:n'* SM, but *gən mahə nɑ: mɪ:n'* M85, perhaps influenced by *ar mhaithe le*.

scáth generally *skə:hə* 'shadow'; as noun *scáth na cupóige* [x2] 894C2, *scátha na cupóige* [x1] 894C2, *ar do scáth ɛr də skə:hə*, 04Bl; *ar a scáth ɛr' ə skə:hə* 04Bl; in sense 'fear' *scáth beag orm skɑ: b'og ɔrəm* P; in the compound preposition *ar scáth an t-achar ... ɛr skə:hə ən tɑ:xər ...* M, also *ɛr skə:həs* 52J (1.238).

snáithe generally *snə:hə snə:hə*; *snáth mara* FGB, *snátha-mara* 894C9.

úth > *u:hə*.

Cp. *cáith* ~ *cáitheadh* 'chaff' and verbal noun *cáitheadh*; contrast SM, 894Cs who have *ka:hə* for both noun and verbal noun, with 04B who apparently has the contrast *cáith* (noun) vs. *cáitheadh* (verbal noun): *glaicín cháith gla'k'ín' xɑ:* (Smds)04B, *an tuighe agus an cáith ən ti: ɔgəs ə kɑ:* (Smds)04B, in contrast with *gɑ xɑ:hə* (Smds)04B *dhá cháitheadh*. (Seán also has noun *kɑ:*.) Cp. feminine genitive *na cáití* < *cáitheadh* 'chaff'.

1.52 -C > -Cə

-C > -Cə in native words in final position (in some instances identical with the genitive singular).

aicíd, historical singular genitive and nominative plural *aicíde*: nominative *aicíde bháis* S.

ammait ~ *aimmit* DIL > *aimid*, *amaide aməd'ə* 43M, *aimide* ! CABI §70(a) v. 7.

aithint: *furasta a aithint frust æ:nt'ə*, perhaps originally from phrasal epenthesis between stops -t g- in (is) *furusta a aithint go ...* (e.g. 864MDT64), although metanalysis from ... *aithint é* is also a possible contributory factor; alterna-

- tively, a palatalised form of the verbal adjective *aitheanta* (> **aithinte*); or perhaps a blend from *aithint* and *aithne*. (The synchronic verbal adjective of *aithnigh* is *aithnighthe* æ'n'hi:(hə) but cp. *inaitheanta*, *inaithne*, *inaithnighthe*. Note also *b'fhuraiste* [etc.,] *aithint* / *aithinte* / *aithne* É. Ó hÓgáin 1984 s.v. *aithin* 4(c); *ainte* by-forms in *aithne* SGDS.)
- braíllín* (*braíllín* FGB) brá:l'i:n' ? , brá:l'i:n' M, 21Pt, rarer brá:l'i:n'ə [-l' - ?] P, brá:l'i:n'ə [-l' - ?] !10B.
- an chaill* əŋ xal'ə S (< *caill* 'loss'), in phrase before *ar*, the coda al' being phonologically anomalous (for regular al'), perhaps influenced by *cailleadh*.
- cécht* DIL: *céachta*.
- cp. *claidheamh* 'sword' klā:v'ə (plural klā:v'i:, but high register plurals klā:f'i:, klā:v'i), 'type of seaweed' klā:f'ə.
- clais* glafə generally, but glaf 894Cs, 31M, also klafə 20A (Doire Iorrais).
- clann*, dative *cloinn* acquired final schwa through metanalysis in common occurrence preceding *a Con* (< Ó *Con*, (Mh)*ac Con*) in use with surnames, e.g. *dhe chloinn 'ac Con Raoi* > *dhe chloinne ... gə xlin'ə*. Perhaps influenced by semantically similar *sloinneadh* slin'ə, *cloinne* klin'ə (with facultatively lexicalised lenition xlin'ə) is restricted to surnames and is not (directly) associated with *clann*.
- cromadh romhat* krumə ru:tə SM, *cromarúta* CAR, *coma rúta* 21J.
- cuid*: *cuid mhaith* kid' wa', *do chuid fataí* də xid' fati:, (tá) *cuid dubh agus cuid bán* kid'ə duw ogəs kid'ə bā:n Mq. Originally perhaps from coalescence in *cuid de* > *cuide*, or from phrasal epenthesis in *cuid dhe ... kid'ə gə ...*, (cp. *iomad*, *leithéid* below and 1.367).
- déirc*, genitive *déirce* > *déirce* SM nominative and genitive.
- draoidheacht* dri:xt generally (genitive dri:xt') but speaker 03V has dri:xtə (in his own song compositions): *faoi dhraíochta*, *ceol draíochta*, *claimhe draíochta*.
- dergnad* DIL, *dreancaid* FGB: *dreancaid* ~ *dreancaide go Bleá Cliath* S (examples in 14 *dreancaid(e)*).
- Cp. 'c' *súil droichid* si: su:l' drohəd'(ə) P (part of alphabet rhyme, learnt at school).
- dúd* P, *dúda* FFG19, 20, *seandúide*, *dúid* 'base'. Cp. *dúidín*, *dúdán*.
- eang* FGB æ'ŋgə 892M, 11C, M.
- eiteal* (verbal noun) e't'al S, ə 'g'el't' rø:g or e'r'el't' rø:ig' 46.140 *ag eiltreog*, *ar eiltreog*; also the mixed form in: *nach bhfuil a' t-éan héin ar a geitealla* (sic) *in ánn a ghul thartub sin* 852Sb6.72. Cf. 5.308.
- eitinn* e't'ən' M, *eitinne* FFG.
- faid* in *cá fhaid go* > *cáide* (go) generally, perhaps through phrasal epenthesis.
- féil(e)*, see 3.47.
- feithid* (< *eathaid*) *feithid an bhéil bheo* f' ehəd' ə v'e:l' v' o: S ~ *feithide* (which I recall from memory).
- gangaid* FGB, *gangaid* FFG20 (no doubt also in IA), *an ghangaide* !05M.
- iomadh* ~ *iomad* EModIr (also *iomata*, *iomadaigh* Dinn, *iomada*, *iomadaí* FGB) > *iomada* 11C (rare); perhaps originally from coalescence of *iomad de* > *iomada* or from phrasal epenthesis preceding *dhe* (cp. *cuid* above, *leithéid* below); perhaps influenced by *iomarca*. Also ə yə:f'k' iəx ə:lən' nə n'uməd ye:l 04Bl *a ghaiscíoch álainn na n-iomad Ghael*.

Críost and *Íosa Críost* generally, but note possible *a Íosa Críosta* **jiəsə kr'iste** or **ɑ: jesə kr'iste** **866Etn**, cp. the transcription '*S a Íosta Críost(é) ná'r ...*' **!894C9**, influenced by Latin vocative 'Christe', particularly in 'Christe, miserere nobis'; also **kr'istə** **!(Acdb)43Js**.¹

leacht > *leachta* **S**, **35E**, *an leacht sin* **21Pg**.

leid (var. *leide*) **FGB** **l'id'ə** **14M**.

leithéid **l'ehəd'ə**, e.g. *ina leithéid seo dhe theach* **ənə l'ehəd'ə fo gə 'hax** | **866E**; perhaps originally from coalescence of *leithéid de* > *leithide* or from phrasal epenthesis preceding *dhe*, e.g. *a leithéid dhe* **ə l'ehəd'ə gə** (cp. *cuid*, *iomad* above; *taobh is-muigh de* > *tésmuite* > *tésmuite dhe*).

lorg 'harvested land' **lorəg** generally, but **lorəgə** **66L** through analogy with *lorga* 'shin'.

lúthgháir **lufar'ə** influenced by *gáire*.

malairt has a by-form *malraid* which occurs as *malraide* in *malairt dhe* **malhrəd'ə gə** **892M** (1.371; cp. *cuid*, *leithéid*, above).

más [**mās** ?] **māsə** **Mq** (perhaps influenced by genitive in *-a* as in place-name *an Mhása* and by plural *-a(i)*, common in this noun); and *leathmhás* **l'afās** **11C**, **l'afās** **FFG**, **l'æ:wāsə** **Mq**; the place-names, *Más* and derived *Leath-Mhás*, generally have final *-s*, e.g. **l'a:wās** **M**, but also **māsə** **21Ptq**; genitives *Mása* and *Leath-Mháis*.

Maois ~ *Maoise* **Dinn** > *Maoise* **852S4** nominative, dependent position *Leabhar Mhaoise* **!39D**.

méid generally, but also obsolete *méide* as indefinite pronoun before initial consonants of dependent nouns (cp. *cuid* and *leithéid* above).

mionn (~ *mionna*) **FGB**, **m'unə** **M**, also *mionna* **FFG24**, **31**, plural *mionnaí* **S**, but *mionna móra* **m'unə mō:rə** **889P**.

míorbhail míorbhaile (*míorbhaille* **L**) **IGT** **m'iaru:l't'ə** ~ **m'iaru:l't'** **M**.

naosc **894C2**, also *naosca*.

prioc **FFG20**, **pr'ukə** **M**.

pleota **pl'otə** **72C** (cp. *leota*), **pl'ot** **SM**.

satharn, *sathrann* **IGT** **sahərn sah(ə)rən sarhən** generally, but speaker **71D** has a nominative form **sahrənə** (perhaps *-rh-*), influenced by the genitive by-form *sathrainne*.

scáil **FGB**, *scáile* **DIL**, **skəl'ə** **SM**.

sméar ~ *sméir*, but *sméara* in *Chomh dubh leis an sméara dhubh* **FFG** s.v. *dubh*.

sochraide, cf. 1.261 below.

sram(a) **FGB**, note the hesitant use of singular *srama* in the following exchange:

-*An srama dhen tsúil*. **ə sra:mə gən tu:l'** **52P**

-*Hu?* **hə:** **S**

-*Sramaí* **sra:mi** **52P**;

Mostly used in the plural, i.e. *sramaí*; cp. *coch* (1.53, 4.80); *sram(a)* **LFRM**.

ubhall, generally 'apple' = **u:lə**; lexically differentiated in **u:l** 'Adam's apple', e.g. *an t-ubhall* **ən tu:l**, *ubhall na scornáí* **u:l nə sko:rni:**, *ubhall do mhuineál* **u:l də win'əl** **SM**, and in *ubhall na haithne* **u:l nə hæ:n'hə**, cp. 'Higher Register' (10.15).

uadhacht udhachta **u:xtə**.

¹ Cp. *Íosa Críosta* from my daughter Muireann aged 2.8, for *Íosa Críost* in the household.

úr ‘suint’ (in wool) > úra, e.g. *úr an bhréidín* **u:R əm v r e:d³i:n** **11C1045**, *Níor baineadh a úr sin, níor tháinig a úr* **n³i:r bæ:n³u: u:rə ʃi:n³, n³i:r hæ:n³ək³ u:rə** SM; also **u:r 12Sperm, 16Mperm**.

1.53 Other examples

Note the apparent uncertainty in *Bhí cocha, cocha, ar a léine* **v³i: koxə | koxə | ɛr ə l³e:n³ə ...** M (with singular meaning); however, the general and also Mq’s singular form is *coch kox* (including FFG19, 20), *coich ko* S. The uncertainty in production was perhaps because the plural **koxi:l³ koxəni:** is most often used.

Cp. *sáinn* SM, note that *sáinne* (variant FGB) **Søperm, MØperm**.

Cp. historical *glóir* and *glóire* (in DIL): **glor³(ə)** in:

le go gcaillfidh muid an ghlóir. **ɣlor³** (Abf)**03C**,

Ach céad glóir le Íosa Críost ní raibh aon rən maith [sic] *dhóib ann*. **!10B**,

... céad glóire glor³ə leis an tÉanMhac, (Abf)**03C**,

míle glóire glor³ə le Dia **05M**.

These examples suggest possible (optional collocational) conditioning: *céad / míle glóire le*; *prepausa glóir* (or elsewhere).

1.54 ± final ə in older borrowings

abhcóid SM, also *abhcóide* S, also *ócóid* M.

ballasta ‘ballast’ generally **baləstə**, but note *na clocha balaist* **869P4** (FGB ~ *ballasc*, Dinn ~ *ballaiste*).

Búrc, Éamann a Búrca, Éamann Liam a [an ?] *Búrcach* **e:mən ə burkə, e:mən l³iam ə burkəx** SM, also *a Búrc*.

carbhat FGB, *carabhata* **!894C9**, *mo charbhat mə xə:rəwə:tə* **!19J**.

cáirt usually, but *cárta* **!(Aár)04B**.

cása >> *cás* SM meaning ‘case, box’ but *cás* >> *cása* meaning ‘matter, concern’.

daba FGB, *dab* SM.

duisín DIL **d³if³e:n³ə 46.Mp 40**, **d³if³e:n³ə d³if³æ:n³ə**, speaker **21Pt** has **d³if³e:n³ə d³if³æ:n³ə** but also **d³if³e:n³**, e.g. *aon d³uiséinn déag* **21Pt**, *sa d³uiséinn* **21Pt**

fág¹ (also *fága*) FGB (< French ‘vague’), *an fága* **20C**, cp. *fág* LFRM, *fága* SID.43b.1061.

faic, ‘nothing’ **fak³ 43M**, game *an faic əm fa:k³* S, *ag bualadh faic buələ fa:k³* SM, etc., but *faice thara fak³ ə hæ:rə* S.

geata (< ‘gait’), *geata* S, *geat* **56Pe**, e.g. *geat faoi* **56Pe**; common before vowel in *geata ar*.

gifte SM.

ócáid, *ócáid gnotha* **o:kə:d³ gruhə ~ o:kə:d³ə gruhə** SM, **o:kə:d³ 29C, 35E, uəkə:d³ 26P, 52J**.

oifige **ef³əg³ə M, 21Ptq**, also **ef³əg³** Mq.

péine Dinn, FGB (var. *péinne* FGB) **p³e:n³ə ~ p³e:n³**, perhaps also **p³e:n³ə**.

pinse, **p³i:nʃə** S, P, **p³inʃ** for younger speakers based on English ‘pinch’; **p³i:nʃ** **!(Atb)P** ‘predicament’.

plána (~ *plán*) FGB > *plána*.

pointe generally **pi:n³ə** but **pi:n³** in *glaise phointe gləʃə fi:n³*, plural **glaskəni:** **pi:n³** S (cp. *glaise bhoinn = glaise phointe ~ glaise phoint* LFRM s.v. *glaise*).

posta, reasta, rusta, seafta.

próis, prós, cp. singular *próise* **876JABg.353** in *próise agad*.
rós, chomh dearg leis an rós(a) **xə d'æ:ræg l'ej ə rois ~ roisə** S.
seift, jeft ə S.
sliúipe: *i sliúipe Pheaide* **!894C9**.
stát(a) DIL, *i státa Virginia* **869P4, stá:tə 12J**.
substaint: *substainte agus buanadas insa bpíopa* **894C9**, also > *fismənt* M,
siosmaint **894C2**, FFG.
úsáid **u:sá:d' uəsá:d' uəsá:d' ə**.

Also in:

-óir > *-áire*, in *speacláire speacláir speaclóir* Mq, most often in plural **sp'eklɔ:r'i: 21Pt, sb'eklɔ:r'i: 46.426, sp'eklɔ:r'i: M**;
-éir, -éar > *-éara*, regularly when agentive suffix, e.g. *feirméar f'el'əm'era*, but non-agentive nouns generally *-éar*, e.g. *ciléar, cúiléar k'il'er, kul'er* M, *dinnéar*, sometimes by-forms, e.g. *húcaer(a): hu:ke:ra hu:ke:er. sim(i)léar* generally retains *-éar* with genitive *sim(i)léir*; but **894C** has nominative *similéara fim'əl'era* and genitive *similéir fim'əl'er* **894Ct**. Cp. *roilléire ri:l'er'ə* (plural **ri:l'er'əxi: 894Cs**), but also **ri:l'er:ra** (plural **-ri: -rəxi:**).
-lar > *-lra* in *biolar* > *biolra, iolar* > (*iolra* >) *iolrach*.
-isc ~ -ste in *rúisc ~ rúiste* CAR, *rúiste* FFG.

1.55 Clear post-tonic short vowels

A clear short /a/ developed in *toirmeascúil tor'əm'æ:sku:l* M; it is retained in *cornasc, croimeasc, krim'æsk*, etc., also in the fairy's name *Finnbheara f'in'v'ærə*. Short /a/ occurs in the borrowings *bricfasta br'ik'fastə*, also *bricf(e)ásta; carbhat ka'rəwə'tə*; from *á* in a rare by-form of *comrádaí kum:ræ'di: 869P* (see *á* 1.11), and in the borrowing *treaspás* FGB, *truspás* LFRM, *truspás 11C*. Short /e/ from *é* in a by-form of *aimhréidh æ:vr'e* M, **26P**. Adverb *soir'neas* generally *sairn'æs* but also *sairn'əs [sairn'is]* **31P** (also *soir aneas ser' ə'n'æs*). The word *eadarascán* has variants with two independent stresses: *æ:d'ruskə:n* M and *'æ:dər'uskə:n* S; I transcribe speaker **04B**'s two tokens, *æ:d'ruskə:n 04Bl*, with unstressed *u*, although it may actually be *ə*, as in FFG = *æ:d'rəskə:n*. Retention of clear vowels in unstressed position occurs in other words with varying stress patterns, e.g. (in pretonic position) *oscail o'skil' 45B, oscailte es'kol't'ə* M.

Post-tonic short vowels are lengthened often with morphological conditioning in many nouns (1.48). Genitive of some feminine nouns, e.g. nominative *dabhach* > genitive *daibhche daiv'i: (?)* Mq (presumably influenced by 2D *-ach* > *-aighe*, cp. the other queried genitive forms of *dabhach* > *daui: dauhi:* Mq). The unlengthened vowel is lost in the place-name *Leitir Daibhche l'et'ər daif'*, spelt 'Litterduffie' by Sir William Petty (Goblet 1932: 300).

1.56 List: *-acan ~ -acán — -a ~ -aí*

Many other vocalic and consonantal changes can be interpreted as ending replacements. These include metathesis in endings and combination of endings.

- acan* ~ -*acán*:
adhlaican **ā:nləkən**, **ɑ:wləkən**; **ā:vləkɑ:n**, **ɑ:vləkɑ:n**, **ā:nləkɑ:n**; including plural **ɑ:vləkɑ:n'** P;
iodhlacan **īələkən** 03V, *íolacan* FFG, *iarlaca* ! and saying 894C9, **īələkūn** 11C;
tionnlaca **ť:īnləkən**, also **ť:īnləkɑ:n** M. Cp. *giollac(h)án*.
- (*ac*)*an* > -(*ac*)*ún*:
foracan FGB, *foracún* SM, also *foracán*.
- abhán* ~ -*achán* ~ -*acán* (~ -*adán*):
dúrabhán ~ *dúracán* ~ *dúrachán*, cp. *dúradán*.
- ach*, -*álach*:
gágálach (= *gágach*, *fágálach*) S.
- acht* ~ -*íocht*:
intleacht **ī:ntl'əxt** 01J, **ī:ntr'əxt** M, *intríocht* FFG.
- bhach*, -*rach* > -*rúch*:
siólbhach ~ *siolrach* ~ *siolradh* FGB > *siolrúch* Sc308-1.11 (cp. Sc247.8), perhaps influenced by verbal noun *siolrughadh* **fjəlrui**: (see 1.106 (ix)).
- íoch*, -*each*:
loilgheach **lō'íəx**, but (plural) **lōr'həxi** 36P. Cp. *Corcaíoch* > *Corcacháí* and other plurals (4.19, 4.20).
- achan* ~ -*anach*:
duifeachan ~ *duifeanach*, etc., S.
- achan*, -*achán* (> -*úchán*):
bogachan **bogəxən** S, **bogəxɑ:n** SM;
crónachan **kru:nəxən**, *crúnachan* Semr60, *cróinneachan* 875T1, **kru:həxən** 06C, **kru:nəxɑ:n** 892M (as VN);
deállrúchán na gréine 875T1;
duibheachan ~ *duibheachán* 894C1.16;
gealachan ~ *gealachán* P, also *gealú*;
saobhachan FGB **si:wəxən** S, **si:wəxɑ:n** M, 46 s.v. *saobhachán*;
maidneachan **mā'n'əxən** P, *maidneachan lae* **mā'n'əxɑ:n 'le**: 892M5932, P. It is difficult to determine whether speaker 11Ct's *maidneachan lae* contains -*achan* or -*achán*, I hear the final token in the recording as probably **mā'n'əxən 'le**:, i.e. -*achán*.
- achán* ~ -*ánach*:
meilsceánach FGB **m'ailf'k'ɑ:nəx** S, **m'ailf'əxɑ:n** FFG s.v. *meilseachán*, cp. *feamainn mheilsceánach* **f'æ:mən' wailf'ɑ:nəx** [sic] Mq; *meilsceán* **m'ailf'k'ɑ:n** 21Jq.
- achán* ~ -*ánach* ~ -*álach* ~ -*álaí*:
cp. *scrábachán* M, FFG20, *scrábánach* M, FFG19, *scrábálach*, *scrábálaí*.
- áiste* ~ -*éiste*:
béaláiste SM, *béiléiste* 889P, M.
- aid* > -*aoid*
farraid, *forraid*, also *farraíd* (O'Rahilly 1921-3b: 20-2, 96-7) > *araoid* **ari:d'** (T. S. Ó Máille 1958-61: 145).
- aid* > -*éad*:
apparently in *Blannéad* !852S < *Bláthnad*, *Blá(th)naid*, cf. *Sinéad*, *Mairéad*.
- ae* ~ -*aoid* ~ -*óig*:
pabhsae **pause**: M, **pause:d'** S, **pauso:g'** S.
- áid(e)* ~ -*óid*:
ócáide **o:/uəka:d'ə**, also **o:ko:d'** 30Pq;
oibleagáid(each) **aibl'əgo:d'** 892M, M, also **aibl'əga:d'**; **aibr'əga:d'əx** 889P (Coill Sáile), 20A (Doire Iorrais);
pióráid FGB plural na *pióráideacha mór* **nə p'í:ro:d'əxə mo:r** | !(Asp)04B, *piólóideachaí* 869P4.

-áit/d > -óid:

Pionsa Píolóid !869P6 (for standard *Pointias Píoláit* also *Píoláid*).

-aoid ~ -éid ~ -éad ~ -óid:

scaraoid > *scáraoid* 894C2, *scáiréid* >> *scáiréad* 866E, *scárthóid* FFG;

fuasaoid SM, *fuasóid* S (MØperm).

-aill ~ -áid ~ -óid:

briogaill ~ *briogáid* ~ *briogóid* M.

-óid ~ -ó(i)g:

corróg ~ *corróid* S (~ *gorróid* S85, cp. *gorún*);

fasóid(ín) ~ *fasóig* S;

liathróid *l'iarho:d'* generally, but *l'iarho:g* 23Mst, genitive *l'iarho:d'ə* 23Mst;

sméaróid ~ *sméaróg* S.

Cp. *leadhbóg* *l'i:bo:g* and *líobóideach* (FGB, Dinn) CAR.

-áil > -án:

líneáil FGB *l'ina:n* S, perhaps through dissimilation, cp. *lín*.

-aide > -airde ~ -aoid(e):

sochraide > *sochraíd(e)*, *sochairde*, etc., see 1.261.

-al(l)ach ~ -álach:

brothálach adjective FFG, *brochálach* noun 894C2, *bruthallach* ~ *bruthálach* M;

reothalach *ro:hələx* ~ *ro:hə:ləx* S;

triopallach SM, *triopálach* S.

-(c)an ~ -(c)am ~ -(c)án:

rabhcán, *ruacan*, *rócam*, see 1.258.

-ann ~ -án:

punann generally, but *punán* 51Pq.

-anta ~ -ánta:

ropánta FGB *ropəntə* S, *ropanta* FFG;

cp. *leoghanta* > *leonta* FGB, *leogánta* !894C9.

-anta ~ -únta:

paiseanta FGB var. *paisiúnta* (Angt)11C.

-amán, -amás, -amas:

fothramán, *forhəma:n* << *forəma:n* P, *forəma:s* S, *forəməs* SM.

-an ~ -ún:

*dragan*¹ ~ *dragún*² FGB > *drágúin* 866E_{Sc}308-1.11 (plural);

faisiún, *faisean*, most recently *feaisean* 'fashion'.

-án ~ -ún; -án > -ún:

bunastán FGB, FFG20 > *bunastún* M (cp. *bundún*), *cábún* ~ *cábán* FFG. Cf. *-acan* > *-acún* above.

-án > -ad:

torbán FGB, *torbad* FFG.

-ánach > -únach:

forránach FGB, *forrúnach* S.

-ás ~ -as, -am, -ós, -ús, -úch:

cuntanós > -as in *ku:ntənəs* 10B, SM, including *-asach* *ku:ntənəsəx* S, with loss of *-an-* in *'g'ar:xū:ntəsəx* 10Bq, also > -ás in *gearrchuntanásach* FFG, note *-u:s* MØperm;

domblas, *domlas* *du:mləs* SM, *du:mlə:s*, *dumlə:s* [?] S(early), *du:mbləs* 46.1137;

forbhás *foru:s*, *forəwa:s*, *foru:x* SM;

ómós FGB, *u:mo:s* 21Pt, *u:ma:s* 852S, SM;

parlús FGB *parlu:s* 32J, *párlás* 894C2 perhaps influenced by *pálás*;

parrthas *par:həs* generally, but *par:ra:s* !10B perhaps influenced by *pálás*;

rancás FGB *ra:ŋkəs* ~ *ra:ŋkəm* S;

sámhnas, *sámhas* FGB, *sā:vənəs* SM, *samhla:s* S, *samhnás* S, FFG.

- Cp. place-name (nautical) *Liabhrás*, *Liabhras*, *l'iv̥ˠr̥as* 892M, *l'iv̥ˠr̥as* 892M, also *l'ib̥ras*.
- Cp. *-áimh* ~ *-ás* with change in stress in *dóláimh* 'd̥oːl̥áːv̥ 'd̥oːl̥áːv̥ M, 'doːl̥as 66N.
- ó* ~ *-á* (young *-iú*):
anró aːn̥ˠr̥oː aːn̥ˠr̥aː aːn̥ˠr̥aː; but *aːn̥ˠr̥uː* 77C.
- óir* ~ *-áire*:
spécláir, *spéclóir* DIL, *spéacláire* *spéacláir* *spéaclóir* Mq, most often in plural *sp'eːkloːr'iː* 21Pt, *sb'eːkloːr'iː* 46.426, *sp'eːkloːr'iː* M. Recall EModIr *onóir onáir* and other words with by-forms from EModIr unstressed *ó* cited in 1.20.
- óint*, *-áint*:
argáint FFG, also *argúint*, *argóinteacht* *arəguːn̥ˠəxt* (e.g. 01C6256), perhaps *argóint*. Cp. *argán* (spelt *aragán*) CAR 'cry, call'.
- ón* ~ *-án*:
liabrón with regular raising of *ó* beside nasal in *cloch liabruín* FFG19, 20 s.v. *cloch*, also *klox l'ib̥raːn* SM;
Síomón > *Síomán* *ʃiːmaːn* 892Mg, 11C.
- ún* > *-án* in *bábhán* 875T1.
- e* > *-í*:
béile > *béilí*;
fiadhnaise *f'iːn̥ˠəʃə* 896P, cp. prayer *A fhiadhnaise | iːn̥ˠəʃ ort(sa)*, *a Mhaighdean Muire!* 05M, but generally *f'iːn̥ˠəʃiː* (cp. agentive *-í*) except in compound preposition *i bhfiadhnaise* *ə v'iːn̥ˠəʃə* ~ *ə v'iːn̥ˠəʃ*, cp. in song *thóg sé an leac as an bhfiadhnaise* *l'ækːas ən v'iːn̥ˠəʃ |* !(Aff)05M;
*píle*¹ 2 FGB, *píle* (*píl(idh)*, *píolaidh*) Dinn > *pílí* in *A phílí ghall* ~ *A phílí ghaill* ! CABI §396(a)–(c) v. 3, 4.
- aine* > *-ainí*:
eascainí, *lascainí* M.
- a* ~ *-í*:
toil dheona *t̪il̪ˠuːn̪iː* 127J, *lena thoiliúna* *h̪il̪ˠuːn̪ə* *féin* M.

1.57 -é-, -í-, etc.

- ae* ~ *-aí* ~ *-(r)aer*:
ramallae *raːm̪əleː*: generally, but (sg) *raːm̪əliː* 27Mq, *raːm̪əleːrəxiː* *raːm̪əleːrəxiː* 36Pq.
- éar* ~ *-éad*:
moghlaeir FGB > *boghailéar*, *boghailéad*, *moghailéar*;
ráipéar > *raːp̪ˠeːd* 04B, 35E, Mperm, *raːb̪ˠeːd* SM;
spiléar (*spiléad*) FGB, *sp̪ˠil̪ˠeːd*. Cp. *-ide* ~ *-ire* below.
- né(ar)* > *-léar*; *-taiméar* > *-liméar*; *-ncéar* > *-nicéar*:
simné, *siminéar*, etc., EModIr > *ʃiml̪ˠeːr* ~ *ʃim̪ˠəl̪ˠeːr* ~ *ʃim̪ˠəl̪ˠeːrə*;
custaiméar > *cuisliméara* (cp. also *coiste cróinéara* > *cuisle cróinéara*, also *cuisne*);
baincéar > *baːn̪ˠək̪ˠeːr* (Abr)04B;
'bricklayer' > *bríciléara*, *bríciléara*;
by analogy with other (borrowed) nouns in *-(i)l̪(iC)éar*, e.g. *buitiléar(a)*, *caibiléara*, *pailicéara* ~ *pailitéara*.
Cp. native derived *caimiléara(cht)* *kaːm̪ˠəl̪ˠeːrə(xt)* ~ *kam̪ˠəl̪ˠeːrə(xt)*.
- éis* ~ *-ís* ~ *-is* ~ *-iúis*:
caidéis 889P, 01P, M, *caidís* 896P, 897St, 11C, 20A, 20Pá, FFG, also adjective *caidéiseach* 20C, *caidíseach* FFG;
cloigis FFG20, LFRM, *cloigís* CAR, S;
eirigiúis = *eirigéis* S, *eirigéis* M, *eirigiúisiúil* = *eirigéiseach* S;
éirnis ~ *éirnéis* ~ *éirnis* SM;
foirnéis *faːr̪ˠn̪ˠeːʃ* *faːr̪ˠn̪ˠeːʃ* S, *fáirnis* 894C9, *fuərn̪ˠeːʃ* 11C, M.
Foirnéis (*Foirnis* Rob.126) *foːr̪ˠn̪ˠeːʃ* 21Pt;

leitíús DIL ‘lettuce’ (many alternative spellings in OED), *leitís mharbhach* **l’et’i:f** **waru:əx** S84;

moirtís FGB **murt’e:f** SM;

oirnis **aur’əf**, **aur’ə:f** 11C, S, **aur’ə:f** 20S, genitive *uirnéise* Clad179;

raiméis **rām’e:f** >> **rām’əf** SM, *raiméiseáil* **rām’e:fa:l’** ~ **rām’əfa:l’** SM, 43M;

ribe róibéis **rib’ə ro:/a:b’e:f** commonly but **rib’əxi ro:b’əf** 25Mq (plural), **rib’ə ro:b’əf** 79Ml.

With *an Tuircéis* **ən terk’e:f** !(SGuair)11C ‘Turkey’, also *sa Turcéis* [sic] **875P**DT17 ‘Turkey’, compare *Tuircis* FGB ‘Turkish’ (the language), note *Tuircéiseach* LFRM ‘Turk’. Cp. *Fraincis* **fræ’ŋk’i:f** in the next paragraph.

-is ~ -ís:

acaís > *aicis* perhaps the basis for dialect *aicís* S.

Also in language marker -is ~ -ís: *Gréigis* !894C9; *Fraincis* **fran’k’əf** M, **fran’kəf** P, but also **fræ’ŋk’i:f**, including the spelling *fraincís* 43Mlt.

-éas ~ -ias ~ -íos ~ -as:

coimhthíos generally **kuhi:s**, but **kūhiās** 18J, **kuhiās** 21Pt, genitive **kuhi:f**;

coinsias (lenited) **xu:nʃiās** 23Ms, **xunʃe:s** 05M;

faitches, *faitigus* DIL

fat’əs 866E, S;

fat’e:s 869P, 875P, 892M4411, 894C, 05M, S, 21Pt, 31P;

fat’i:s 892M1597, 04Br, 11C, 15W, 18J, 19P, **fat’i:s** 46 s.v. *faitchíos*;

fat’iəs 869P, 892M3710, 01C6969, 01P, 35E, **fa.t’i:əs** 46.983; with optional **iə** > **eə** reduction: **er’** ‘**æt’iəs** ... **er’** ‘**æt’eəs** 72N;

genitive: **-i:f** 892M4667, 11C, 18J, 19P;

-e:f 875P, 894C, 05M, 19P;

Maitias: **mat’iəs** 899P; **māt’e:s ə kə’ni:lə** 11C, **mat’e:s** 21Pt; *Maitias* ‘ac Con Raoi

mat’əs ə kun’ri: 897P; genitive in **-iəf** M, **-e:f** 11C, 19P, 21Pt; *Maitiaisín* CABI §226(f) v. 6;

Proinséas: nominative **prinʃe:s** S; cp. *Phróinséis* !894C9;

soilgheas generally **sel’i:s**, but *an tsoilgheas* **ə tol’e:s** (Smds)04B.

-iste ~ -íste:

timpiste **t’i(:)mp’əf’ə**, **t’i(:)mp’i:f’ə**.

-ialta ~ -éalta (~ -álta):

síbhialta **ʃi:v’e:lta** (MP)04B, **ʃi:v’e:lta** S, cp. *cearta sibhialta* **k’æ:rtə ʃiəv’altə** M;

speisialta **sp’eʃiəltə** 892Mg, 21Jq, **sp’eʃiəltə** 20A, 35E, **sp’iʃiəltə** 896P.

-éalta ~ -áilte:

leibhéalta (e.g. 852SDT5) **l’ev’e:lta**, **l’iv’e:lta** 899N, **l’iv’e:lta** 20At, **l’ev’alt’ə** 25Tt, cp. more recent borrowing ‘level’ **l’iv’əl**, **l’ev’əl**, **l’ev’əl’alt’ə**.

-ide ~ -éide:

seilmide **ʃel’əm’e:d’ə** M, P, plural **ʃel’əm’e:d’i:** M, P, **ʃel’əm’id’i:** Mp 216.

-ide ~ -ire:

Cnogaide *Cnagaide*, *Cnogaire* *Cnagaire*;

dréimire **dr’e:m’ər’ə** generally, but **dr’e:m’əd’ə** 43Mp (Doire Iorrais);

leibide, *leibire*;

seamaide **ʃeir ʃæməd’ə f’e:r’** 21Jq, 27Mdq, **ʃæmər’ə f’e:r’** S. Cp. -éar ~ -éad.

Cp. -ín with -éis in:

toirpéis **terp’e:f** Mq, cp. *toirpín* FGB.

-ar ~ -úr:

treabhsar **tr’ausər** generally, but **tr’ausur** 37J.

-irt ~ -úirt:

crannagairt **’kra:n.agərt’** S84 ~ *crannagúirt* **’kra:n.agu:rt’** S85.

-ín(-) influence in:

cp. *Eibhlínóir* ~ *Eibhlín Óir* 894C6.704 ~ *Eidhleanór* (early *Eilíonóir*);

faoistín M, *faoistean* 35E, *faoisidín*;

An Duirling Mhór **n du:rl'ən' wə:r** generally, but younger speaker **n du:rl'i:n' wə:r** **60M**.

1.58 Other instances of post-tonic variation

cainthéibh **ka:n' e:v' 12J**, **ka:n'həv' kan'he:v' M**, FFG, **ka'n'iv' 17M**;
cathair generally **kahər'** but *Cathaír Bhiotalaim* [x2] **894C2**, influenced by
cathaoir; cp. *cathaoir* **kahər' 66N**;
corrabionga(idí) FGB *corrabiongúm* FFG;
 cp. *fóirithin* DIL (also *fóiridin*, *fóirighthin*), *fóirithint* FGB: **fə:r'hí:nt', fuər'i:nt',**
fə:r'hənt';
foirtim Dinn, *foirtéim* FGB **fort'eim'**;
 cp. *Deirdre* **d'e:rdr'ə M**; with loss of first *r* (but second syllable generally short)
 e.g. *Déadra* **!852S**, *ar Éadra Ní Mhanannáin* **894C6**, perhaps influenced by
déad(ra) (cp. *A déadra cailce bhí mar an eala* (Aer) **894C** CABI §51(a) v. 5
 'her swan-white teeth ...'). Also 'n *Déad-Rí* **!894C6** presumably reanalysed
 as *déad* + *rí*; perhaps influenced by final syllable in pronunciation of Eng-
 lish 'Deirdre' **d̪iə.d̪i**. Cp. *an Déid-bhean* **!870B1**.

For similar changes in abstract noun suffixes, e.g. *gealltanais* ~ *gealltúnas* (influenced by *gealltúint*), see 'Nominals' (3.164 ff.). As for *-a* ~ *-í* in adjectives, note that retention of *-a* is usual in *Iorras Aithneach*, e.g. *dalba* FFG, SM (preferred), *dalbaí* Mperm, FFG20, but *-í* does occur, e.g. *liobartha* **l'ibri:**, *sliobartha* **fl'ubəri:** S. See also *-a* ~ *-í* in verbal adjective (2.66 ff., 5.178).

Vowel harmony occurs occasionally, e.g. *-ahə-* > *-aha-* in *i bhflaitheas* **ə 'vlahæs** **!05M**, *corr-Shathrannach* **'kaur'haharənəx** **52J**, cp. *an tseachtmhain seo* *chugainn* **t'əxtən' fo hogən' 52P**, generally **fo hugən'**.

1.59 Syncope

Syncope is frequent in a second syllable of structure CVr > Cr.

+ syncope in:

Achadh na nIubhar > (E) *Ach na nÍuir* (Ó Con Cheanainn 2002: 190;
 implying ***ax nə N'ur'**, cp. English spelling 'Aghnanyver' in 1582 pre-
 sumably representing ***ax nə N'ivər**);
Achadh Réidh (cp. 'Mountaghu M^e Reay', east of 'Lough Curb' on
 Baptista Boazio's Map of Ireland c. 1609) > **axre:**;
 cp. *Con Raoi kunhrə kunʔrə*; *Maolmhúire mi:lɾə mi:lɾə* (1.95); *dúlrach*
!894C9 = *dúlmharacht*.

± syncope in:

aithinne **æhən'ə æhən' æn'hə** (both unhistorical forms can be interpreted
 as back-formations from plurals: *aithinneachaí* > *aithinn*, and
aithinneachaí > *aithinne*; both syncopated and unsyncopated plurals are
 attested in DIL), e.g. *aith'nne céille* **866ESemr98**;
deireanach **d'er'nəx** **11C**, **M**, **43M** often, **d'er'ənəx** **11C**, **M**, **21Pt** and
 others, also **d'ernəx**;
faoiside ~ *faoisidin* EModIr, *faoistin* FGB > three by-forms: *faoistean*,
faoistín, *faoisidín*, e.g.
fi:ft'ən **35E**, cp. *bosca na faoistin* [or *-tean* ?] S;
fwi:fd'i:n' 46.784 (also **869P**'s daughters, but **fwi:fd'i:n'** **!869PZCP158**),

ag an bhfaoistín eg' ə wi:ft'i:n' 09S, M; genitive *ag tabhairt faoistíne uaidh* 892M;

faoisidíní 1894C9, *teach an fhaoisidín* t'æx ən i:fəd'i:n' 08B; this (unsyn-copated) form is obsolescent.

In compass adverbs in combination, the synchronic impression is of syncope of the unstressed ə of the second 'source' element. For example, *hairn'æs*, *ə'nairn'æs*, *hiarduə* parse easily as *thoir aneas*, *anoir aneas*, *thiar aduaidh* respectively. Diachronically, however, forms in combination such as *sairdhes*, *sairthuid*, *soirtuaid*, *anairdness*, *anairt(h)uaid*, imply that the 'position' form in the second element of the historical record has been replaced in the dialect by the 'source' form of the adverb without its unstressed ə; source being typical in terms indicating wind direction, e.g. *gaoithe aniar'neas*. Similarly, Corca Dhuibhne in Kerry, e.g. *ə'n'iarđuag'*, *ə'nir'đuag'* É. Ó hÓgáin (1984) s.v. *aniar* 1(i), 2, *anoir* 1(f), and *aniar'dtuaidh*, *anoir'dtuaidh* GCD §764, and Donegal, e.g. *thiar'neas* GT §540.

1.60 In derived or complex forms¹

caisreacan > *caisricean*, which sometimes syncopates, e.g. *caisricean Dé orainn* ka:ʃ,ʳ-k'ən' d'e: orən' slower ka:ʃ,rək'ən' d'e: orən' 21Ptq.

cp. *ceathracha* (a recent borrowing from modern post-revival Irish): *ceathracha naoi* k'æhəɾəxə ni: 14M, *ceathracha is a dó* k'æɾəxə sə dɔ: 23Jt.

díbreach SM.

doirseoir dorʃo:ɾ' 00Ttn, M, *doiriseoir* dorəs ... dorəʃo:ɾ' ... dor'əʃo:ɾ' ... dor'əʃo:ɾ' 11Ct, *dorasóir* dorəsɔ:ɾ' SM.

an t-eadarascán ən tɑ:druskɑ:n 04Bl; ɑ:drəskɑ:n = FFG s.v. *eadarascán*; *leis an eadarascán* l'ej ən ɶ:druskɑ:n M; retained in the saying *eadarascán eidle an cat agus an meascán* ɶ:dər'uskɑ:n, ed'ər' ə 'kut əgəs ə 'm'iskɑ:n S.

gearbalach S, *gearblach* FFG.

láidreach lɑ:dr'əxt ~ lɑ:d'ər'əxt M.

máistreach mɑ:ʃt'ər'əxt 899D6133, 08B, *mā:ʃt'ər'əxt* 01C6137, *máistreach* S, FFG.

máistreás mɑ:ʃtr'ɑ:s mɑ:ʃt'ər'ɑ:s.

meadaráil m'æ:dəɾɑ:l' S, *mheadarálfadh sé* v'æ:dəɾɑ:lət ʃe Mq.

muinntreach mi:ntr'əx mi:ntr'ər'əx; *muinntreas* mi:ntr'əs mi:ntr'ər'əs.

oipne DIL ep'ən'ə related to *toibeann*.

pataire (*patarán*) FGB: pɑ:trɑ:n >> pɑ:təɾɑ:n M, cp. *patarán* FFG20, 24.

péarsla FGB, *péirsil* and *péirsle* Dinn, only the plural form has been recorded for our dialect: p'ersəli: 14M, 20Aq, p'ɛ:ɾʃələxi 46.38, p'ɛ:ɾʃli: 20Aq, p'ɛ:ɾsləxi: 60Mq.

reanglach FGB, M, *reanglachán* M, ræ- ~ ra:ŋgələx ra:ŋgələxɑ:n ra:ŋgələ:n S, ra:ŋgləxɑ:n 06M according to 56Pe.

siodrabháil FFG ʃidəɾəwɑ:l' S, ʃudəɾəwɑ:l' SM, ʃudəɾəwɑ:l' SM.

sliobrach ʃl'ubərəx S, *sliobartha* ʃl'ubəri: S, *sliobraíl* ʃl'ubəri:l' ʃl'ubri:l' M.

smeadráil (*smeád(a)ráil*) FGB, *smeadaráil* SM, *smeadarán* sm'æ:dəɾɑ:n Mq, *smeadrán* Clad24.

¹ Cp. 1.363.

téagrach FFG **t' e: gə rə x** M.
váid(i)reáil **w a: d' ə r' a: l'** SM, **w a: d r' a: l'** M.

1.61 *Cait(i)liceach* and other borrowings

There are many forms under the headword *cathlac(da)* in DIL, reflecting re-borrowing from Latin ‘Catholicus’ and English ‘Catholic’ at various stages. In FGB: *Cait(i)liceach*. This variation is continued in the dialect where *-tl-* varies with *-til-* and *-c-* with *-g-*, as well as the presence or absence of *-ic/g-* (optionally absent, through velar haplology, in the plural).

	Singular	Plural	<i>-ic/g-</i> absent in plural
<i>-tl(ic)</i>	<i>Caitliceach</i> M	<i>Caitlicí ~ Caitliocaf ~ Caitliocachaí</i> 852S	<i>Caitleachaí</i> 892M
<i>-tlig</i>	<i>Caitligeach</i> 872P, 21Pt		
<i>-til(ic)</i>	<i>Caitliceach</i> S	<i>Caitlicí S, Caitliceachaí S</i>	<i>Caitleachaí S, 892M</i>
<i>-tilig</i>	<i>Caitligeach</i> 04B, 24N, 15W	<i>Caitligí</i> 35E, Caitligeachaí 46.777	

In other borrowings, e.g.

céaparáil M, *céapráil* Mperm, cp. *ceápráil* FFG20; **ɸif' ə r a: l' ə** *difearáilte* FFG, also **ɸif' r a: l' ə**; *peilearaín* FFG plural **p' e l' r i: n' s** !11Ct (song stress); *pláistreáil*: verbal noun **pl a: f' t' ə r a: l'** M, see Table 1.3, **pl a: f' t' r a: l'** S; *raibiléara* **r a: b' ə l' e: r ə ~ r a: b l' e: r ə** M; *slabaráil* **sl a b ə r a: l'** M, cf. *slabráil* FFG20; *sleaingearáil* **f' l' æ: ŋ g' ə r a: l' f' l' æ: ŋ g' ə r a: l' ə f' l' æ: ŋ g' r a: l' ə** M; *spleantráil* FFG; see 11.107.

Cp. *meirilliún* DIL (< French ‘émerillon’) and English ‘merlin’ > *meirliún* **869PCAR**, *beirliún* **875PCAR**.

Table 1.3 ± syncope, e.g. *pláistreáil* M

	Ø syncope	semi-syncope	+ syncope
M	pst f l a: f' t' ə r a: l' f e VN pl a: f' t' ə r a: l'		pst imprs pl a: f' t r' a: l u: vadj pl a: f' t r' a: l' ə
Mq	fut pl a: f' t' ə r a: l ə m' e vadj pl a: f' t' ə r a: l' ə m	2sg impv pl a: f' t' ə r' a: l' h i s e 2pl impv pl a: f' t' ə r a: l ə g' i:	

For ± syncope in inflection, see ‘Nominals’ (e.g. 3.57, 3.63, 4.11), ‘Verbs’ (5.36 ff.). See also ‘Epenthesis’ (1.363 ff.).

1.62 Changes in vocalic and consonantal environment

Some of the most salient changes of vowels in general, which are brought about primarily by consonantal environment, are summarised here. Back vowels are fronted in palatal environments, also in nonvelarised environments of nonpalatalised coronals *t*, *d*, *r*, *s*, (*n*). Nasal consonants raise mid vowels *e*, *o*, *ó*; and monophthongise *ia*, *ua*. Velars and labials cause some raising of *a*, *o*. There are some instances of lowering beside *r* and *ch*. There is some monophthongisation and shortening before **h** (< *th*, *ch*).

The compensatory vocalic lengthening and diphthongisation (a) as a result of the very significant changes through loss of fricatives, and (b) before original tense or long sonorants (and clusters), are described under the relevant consonants below.

Consonants

1.63 Plosives

Plosives are in general retained as in Early Modern Irish (but cf. 1.405 ff.). Voiced plosives when followed by *th* yield the corresponding devoiced plosive, e.g. *bth* > *p* as in *leabtha* **l'apə** genitive of *leabaidh* **l'abə**, *lúbtha* **lu:pi:**; *dth* > *t*, e.g. *goidthe* **ge'ti:**. Devoicing is common followed by other voiceless fricatives, e.g. *aibchigheann* **ap'in**, *ceardcha* > **k'artə**, cp. *cad chuige* > **gə tig'ə**.

1.64 *b*

Devoicing: *bch* > **p** in *aibchigheann* **ap'in**.

b > **f**

Both *baslach* and its derivative *faslach* are extant. *baslach* means 'a quantity of water' or 'any quantity' whereas in recorded cases *faslach* means a 'fair quantity', e.g. '*faslach maith mína,*' *mar a chéile é sin agus 'baslach,*' '*faslach maith fataí.*' S.

b > **b'** ~ **f'** ~ **p'** in *faidhb* **faib' 12J, M, faif' M, faip' 21Jq, 27Mdq, faidhp** FFG; *fadhbach* **fi:bəx M, fiobach** FFG.

domblas, domlas DIL **-ml-** is attested most often, e.g. *du:mləs*, etc., but *du:mləs* 46.1137.

1.65 *d*

carbad (*carpat* DIL) **karəbəd** (vs. *carball* FGB).

Elision

d may be elided (or coalesced) beside resonants as follows:

-dl- > **-l-**, e.g. *codladh* **kolə**, *Fódla* **fo:lə**, *greaddlach* FGB **gr'æ:ləx SM** (cp. *greatalach* FFG); so also *-rdl-* > **-rl-** in *ordlach* **aurləx**, *ord-* + *-l-óir* > **orlóir** FFG, but generally *-l#d-* is retained, e.g. *gallda* **gə:ldə**.

-dn- > **-n-**, e.g. *céadna* **k'e:nə**, palatal *dn* > **n'** in *maidne* **ma'nə** (also *maidine* **ma'dənə**), *muidne* **mī'nə 892M4259**; cp. palatal *dhn* > **n'**.

-nd- > **-n-**, **-n'** in *gránda* **grə:nə**, *indiu* **ə'n'i(w)**, *na hIndiacha* **nə hi'n'iaxi:**, *Ó CeannDubháin* **o: k'anəwə:n'** and in by-forms of compounds *aonduine* **en'inə** and *seandúine* **fan'inə**, also in numeral *aon déag* **(h)i:n'e:g**, '**hi:**' **'n'e:g**, and in the patronymics *dhe Chloinn Donnchaidh* **gə xlu nunəxə M**, *dhe Chloinn Dónaill* **gə xlu nu:nəl'**. Cp. English 'round' *rabhnáilte* **raunə:l'tə**. The *d* is realised in other words, such as the borrowings *bionda* (< 'bent', de Bhaldraithe 1990a), *bindealán* (< 'bendel', de Bhaldraithe 1977–9c: 319–20); *glinne* and *glionda* both occur.

-dr- > **r** in *Pádraig* **pə:rək'**.

1.66 Devoicing and other changes

-dch- > **t** in *ceardcha* **k'artə**; the compound *ardchíos* obsolescent ***'a:rt'is**,¹ currently **'a:rd,x'is**.

¹ As indicated by the folklore transcription *árd-tíos* ÓC194, n. 42.

Devoicing may occur in final *-ird* > *-rt'*, e.g. *an bhoird* ə **waurt'** M; *a bhastaird* ə **wa'stərd'** also ə **wastərt'** M; *ancard*, *tancard* FFG, *ancart* 46 s.v., (singular) also *ancaird*, *ancairt*; *sgolaburd* Clad115, plural *sgolabuirt* Clad113, 15 << *sgolabuird* Clad187, 115, etc.; *turbard* Clad1137, plural *turbaird* Clad1137, *turabuirt* Clad113. When the *r* is metathesised in *malairt*, final *-t* is optionally reanalysed as *-d*, e.g. **malhrət'** **malhrəd'**, indicating the neutralisation of voicing in *-ird*, particularly when unstressed. Similarly, *-ird* for historical *-irt* in the spelling *Tráigh Dheisgird* Clad147 (*Trá Dheiscirt* Clad50), cp. *Leitir Deiscirt* **l'et'ər d'efk'ərt'**. For *Leitir Dhochartaigh* > *Leitir hArd*, see 1.257. Unstressed final *-d* in prepositional pronouns, 2sg, is generally **d** but **t** is heard in *ionad*, e.g. *ar bith ionad* ə **b'i nət** | ~ ə **b'i unut** | 21J.

Speaker 00T has **d'** ~ **t'** initially in a historically eclipsed context in *go dtí* **gə d'i:** [x3] **gə t'i:** [x5] 00T (perhaps influenced by *tigh t'i:* (cp. *dtigh deabhail d'i:* **d'aul'**)).

For **d'** ~ **g'**, see 1.224. Cp. *fasóid(ín)*, *fasóig(ín)*, etc., (1.56). See also palatalised velars > alveo-palatal (lingual shift), e.g. **g'** > **d'** (1.407). For palatal *d* > **d'**³, see 1.406. For nonpalatal *d* > **d'**, see 1.212.

Palatal *d* > **l'** initially perhaps in *deascán* **l'iska:n** S, cp. **dr'iska:n** S; intervocalically in *roide* > *ruide*, *ruille*; *raideog* > **ri:l'og**; *taoide* > *taoille* (*tílle* 01P, 20MIq). For the reverse change **l'** > **d'**, see 1.171 and possible examples in 1.264.

d ~ **t** in *deardan* **d'ardən** (?) S, **d'artən** SM; note *carda* > *cárla*, but *cárdáil*.

-aid ~ *-it* in unstressed position following sonorant in *diallaid* **d'ialəd'** 11C, also **d'ialət'** (cp. g 1.67), but *deargnaid* **dr'əŋkəd'**(ə). Cp. *Cróchnaid* **kro:xnəd'**, **kro:xrəd'**, **kro:xləd'**, **kro:xlən'**, **kruəxlən'**, **kno:xnət'**, **klə:xnət'**, *Cruachnait* Rob.71, 'Croghnett' (Freeman 1936: 61).

In surnames *de* becomes ə in *de Búrca* ə **bʊrk(ə)**, realised as **d'ə** in '... *a Athair Bheorní de Bán*, 'æhər' **v'or-n'i:** **d'ə 'bān** | !11C; verbal *do* in past, past habitual and conditional retained as *d'* functioning as lenition marker on vowels and *fh-*; *dubhairt* reanalysed generally as *d'ubhairt*, e.g. *níor ubhairt níir urt'*, impersonal *dubhradh du:ru:* **hu:ru:**, but also **n'ir du:ru:**.

There is a single (probable) attestation of euphemistic *deamhan* **daun** 11C for more usual **d'un d'aun**. Cf. negative *deamhan*, 'Funcutors' (8.112 ff.).

d

d is recognised as a consonant derived from English. For example, words with **d**, even though unknown to the speakers in their own English usage, are taken to be of English origin, e.g. *focal Béarla é an haighe deá* ('hai 'dɑ:) S (although this example is reasonably transparent in its relation to 'high' (> *haighe*)).

1.67 g

For *g* ~ *d*, see 1.224.

Devoiced to **-k'** in final unstressed position (mostly following syllable-onset sonorants):

blonag **blin'ək'**, *comhrag* **kū:nrək** common in *cuaille comhraig* **kuəl'ə kū:rək'**, *easbog* **aspək**, *luiseag* **lofək**, *Pádraig* **pə:rək'**, *reilig* **ri:l'ək'**, *tháinig* **hə:n'ək'** (**-g'** in sandhi, 2.59);

Nodlaig **nolək'**, genitive *Nodlag* **nolək** rarely **nolæg**. Two instances were noted of genitive **-g**:

Mí na Nodlag m'í: nə nolæg 46.904 (cp. **-k** and **-k'** 46.801, 46.803),

nó go gcaítear oidhche Nodlag féin nu: ʏə ga:t'ər i:hə | nolæg he:n' |
!!894C;

retained in *carraig* **karæg'**.

With stress change > **k'**, rarely **x'**, in indefinite adjective *éigin* **ə'k'i:n'**, **ə'x'i:n'** (1.382).

> **ng**, in stressed syllables, mostly in words with initial nasals (*m-*, *cn-*), where seemingly the development was in most cases **ŋg** > **ŋng** > **vng**, (cp. *geamhchaoch* **g'æ'xi:x g'æ'ngxi:x** M, **'g'æ'v'xi:x** 21Pt). The words are:

cnag **krag** >> **krā'ng** Mq;

coigilt **kig'əlt'** >> **king'əlt'** Mq, *coighlighthe* **kīngl'i:hə** 11C, seemingly influenced by *cangailt*; and *cangailt* in its turn, from *colagnamh*, was perhaps influenced by *colaigilt*;

mungailt, *mugailt* **mu:gəlt'** 46.34 (cp. *ú* in *mút(a)ráil*), **mugəlt'** *smugəlt'* M; **mūngəlt'** S;

maig FGB, *maing* S (also FFG20), *vaing* FFG, *baing* CAR 'crookedness'.

Note *piceadh* **p'ik'ə** only has been noted. Cp. the parallel development in *cnaipe*, rarely **kræmp'ə** (e.g. 65N, 80S, plural **kræmp'i:** ~ **kræp'i:** 19Pq but **kræmp'i:** 19PØperm). Cp. also the metathesis of the nasality to the stressed syllable in *teagmhaigh* > **taŋgə** (*ng* also in earlier *do-ecma(i)ng*) and possibly also in *cagnamh* > *cangailt*. Note also *agailt* M, *angailt* **āngəlt'** (Ascñ)11C, the latter given as a by-form of *agaill*¹ in FGB, borrowed from 'angle' meaning 'earth-worm used in fishing' according to Nic Mhaoláin (2004; cp. 'angle'², angle-dog, angle-twitch' EDD).

1.68 Elision; Fricative

Intervocalic *g* is often lost in the frequently tagged phrase *an dtuigeann tú?* **ə d'ig'ən tu:** ~ **ə d'í'ən tu:** ~ **ə d'ín tu:**; preposition *ag* with verbal nouns in initial consonant > **ə**, e.g. *ag baint* **ə bant'** (very rarely **eg'**), before vowels **əg'()**; numeral *cúig* before *nó* for some speakers in *cúig nó sé dhe* **ku: nu' se: gə**; prepositional pronouns *agam* **agəm am**, *agat* **agəd ad**, *againn* **agən' an'**, etc.; *gach*, when unstressed in combination with *aon* and *uile*, most commonly has forms without initial *g-*; the conjunction *go* **gə** >> **ə**, **ʏə**.

> *ch* in *ruagaire* > *ruachaire* 875PCAR.

1.69 *dhe*, *dho*, *go* **ʏə**, *gan* **ʏən** in speaker 894C

Speaker 894C is the only speaker noted with consistent **ʏə(-)** in prepositions and particles. This **ʏə(-)** is historical in the prepositions *dhe* and *dho* (both of which fell together as *dho*) and unhistorical in *gan* **ʏən** and *go* **ʏə** (preposition, conjunction, and adverbial particle) as well as *chomh* **ʏə**. He has *dhá* (conjunction, and preposition + possessive *a* before noun and verbal noun, etc.) regularly as **ʏa:**. The general usage in the dialect, however, is with initial **g**, i.e. *dheldho* **gə**,

go **gə**, *gan* **gən**, *dhá* **ga**: >> **ʏa**: >> **a**: (**da**:). Speaker **894C**'s usage in detail is as follows.¹

Prepositions *dhe*, *dho*, *go*, *gan*:

generally **ʏə ʏən** (including *dhen* (article) **ʏən**, *dho réir* **ʏə ʀe:r**, *go dtí* **ʏə d'i**);

following *-n*, *-m* **gə** (*/n_* (2/2 examples), */m_* (1/1 example));

following *-g* there is coalescence (*imleach beag dhe chnocán* **i:ml'əx b'og ə xrukən** **894C**);

phrase-initially, rarely **ə** (noted in *gan ən* (1/7 examples)).

Conjunction and adverbial particle *go*:

generally **ʏə** (including complex (copula) **ʏər**, **ʏə b'**, **ʏəmə**, etc.);

following *-n* **gə**;

phrase-initially **ʏə**, often also **ə** (phrase-initially **ə** 8/20 tokens noted) (including **ər**, **ər b'**);

there is also one token each of **gə** and **gə** phrase-initially.

I take initial **g** (uvular plosive) to indicate a base in **ʏ** which seems to be phonetically delenited, it can be interpreted as intermediate between **ʏ** and **g**. In fact intermediate forms occur phrase-initially both with *go* and *dhá*, as in the following passage:

agus dúirt sé leis féin go ngabhfhadh sé amach, dhá dteadh sé ina chodladh aríst go mb'fhéidir go mbeadh an-mhísc déanta ar maidin ... go ndeachaigh sé síos go dtí áit a dtugann siad an Cnoc Buí air

| **ʏgəs durtʃ fe ʀeʃ he:n** | **ʀə ʏə ʏəhəð fe ma:x** | **gʏər d'it'əð fe nə xolə r'i:ʃt'**
| **ʏə m'e:d'ər** | **gə m'ox 'an'v'i:ʃk' d'i:nt er' ma:d'an** | ... | **ʏə n'əhə fe ʃis** |
ʏə d'i: ʏt' | **ə dʊgən ʃiəd ə kruk bi: er'** | **894C**.

A secondary realisation is **ʏə**, nasalised preceding *ng-*, for example in:

dúirt sé seo go ngabhfhadh sé féin ina ghaobhar

durtʃ fe: ʃo | ʏə ʏəhəð fe he:n nə ʏi:wər | **894C**;

but this form *go ngabhfhadh ʏ(ə) ʏəhəx* occurs commonly in Iorras Aithneach.

Another unhistorical variable, *chomh*, which is generally **xə** in the dialect, is frequently transcribed as *go* by Séamas Mac Aonghusa for speaker **894C** and is recorded as **ʏə**, and (phrase-initial) **ə**, and is sometimes elided, e.g.

¹ Collated from a limited portion of his recordings: most of his anecdotes found in a programme presented by Séamas Mac Aonghusa on Raidió Éireann (now RTE Radio), *Filí Chonamara*, and copied on tape IA4 in RBÉ, supplemented for *chomh* by other material on tape IA16 in RBÉ. It remains a desideratum to investigate all his material. (For his examples, see also the relevant sections in Chapters 7 and 8.) Séamas Mac Aonghusa transcribed these forms in hundreds of pages of songs from Colm Ó Caoidheáin (my **894C**) using the usual *go* and *gan* as well as *go* for *chomh*. This is quite an unsalient usage phonetically speaking, the unstressed, weakly voiced velar fricative does not contrast strongly with the corresponding velar stop, yet it is textually pervasive and consistent. It causes frequent homophony with the interrogative and indirect relative particles in the case of *go* as **ə**, of *chomh* and *go*, and less frequently of *an* (article and interrogative) and *gan* as **ən**. It is possible that nobody, not even the speaker, may have ever 'noticed' this usage, which, from our perspective, seems so aberrant. My own path of discovery of this feature was quite arduous: I first noticed historical *dhe ʏə*, but continued to transcribe erroneously many tokens of *dhe* with **g-** as well as the other members of this set. Then I noticed the conjunction *go ʏə*, but continued to hear and transcribe many incorrectly with **g-**. The last lexeme I noticed was *gan ʏən* so that previous tokens had to be re-checked, whereupon I heard correctly the final variant noted, phrase-initial *gan ən* (although I had transcribed this type many times before, while checking for *go ʏə*, etc., as 'expected' **gən**).

gur bhain sé iad chomh dúthrachtach agus d'fhéad sé é
 | ʎər^ə wæn' se iad ʎə dʊrəxtəx ugəʃ d'e:ʃ se' e | 894C;
rinne sé suas an fear chomh tréan is bhí sé cheana
 rin'ə se suəs ə f'ær ʎə tr'ē:n s v'i' se 'hænə 894C;
-Muide mh'anam a mhic, a deir sí, anis go ʎə bhfuil sé chomh ʎə maith
dhuít héin do bheatha shaothrú feasta. Go ə bhfuil mise fada go⁶ ʎə leor
ag tarraint chugad 894C;
tá sé chomh maith dhuit a ghoil ... ta se 'mā^æ it' ə ʎol' ... 894C;
iad a chur ag bruith chomh tréan agus d'fhéad sí é
 iad ə xur ə brix' | ə tr'e:n əgəʃ d'e:ʃ ji: e | 894C;
chomh luath in Éirinn is bhí sé ... | ə luə n'e:r'ən' s v'i se | ... 894C.
 (In a rapidly spoken passage, with laughter, *chomh* sounds like *xo*, perhaps *ʎə*:
ní raibh fear ar bith a bhí ag imeacht chomh fiadháin leis
n'í ro f'ær ə b'í v'i: g'im'əxt xo [or ʎə] f'i:æn' l'ef 894C.)

1.70 Source of ʎ-

Unhistorical ʎ- as exemplified above may be a result of historical phonetic spirantisation (and voicing) of these unstressed functors. In fact, speakers 866E and 869P sometimes have historical ʎə for prepositions *dhe* / *dho*. Speaker 866E has conjunction *go* as *gə* generally, but spirantisation occasionally:

go dtáinig, ... mh'anam go ngabhfad ... le go ngabhfaidh tú ...
 | ʎə dā:n'ək' | ... wā'nəm ʎə ŋəhəd ... l'e ʎə ŋəhə tu: ... 866E.

Speaker 869P has conjunction *go* as *gə* generally, but spirantisation in *nó go nū*: *ʎə*. The restriction of conjunction *go ʎə* to a lexically conditioned intervocalic position suggests a phonetic basis for this speaker's spirantised by-form; similar to the limited optional intervocalic spirantisation of *g* in the functor *agus* (əʎəs 892M).

Perhaps another likely source or reinforcement of more pervasive unhistorical ʎ- is by analogy with the prepositions *dhe* / *dho*, which had developed the alternation *ʎə* ~ *gə* in the dialect. In 894C's speech the *ʎə* alternant is generalised not only in the prepositions *dhe*, *dho* but replaces other *gə* functors (*go*) and even *gən* (*gan*). Preposition *gan* is phonetically identical to *dhe* / *dho* with the article *dhen* / *dhon gən*; historical *dhen* / *dhon ʎən* yielding unhistorical *gan ʎən*. According to this analogical explanation, the basis for speaker 894C's *chomh ʎə* may be either (i) a community *xə* was equated with *ʎə*, or (ii) *chomh gə* was current in the dialect and so was equated with *ʎə*.¹ Phrase-initial alternants with vocalic onset can be explained as a result of weakened articulation

¹ The distribution of *c(h)omh gə* is conveniently shown in SIDI.47. There are two separate areas with *c(h)omh gə*: Mid and North Donegal (cf. J. N. Hamilton 1971–2: 129); and East and North-East Galway (points 28, 37, 35, 32, 33, 50). De Bhaldraithe also reports *go* for *chomh* from East Galway and Cois Fharraige (FFG20, 31 s.v. *go*²). The form *c(h)omh gə* is also found in Iorras Aithneach. (Speaker 894C probably also had *gə* as a by-form of *chomh ʎə*.) De Bhaldraithe's remark (op. cit.) 'tá *go go* coitianta mar sin ar fud an chontae, ach tá *chomh /xə/* *chomh* coitianta céanna nó níos coitianta' must not, however, be taken as a precise description of the distribution, which is more accurately seen, although obviously not exhaustively, in SIDI.47. (I suspect de Bhaldraithe was tempted in his statement by the punning possibilities of 'go go' and 'chomh chomh'. Both ICF and GCF have *chomh xə* only. It may be that he had not noted the *gə* variant in Cois Fharraige until after the publication of ICF and GCF. This might imply that *c(h)omh gə* is a minor variant in Cois Fharraige.)

following silence, which resulted in loss of the fricative or loss of friction. Such loss of friction is encountered elsewhere in the dialect. Indeed, tokens of phrase-initial **ʏə** sometimes have very weak fricative articulation, although the high frequency of phrase-initial **ə** (for **ʏə**) seems to imply more than a phonetic elision. The hardening, especially phrase-initially, can be seen as a counterbalance to this loss. (Such hardening of **ʏ** is, of course, common in other districts and very common in Scottish Gaelic in the North-central mainland, e.g. (finally) SGDS *mholadh* 626, *moladh* 627.) Forms in **gʏ-** might even be interpreted as a basis for the original development of now ubiquitous **g-** in *dhe* / *dho*.¹

It is difficult to know how widespread the use of unhistorical **ʏ-** may have been but it was probably present in the area stretching from Iorras Aithneach to Rinn Mhaoile in the far north-west of Conamara. A speaker from Rinn Mhaoile, transcribed by James Lecky (Larminie 1893: 239–41), named Michael Faherty, born perhaps in the 1860s (Larminie 1893: xxiii–xxiv), has consistent unhistorical **ʏə** in *go* (preposition, also *go dtí*, adverbial functor, conjunction (nominal, final, temporal), as well as historical **ʏə** in the prepositions *dhe*, *dho*. There is only one **gə** token, in a by-form of *go dtí* (Larminie 1893: 240, third line). Unlike historical **ʏə**, which, although obsolescent, has left clear traces (see ‘Prepositions’ *dhe* (7.13 ff.), *dho* (7.23 ff.); *a ə* and *a dh’ ə ʏ* verbal noun particle < *do* 8.107) and is evidenced in other dialects. I know of few possible enduring reflexes of any unhistorical **ʏə ʏən**, the most apparent being the limited use of **ə** as a by-form of the conjunction *go*, which may also be elided completely.² Elision of unstressed *g-*, however, also occurs in *gach* (*aon* / *uile*) for which I have no evidence of a by-form in **ʏ-**.

1.71 **p**

See examples of interchange of consonants (1.207).

1.72 **t**

-cht sometimes alternates with *-ch*, e.g.

... *a dhéanamh in éineacht?* ... **ə jɪ:nə n’ɛ:n’əx 52J**.

-cht ~ *-ch* is common in (verbal) nouns, e.g. *réiteach(t)*; conjunction *acht* always **ax** (perhaps *t* originally elided in *acht go*). Cp. *lucht loxt*, but *lucht aighneas lox ain’əs 894C*.

For *tsn-*, see ‘Initial Mutations’ (9.160).

Nonpalatal *-tn-* > **nh** in *Breatnach br’æ:nhəx* S, palatal *-tn-* > **n’h** in *taitnigh tæ:n’hə*³ yielding medial *taitin tahə-* in *níor thaitin leis n’ir hæhən l’ef* S (for more common *hæ:n’hə*), cp. *machtanamh maknu:*, *ceist(n)igh k’eft’ə k’efn’ə k’eftn’ə* M.

-rtl-: *ceirtlín k’ertl’i:n’* (e.g. 892M1019, 20Pá), *k’ertl’i:n’* M, *k’ertl’i:n’ 20Pá* (also recorded as *k’ertl’i:n’* S (?));

¹ All but categorical since the death of (speakers such as) 869P and 894C.

² Cp. *gan* > *’on* in *a mharódh céad ’on (sic) struise, fihe míle gan tarraint* in a tale run from North-West Clare (LSE31); North-West Scottish Gaelic: both *dho* and *cho(mh)* **ʏə**, but *gun kən* (Ternes 1973). The development in the conjunction *ach(t) go* > *ach a* may have come about, at least partly, via *ach *gho*, cp. *cá fhaid go* > *cáide (go)*.

³ I have some instances of **-n’h-** in my notes, e.g. *thainíodh hæ:n’hix* S, but cannot be sure of my transcriptions here. Note the context of this particular example: before *ir*, where **n’** can be less salient.

Beairtle **b'ærtʲə** 04Br, 15W, 11C, **b'arʲH'ə** 899D6560, **b'arʲH'ə** 01C6520–3, **b'ærtʲə** 11C, 18J;

Beairtlín **b'ærtʲl'in'** !894C, **b'ærtʲl'in'** M, **b'æx-l'in'** M, **b'ærtʲl'in'** 11C1794.

-nnt- > -nd- in *cunntae* **ku(:)nde:**, cp. *cunntas*, *cundas* **ku(:)ntəs**.

Speaker 892M shows weakening of the -nt- cluster, e.g. *inntinn* **i(:)nt'ən'** generally, but speaker 892M often has **i:n'hən'** (in contexts clearly not *inchinn*), also *cainteannaí* **kæn'hni:** 892M1258.

> s in: *Caoilte* > *Caoilse* !852S;

pit **p'ij'** generally, but **p'it'** occurs as a swear word and in the humorous translation of 'woven silk I'd rather' (i.e. 'I would prefer ...') as *síoda fite ab fhearr liom* **ʃi:də f'it'ə b'ær l'um** S (analysable as *sí do phit ab fhearr liom*) and in some derived forms such as *piteog* **p'it'og**;

sprot FGB, cp. *spras* **spras** S, 14M, *spreas*, *sprios*, etc.;

spriúta, *spreota* FGB, cp. *spriús* **spr'us** M;

Teamhair, genitive occurs lenited in *ardrí Theamhrach* **'a:rd'ri: hãvřěx** 11C, also (perhaps influenced by *sean-*) *a Finn mhac Cumhail*, *a Ard-Rí Theamhrach* **ʃænvrəx agus a Rí na Féinne go léir** 11C. Cp. nominative **t'auər nə ri:t'ə** *Teamhair na Ríte* !ZCP161 869P, with initial *T-* > *Tr-*, in *i dTreamhair* **ə dr'æ:wər** 04Bl.

Cp. *paisiúnta* in *Tá do ghúna, a stór, faoi ghlas a'm, do chuid neaipicíní paisiúnta is go leor dhe do chuid peilearaíns* (Angt)11C; perhaps related to *paiteanta*, *paitiúnta* 'neat'.

Nonpalatal *t* > **t** ~ **t̪** in *pleota* **pl'otə** 72C (cp. *leota*), **pl'ot̪** SM, and related *pleotar* **pl'otər** M, *pleotáil* **pl'otai:l'** P. For nonpalatal *t* > **t'**, see 1.212.

Palatal *t* > **k'** in *st* in *dar mo bhaisteadh* > **ə wãʃk'ə** (perhaps influenced by *a thaiscidh*); also (perhaps corrupt) *feisteas* **f'ejk'əs** (run)05Md. Also *teannach* FGB > *ceannach* SM, FFG, also LFRM; *poilitidheacht* Dinn, **pol'ək'ixt** 11C, cp. *poiliticeach* Dinn; *poiticéar* ~ *poicéar* FFG27. Cp. 'hospital' **æspək'əl'**.

Old alternants are retained: *sost* FFG ~ *tost*.

tr > **t̪r** is rare in traditional dialect, but note the aberrant *eachtraí* **a:xt̪ri:** (Smbb)04B (perhaps indicating extraneous origin or influence).¹ In some younger people's speech, however, *tr* > **t̪r**, and even **t̪r**, is common, e.g. *trom* **t̪rʊm** 51N. Brothers 69S and 73P have a tendency to alveolarise *t* following *r*, i.e. *rt* > **r̪t̪**, e.g. *neart* **N'ær̪t̪** 69S, *sórt* **so:r̪t̪** 69S, 73P.

1.73 c

As an adverb *comh* is generally lenited to *chomh* **xə**, but less frequent, probably obsolete, variants are **gə**, **ʏə** and, least frequent perhaps, **kə**. Other adverbs and some numerals, also (optionally) *cupla* and the prefix *corr-*, are lenited, e.g. *choíchin*, *cheithre*, *chúig*, *chupla lá*, *chorráit*. Cp. interrogative *céard* **k'e:rd**, less commonly **herd** 29N.

ct > **xt** in *doctúir* **doxtur**; *cl* > **xl** in *baclainn* **baxlən'**.

Palatal *sc* > **ʃt'** in *rúisc* FGB related to *rúiste* **ru:ʃt'ə** FFG, SM.

¹ Note -*cht* > -**xg** in Scottish Gaelic, except (usually) in *eachtra*.

sc ~ s

teagasc: *teagasc fháilt* !894C9 but speaker 894C has *teagas* elsewhere; *Teagasc nó Leigheas na Caillí Béarra(igh)* *t'ægəs nu l'ais nə kaɫ'i: b'ərħə* (Scbér)04B; *t'agəsk* S.

As suggested by Ó Cuív (1968: 158), the variant *teagas* is most likely the result of a reanalysis of *teagasc Críostaí* through loss of final *c* in sandhi, yielding *teagas Críostaí*, e.g. *foghlaím do theagasc Críostaí f'oləm' də 'hagəf'k' r'is̪t̪i:* 46.780. (Cp. *a:giʃ kr'is̪di:* [sic] ICF §626; also M. McKenna 2001: xxvi and n. 78, for examples from Ulster.)

tuafisc FGB *stuəf'ij* S, *tuafis(c)each* FGB > *tuafisteach* CAR.

tuairisc generally *tuər'əfk'*, including 11C, e.g. *tuairisc ar tuər'əfk' er' 11C*, *tuairisc orm tuər'əfk' orəm 11C*, but prepausa *tuər'əf | 11C*.

meilsceánach FGB *m'ailʃk'ɑ:nəx* S, *m'ailʃəxɑ:n* FFG s.v. *meilseachán*, *feamainn mheilsceánach f'æ:mən' wailʃɑ:nəx* [sic] Mq.

Note *gréis* DIL, *gréisc*, etc., FGB, *gr'e:ʃ* M; *piscín ~ písín ~ puisín* FGB *p'ij̥i:n' puf̥i:n'*.

1.74 Other developments

g in *cabáiste gubá:ʃt'ə*, etc., where *c-* was historically weakly stressed (1.378); *angcaire aŋkər'ə* generally, but (genitive) *an angcaire ar ən' ə'ŋgər' er' 896P* (one token).

k' ~ t' in conjunction and interrogatives *cé, céard, ceadh*, etc., also *gə k'e:*, *gə t'e:*, etc., also *d'* in *cad é gə d'e:*, etc., (8.47 ff.). Note also the change *ca(d) > gə* in unstressed position here, as in *cad chuige gə tig'ə*. Interrogative *gə* then spread, based on the similarity between *cad é* and *cé* (and their composites), to positions before *k'e:(rd)* and *t'e:(rd)*. The shift *k' > t'* (1.407) is of relevance here. Furthermore, unhistorical *t'* could emerge through blending of *d' < cad* and *k' < cé*; it could also be affected by the *t* in *gə tig'ə*. As well as these factors, the interrogatives were influenced by, and influenced, the impersonal pronoun (*an*) *té ~ (an) cé*.

1.75 Fricatives

The fricatives *bh* and *mh* fall together in many environments, although nasalisation regularly reflects the latter in stressed syllables in the speech of the older generation, as do the vowel raising effects of *mh* in all age-groups. When referring to both labial fricatives, *bh* will be used as a cover term. Similarly, the fricatives *dh* and *gh* have generally fallen together and *gh* will be used to refer to both.

1.76 *bh, mh*

Initial and final stressed *bh* generally nonpalatal *w* and palatal *v'*, e.g. *Mháire wa:r'ə*, *bheo v' o:*, *neamh n'aw*, *Cnoc an Daimh kruk ə dāv'*. Nonpalatal *bh* has two main allophones *w* and *v*.

1.77 Alternation of *w ~ v*

Generally, in nonpalatal *bh*, *w* is more common than *v*. As well as phonological conditioning, e.g. *v* is common preceding *l, r*, the *w ~ v* alternation shows generational, network and perhaps personal differentiations. The *w* variant is the

more progressive of the two and, dialectologically, a characteristic of the Northern Half (of Ireland). Being a more conservative variant with greater friction, *v* occurs more often in stressed or emphatic speech:

aon litir amháin! e:n' l'ef'ər' ə'vɑ:n' M,
Á Mhuire mháthair tá seanchas aige sin!
ɑ: vir'ə vɑ:hər' tɑ: fæ:nəxəs eg'ə fɪn' M,
A mhama go deo! vɑ:mə gə d'ɔ: M,
Ó, a Mhaighdean! ɔ: vaid'ən 47P,
-n'i: wuər' ... Ní bhfuair ... M -n'i: vuər' Ní bhfuair! 16B, -ə vuər' An
bhfuair! 25S,
chuirfeadh sé sin anois pian i do bholg
xir'əd fe fɪn' ə'n'ɪf p'ɪən ə də 'voləg M.

Similarly, speaker **43M** consistently pronounces *glórmhar* as *glɔ:rvər* in interjections:

A Mhaighdean Ghlórmhar! waid'ən ɣlɔ:rvər 43M,
A Dhia Ghlórmhar! ə jiə ɣlɔ:rvər 43M.

There are, however, examples of *v* in non-emphatic speech in speakers who have more commonly *w*:

... dhá bhfágál ... ɑ: vɑ:gɑ:l 14M,
dhá mbeadh duine ag fáil bháis gɑ: m'ox dɪn' ə fɑ:l' vɑ:f M, Seo, a Bhaba
fɔ vabə M; often with the eclipsed borrowing 'phone', e.g. ar an bhfón
er'ə vɔ:n M (11.182).

Examples of *ɣ*:

æs indr'əɣɑ:n M as Indreabhán, l'ef' ə mɔ: ɣi: M leis an mbó bhuí.

Examples of variation:

dúirt sé go mba mhór, go mba mhór an ...
dur:ɾ' fe gə mə vɔ:r | gə mə wɔ:r ə ... S;
dhá mhac déag ... anois aon lá amháin dhá raibh ... a mhac ab óige ... a dhá
mhása ... roimh mhac ... ɣɑ: v̥ɑ:k d'e:g ... ə'n'ɪf ə'n' lɑ: 'vɑ:n' gɑ ro ...
ə v̥ɑ:k əb ɔ:g'ə ... ə ɣɑ v̥ɑ:sə ... rɪv' w̥ɑ:k ... 11Cta1–14;
sléamhain is generally *ʃl'āwən' ~ ʃl'awən'*, but **29C**'s consistent [v] here is quite distinctive: *ʃl'ævən' 29C;*
uaidh vai 44N, generally *wai*.

Point 46 in **SID** has very frequent *v* and *ɣ*. Speaker **869P**'s daughter, **04Br** also has common *v ~ w*.

In the examples listed above, *v* seems particularly common before /a/ and /ɑ/. Low vowels may be a favourable phonological environment for *v* realisation. I have the impression that in non-initial position *v* is resurgent, e.g. *gádha g'e:və 51M*, *neamh n'av*, *dubh dɪv*; so also as given above *balbh balu*: generally, conservative *balaw 894C9* ⇒ **baləw*, but *baləv* seldom **43M**, heard only as *balu*: from her parents Seán and Máire (cf. 1.80).

1.78 Initial and final stressed *bh, mh*

Initial *mh* > *w ~ f ~ f'* in *Conndae Mhaighe Eo*, e.g. *ku:nde: wɪ: 'ɔ: 15W*, *ku:nde: fɪ: 'ɔ: S*, *ku:nde: f'ɪ: 'ɔ: 892M* (only).

Initial *mh* is optionally lost in proclitic *Mhac* in names, generally (w)ə(k), e.g. *Mhac Dhonnchaidh ə kunəxə*, *Seán Mhac Thuathail ʃɑ:n ə xu:l'*. Only the *k* is

regularly retained in independent *Mhac Con Iomaire* **kə'N'umər'ə**, but **ə** **k-** following the Christian name, e.g. *Seán Mhac Con Iomaire* **ʃa:n əkə 'N'umər'ə** **27Mdq** (also analysed as *Mhac an Iomaire*). Cp. 12.2 ff.; *Cruaich Mhic Dhara* > *Cruaich na Cara* (1.254).

2pl possessive pronoun *bhar ə*.

Initial palatal *bh-* > **v' v w** in *cá bhfios*: generally **kə: wus**, cp. *cá wiss* **!894C9**, also **kə: v'is** (8.102).¹ Sometimes *bh-* is weakened and quite often lost (by certain speakers) in forms of *bí* (5.247 ff.). An instance of weakening is found in the slight approximant of /v'/ with neutral lips which occurs in:

theastódh é bheith tirim **həstox e' "e t'er'am'** **892M1507**.

Final stressed

Final stressed nonpalatal *bh* is (optionally) lost in:

badhbh badhbh 'bɔ'bau (initial element reduced in sandhi); *dubh du(w) di(w) du:*, all by-forms of *dubh* were noted, for example, in the phrase *dubhrachán dubh du:rəxən duw*, etc., SM, also as prefix: **du/i** before consonants, **duw** as well as **du:(w)** before vowels; *gabh* 'go, come' **go**, in other meanings **go gow**; *lobh lo low*; *Meadhbh m'au* P; past of *bí*, *ra(i)bh-* and *ro(i)bh-* (the IA base form is from *robh-*) **ro rə ru**, in certain combinations **rau-**; *subh craobh* transcribed as *sú-craéú* **869P5** indicating ***su: kre:w** (the alternate EModIr spellings *sumh*, *sugh* are noted in DIL *sub*, cp. *súgh su:* 'juice'); *treabh tr'ow tr'au*; *Sadhbh sau*; *taobh ti:w* often **ti:** in combination with a following adverb, e.g. *taobh thall ti: həl*, less often **t'i:(w)**, **t'i** (by-forms **t'i:** and **t'i** are homophonous with adverbial *tigh*), e.g. *taobh amuigh t'i: mu* **899P** (Loch Con Aortha), also **06C** (Maoras), **18J** (An Aird Thoir), **25M** (An Coillín), **36N** (Loch Con Aortha), **43Mp** (Doire Iorrais), **63S** (Roisín na Mainchíoch), **t'i 79Jg** and his sister **82B** (An Aird Thoir).

Final palatal *bh* > **b** in 2pl pronoun and (particularly monosyllabic) prepositional pronouns, e.g. *sibh fíb'*, *libh l'ib'*. Cf. unstressed *bh* directly below.

1.79 Final unstressed

Final (nonpalatal and palatal) *bh* preceded by unstressed non-epenthetic vowel disappears, e.g. *falamh falhə*, *Solamh solə* in *chomh críonna le Solamh xə kr'inə l'e solə*, *Gaillimh gal'ə*.

Exceptions

- (i) Retained in plural in by-forms of *Fiannaibh f'ianəv'* (for other forms, including > *-abh u:*, see 4.44, 4.66, 4.67) and *dhe l'faoi gheasaibh fi: jasəv'*, both words frequent in the (conservative) story register, also obsolescent vocative plural *a fhearaibh ærəv'*. Occasionally > *-əb'*, e.g. *Fiannaibh Éireann f'ianəb' e:r'an* ZCP152.

¹ J. N. Hamilton (1971–2: 127) suggests that Donegal *go bhfios gə wís* arose through analogy with *go bhfuil gə wíl'*. Similarly, **kə: wus**, etc., may have arisen through analogy with *cá bhfuil*; cp. older *fil*. One should also bear in mind the weak stress, often associated with loss of palatalisation, and univerbation of forms such as *ní fhuil* > *níl*, *cá bhfuil* > *cáil* and *cá bhfios dom* > **'kaus "dum** in ICF §344.

- (ii) 3pl prepositional pronoun *-a -aibh* > *-abh*, **əb** ~ **u**; generally, also obsolescent **əb'**, as well as obsolete **əv** and **əf**, but **ə** also in *éidir eatarra ed'ər' æ'trə* ~ *æ'tru*: M.
- (iii) 2pl prepositional pronouns *-ibh* in disyllabic forms > **i**: >> **əb'**, e.g. *tharaibh hari*: >> **harəb'**; cp. *fak'ə hæ:rə* < *faice tharaibh* (perhaps); (hardening of *bh* in both 2pl and 3pl prepositional pronouns may have originated in sandhi before *féin*, i.e. *-bh f-* > *p-* (> *-b h-*), and have spread through metanalysis, as suggested by O'Rahilly 1932: 81; cf. Gleasure 1968: 84–5). 2pl imperative *-idh* also yields unhistorical **i**:
- (iv) Sandhi *-bh f-* (*ch-*) > *p-* is likely present in 3pl prepositional pronouns preceding *féin* (compare rare older *chéin*) which contrast optionally for some speakers (taking unhistorical *acabh* as example): **aku**: vs. **akəb he:n'**. Similarly *dháirtribh fíre* is possibly the base for **yə:r'i:r'ə p'i:r'ə** (DIL s.v. *dáirírib* p. 105 line 5–6, Dinn s.v. *dá ríribh*).
- (v) The noun *talamh talhə* generally, but (perhaps through sandhi) *tá sé sa talamh ariamh ó shin tə' fə' sə talhəv ə'r'iəw o: hun' 881J*.
- (vi) **u**: (in lexicalised sandhi) in some collocations before vowels, such as *ag caitheamh air ə kahu: er'*, *go talamh íochtair gə' talhu: iəxtər'*, cf. 2.52 ff.
- (vii) Verbal noun *-amh* may in some instances (along with prevocalic sandhi) have been reinterpreted as the regular second conjugation suffix *-ughadh* in: *machtnamh ma:knu*: S, cp. *smuaineadh smuaineamh* IGT **smi:n'u**; *taitneamh ta'n'hū*: S, e.g. *ar bhain tú taitneamh as? ə'r wa:n tu: ta'n'u: æs* S, *thug mé taitneamh dhuit hug m'e tæ'n'hū: yit' !S*, but **tæ'n'hə** (Acá)-**03V** and *taithne' !03V* CABI §193(a) v. 1, *bhí taithne' mór ag Muracha héin di 866EBI6.115*, also **tæ'n'həv** (old male, An Aird, recorded on RnG).
- (viii) Historical *foirgneamh* has been reformed based on the plural *foirgintí* to give singular *foirgint for'əg'ənt'^f 11C*.
- (ix) **i**: in *le díocas creidí*. (prose) **894C9** perhaps because of high register associations, cp. *rún creidimh ru:n kr'ed'əv'* (MP)**894Cs**, (historically also *creidmhe*).

1.80 Final nonpalatal *bh* following epenthetic vowel

Following an epenthetic vowel, final nonpalatal *bh* generally yields **u**:, rarely **əw** and **əv**, the by-form in *-w/v* being the older variant; also **əv** in some speakers from external influence, e.g. *marbh maru:*, but **ma'ru'** | **894Cs** and a younger speaker has **ma'rəvf 66N**, *balbh balu:* generally, older *balaw 894C9* (⇒ ***baləw**), but **baləv 43M** (seldom), *garbh garu:*, but also **garəv 892M**, *searbh faru:*, but also **fa'rəy 898P**.

There are reflexes of the EModIr variants *leanabh*, *leanbh* and *leanab* in our dialect. The variant *leanabh* yields regular nominative singular **l'ænə**, e.g. in the saying *tá bróga ar mo leanabh l'ænə sa gcliabhán* S. The variant *leanbh* may be reflected in the genitive plural in *tugann siad Lá na Leanú air 869P2* (hardly from *leanabh*, although possibly in prevocalic sandhi). Prevocalic sandhi of unstressed non-epenthetic *-abh* best explains the **u**: ~ **ə** alternance in *an Leanabh Íosa ann ... dhen Leanabh ə l'æ:nu: i:s a:n ... gənə l'æ:nə* | **!05M**. The form (in a narrative run) *lean(a)bh i mbroinn l'ænəv ə m'f'i:n'* also **l'æ:nu: ə m'f'i:n'** may

be a reflex of either *leanbh* or *leanabh*; if it is a reflex of *leanabh* the final *v* or *u* may be retained through prevocalic sandhi. In the vocative both variants are also reflected in a *leanaibh* (or uninflected *a leanabh*) *ə ʎæ̃nə* and *a linbh ə ʎiñəṽ*. Genitive *linbh ʎiñəṽ*, e.g. *ar dheaslámh do Linbh er̃ ʎæ̃sːlɑːṽ də ʎiñəṽ* | !05M; genitive also *ʎiñə* 46.763 and *lini[bh]* 852Sb6.76 (indicating **ʎiñə*), which may represent a blend of *linbh ʎiñəṽ* and expected genitive *leanaibh* **ʎæ̃nə*. Diminutive (in vocative): *a leanabh* (with loss of *bh*) > *ə ʎañiːñ*, *a linbh* > *ə ʎiñəṽiːñ*. A third EModIr by-form, *leanab*, is found in derived *leanbhaidhe* > *ʎanəbi*; and *leanbhán* > *leanabán* !894C9, !866E, see 1.96.

1.81 Medial palatal

Medial palatal *bh* > *ṽ*, e.g. *deimhin d̃iṽəñ*, *uaibhreach uəvr̃əx̃*, so also following an epenthetic vowel, both finally and medially, e.g. *mairbh mar̃əṽ*, *Tóin Ghairbh tuːñ ɣor̃əṽ*, *níos gairbhe ñis gor̃əṽə*. Note:

- (a) *Gaillimh*, genitive with syncope and epenthetic vowel is regular: *Gaillmhe gal̃əṽə*;
- (b) *gairbh-shíonl-mhí* (*na gcuaich*), *gar̃əṽiːñ* ~ *gor̃əṽiːñ* SM, *gor̃əm̃iːñ* S, explained by Seán as 'garuːṽiː in gar̃əṽiː nə guəx̃ S; also *goirbhneacht gor̃əm̃* (ñ)əxt̃ SM, *garmaint* Clad221, cp. *gargaint* Clad116, 167;
- (c) lost following long vowel and *r* (i.e. without epenthesis) in *áirmhím ar̃iːm̃*; cf. nonpalatal *bh* lost in *ullmhaighthe oli*;
- (d) the place-name *Innbhear* has three variants, two of which indicate a nonpalatal *bh*. The stressed syllable is lengthened in *iːñvər̃* and *iːñṽər̃*; the other variant has elided *bh* and lengthened the unstressed vowel as well as the stressed vowel: *iːñuːr̃* 49J, as if from **Inneabhar* (perhaps via **Ínneabhar*). There is a similar depalatalised *bh* in the place-name, in Cois Fharraige, *Indreabhán ind̃r̃əɣaːñ* M < **Innreabhán* < *Innbhearán*, via metathesis presumably from **iñṽərəːñ* (English 'Inveran'). This also has a by-form with unstressed *u*: in *ind̃r̃uːwaːñ* 76Mt, as well as *iñuːɣraːñ* (heard from a male native of Indreabhán, born c. 1950), the unstressed *u*: perhaps being attributable to a blend of **Inneabhar(án)* (expected **iñuːr̃(əːñ)*) and *In(d)reabhán* or **Inneabhrán* (< metathesised *Innbhearán* or syncopated **Inneabharán*);
- (e) for *deirbhshiúr* and *dearbhbhráthair*, see 1.7;
- (f) *-bhdh-* > *-bh-* in *cuibhdheas k̃iṽəs̃* S.

Exceptions

- (i) *-bh-* ~ *-b-* in the borrowing *leibhéarach* *l̃eṽeːrəxt̃* ~ *l̃eb̃eːrəxt̃* S < 'level', cf. *tábhairne* (1.91).
- (ii) Generally *aoibhinn iːṽəñ* but cp. *boisín aoílinn*, *boisín álainn* 894C9 ((nursery) rhyme, cf. Williams 1988: §17) through assimilation with *álainn*. Seán has a jocose pronunciation of the phrase *nach aoibhinn duit nax̃ iːb̃əñ d̃it̃* S.
- (iii) Note *tairbhe tar̃əṽə* generally, but compare *tairife* [x2] !894C9. For palatal medial *mh* > *m̃*, see 1.92 ff.

1.82 Lengthening, etc., before palatal *bh* in clusters

Short vowels *ai*, *oi*, *ui* > **ai** (**i**, **e**) and *ei* > **i**: (**i**) preceding *v'* followed by *d*, *r*, *l*, *n*, *ch*.

ai, *oi*, *ui* > **ai** generally, with alternants **i**, **e**, e.g.

- mhd* *coimhdeacht* (*coimhideacht* proscribed IGT, *coimiteacht* DIL): this word is transcribed with a 'y' over the initial syllable indicating the diphthong **ai** in *bean coimhdeacht* and *bean choimhdeach* in **866ESemr132** ⇒ ***kaivd'əx(t)**;
- bhr* *cuibhrigh kaivr'ə*, cp. *saidhbhreas saivr'əs* (*saidhbhir sev'ər*, i.e. as if *soibhir*) and *loibhre (laibhre, luibhre)* perhaps the base for **laivr'ə** (uncertain by-form **lair'ə** S);
- mhr* (*clúimhreach* >) **cloimhreach klaivr'əx*;
cp. by-form *coimhrí* FGB **kivr'i**: ~ **kivr'i**: (1.86);
- mhl* *coimhling kaivl'ənt'* generally, but sometimes **kivl'ənt'** P;
- bhn* *aibhneacha aivn'əxə*, *goibhne* ~ *gaibhne gaivn'ə* (but also **gaivn'ə** **36Sq, 75Cq**), *Mac Suibhne mak saivn'ə*, optional loss of *bh* in *Diarmaid ó Duibhne* ~ *Duinn d'iarəməd' o: daivn'ə* [x2] / **daivn'ə** / **deivn'ə** / **deiv'ən'ə** **04Bl, d'iarəməd' o: daivn' 00Ttn**, also **o: dōjən 869PZCP163, o: dowən' 869PZCP161**, cp. *Diarmaid Donn*;
- mhn* *níos doimhne n'is daivn'ə* M, *doimhne deivn'ə* **60C**, *doimhneacht daivn'əxt* M, *deivn'əxt* **60C**, *doimhnighthe daivn'i:hə* **01J**, contrast *divn'əxt* ~ *div'ən'əxt* **06C** with his *níos doimhne n'is daivn'ə* **06C**, *dhoimhnighdís yaivn'i:d'i:f* [perhaps -vn'-] **06C**;
- bhch* *daibhche* (< *dabhach*) in *Leitir Daibhche l'et'ər daif'* and (non-classical plural) **daif'i**.

For prefix *comh-* *coimh-* **ku:-**, see 'Nominals' (3.98).

In the case of *aimh*, **ā** (with loss of nasalisation **a**) only is found, e.g. *aimhreas āvr'əs*, *aimhréidh āvr'ə*, *daimhséar dāvf'e:r*.

ei > **i**: ~ **i**, in *geimhreadh g'i:vr'ə* >>> **g'ivr'ə** (the latter, *sa ngeimhreadh sə ŋ'iŋr'ə*, heard from **899P** Loch Con Aortha, also **g'ivr'ə** from a male native of Leitir hArd, born c. 1935; both speakers outside of central Iorras Aithneach which has most vowel lengthening); *reimhre ri:vr'ə rivr'ə*.

1.83 Palatal -*mhn-*

Palatal -*mhn-* and its preceding vowels have various realisations. This is true in particular for historical -*uimhn-* where the vowel can be short or long **i**, **i:**, and the cluster can be **vn'**, **vr'**, **mn'**, **mr'**, (and **n'**, **r'**, mostly with **i**), and more marginal **vən'**, **m'ər'**, **m^br'** and **br'**. Forms with **r'** are related to the more general change *n* > **r** in postconsonantal position, which is discussed below (1.146). There are three historical roots in this variable class, commonly occurring *cuimhn-*, *suaimhn-*, and rarer *imhne* (< *in(n)mhe*), as well as unhistorical *coimhrí* (< *coimrī*) and rare *imhní* (< *imnī*).

1.84 I *cuimhn-*

The commonest and most striking root with this variation is *cuimhn-* (adjective *cuimhneach*, noun *cuimhne*, verb *cuimhnigh*). It is the only root which has variants with simplification of the cluster to *i:n'*, *ir'* (rare *in'*, *ir'*). Dialectologically *i:n'* is found in the South of Ireland. The less common variant *ir'* would not be expected from a historical phonological point of view and seems to be based on analogy with *i:n'*. All variants and some speakers' ranges of variation are presented in Table 1.4 (ignoring vowel nasalisation) with information from neighbouring lects added for comparison.

Table 1.4 Variation in *cuimhne*, *cuimhneach*, *cuimhnigh*

Speaker	i:vr'	i:mr'	i:vn'	ivr'	imr'	ivn'	i:n'	in'	ir'	i:r'	i:mn'	imn'
866Et	+											
SID.46	+	+										
869P	+	+										
daughter 04Br	+											
daughter 15W		+	+				+ ¹				+	
872P	+						+					
875P	+											
881J		+	+				+					
889P	+	>>										
892M		+	+		+			+			+	+
892Mg			+									
894C	+											
894Cs	+						+					
899D							+					
899P	+			+	+							
00C											+	
00T		+										
01C	+											
01P					+	+					+	+
03S		+										
04B		+		+	+	+	+					
05M		+										
06C		+										
10B	+											
11C	+			+								+
12S	+	+										
13Jd					+							
14M	+											
16B	+											
16M	>>									+		
16S											+	
18J	+	+										
19P	>>			+								
20A		+										+
21J			+									
21Jc	+											
21Pt	+	+								+		+
22M		+					+					
23B							+					
26P	+											
26Ps						+	+					+
27C	+											
27Md							+				+	+

¹ This variant was used following *xi:n'ə* of 15W's interlocutor (53M) and used later in the same recording.

Speaker	i:vr'	i:mr'	i:vn'	ivr'	imr'	ivn'	i:n'	in'	ir'	i:r'	i:mn'	imn'
29C		+									+	
30M		+										
32J		+										
33M			+				+				+	
35E	+											
36M				+								
36N							+					
37J								+	+			
43M										+		
44P	+											
48R											+	
51P							+					
52Cr							+					
52P						+						
53M							+					
64M	+						>>			+		
66L ¹		+										
72C							+	+				
72N		+										
76M		+										
76Mt			+									
84P		+										
No.	i:vr'	i:mr'	i:vn'	ivr'	imr'	ivn'	i:n'	in'	ir'	i:r'	i:mn'	imn'
64	26	23	7	4	5	4	17	3	1	4	9	7
rank	1	2	5b	5d	5c	5e	3	6	7	5f	4	5a
ICF		+			+		+				+	+
ITM						+						
IEM				+	+	+						

cuimhne, *cuimhneach*, *cuimhnigh*, has twelve variants (i.e. 2 vowels x 6 codas yields 12 possible variants; thirteen actually occur counting younger speaker **66L**'s nonpalatal *m*: **ki:m-r'**). The rarest variant is **kir'**-, which resembles the verb *cuir*, attested from one speaker. Second rarest is **kin'**-, attested from speakers **892M**, **37J** and **72C** only. Speaker **37J** (Leitir hArd, West Iorras Aithneach, where short variants are generally more common, 1.401) has both **kin'**- and, presumably through analogy, **kir'**-. Speaker **892M**, as well as **kin'**-, has more frequently the less widespread short vowel variants **kimr'**- and **kimmn'**-. (Cp. his short vowels in *múnla* **mūnlə** **892M** and *Caladh Fhidhinse* **kalhə wɪŋʃə** **892M**.) Speaker **72C** has **kin'əx** ~ **ki:n'əx** in commonly weakly stressed *is cuimhneach le* and **ki:n'**- in the verb, e.g. *cuimhním* **ki:n'i:m'** **72C**. Similarly, speaker **872P** has a contrast between his adjectival *cuimhneach* **k'i:n'əx** and nominal and verbal *cuimhne*, *cuimhnigh* **ki:v'ə**. His former variant **k'i:n'əx** is perhaps influenced by adjectival *cuimhin* (which is **ki:n'** in Munster and GCF (e.g. GCF §205.2), cp. speaker **51P**'s verbal **ki:n'**- vs. adjectival **ki:m'ən'** below; cf. 9.128). The fricative **v'** can be quite weak, e.g. *chuimhnigh* **xi:v'ə** **866E**, *cuimhne* **ki:v'ə** **894C**, **ki:v'nə** **21J**. There is an instance of vocalic epenthesis in *cuimhníonn* **ki:v'ən'i:n** (~ **ki:v'n** - ~ **kimmn'** - ~ **kimr'** - ~ **ki:mn'** -) **01PDO**.

Some speakers' (and Connacht dialect) examples are:

852Sb6: *chuimhnigh* 67 indicating **ximn'ə**;

SID.46: s.v. *cuimhne* **mə** 'xi:v r'ə, xi:v rɪ, xɛm' r'ɪ or xɛv' r'ɪ;

869P: **ki:v'ə**, **ki:m'ə** r'u;

¹ This speaker has nonpalatal *m* here, e.g. *cuimhneachtáil* **ki:m-r'əxtə:l'** **66L**.

- 892M:** *lig mé as mo chuimhne xī:vn̄ iad, i ndan cuimhniú kīm̄r̄ ū: ar, nuair a chuimhnigh xīmr̄ ă sé, nar chuimhnigh mé orm féin nar 'xīn̄ ă m̄e orəm p̄e:n̄;*
- 894C:** *cuimhne mhaith kī:r̄ ă wā;*
- 899D:** *chuimhnigh xī:n̄ ă, gcuimhníonn gī:n̄ i:n, mo chuimhnesa mă xī:n̄ ăsă, etc., (5/5 ARN);*
- 899P:** *le mo chuimhnesa l̄e mă xīm̄r̄ ăsă, le cuimhne l̄e kī:vr̄ ă, a chuimhníonn ă xīvr̄ i:ns, cuimhne agamsa air kī:r̄ ă a:ms er̄;*
- 04B:** *kī:mr̄ i:m̄fă, xī:n̄ ă, xīvn̄ ă, xīvr̄ i:m̄, kīmr̄ ăx;*
- 12S, 14M:** *kī:vr̄ u;*
- 19P:** *mo chuimhne ... ? mă xīvr̄ ă ... 'by the way ... ?', otherwise mostly kī:vr̄ -;*
- 33M:** in a short conversation three variants were heard, with consistent -i:(-n̄) -, i.e. *cuimhniú kī:mn̄ u:, kī:n̄ u:, kī:vn̄ u:;*
- 43M:** *cuimhneach kī:r̄ ăx;*
- 51P:** *cuimhním kī:n̄ i:m̄, cp. (is) cuimhneach liom kī:m̄ ăn̄ l̄um.*
- CF: ICF §348 *dá gcuimhneochthá dă: gī:n̄ ă:*, ICF §§201, 528 (and note 1), FFG20 *cuimhne kī:n̄ ă, kīmr̄ ă, kī:mr̄ ă, kīmn̄ ă, kī:mn̄ ă, §604, FFG20 cuimhneach kī:n̄ ăx, kīmr̄ ăx, kī:mr̄ ăx, kīmn̄ ăx, kī:mn̄ ăx.* The only variant found in a search of the index of GCF is *kī:n̄* - with a total of 13 transcribed tokens, recorded from, in all, twelve speakers. This would suggest that *kī:n̄* - is a major variant if not the main variant in Cois Fharraige.
- ITM *cuimhne, cuimhnigh kīvn̄* - only.
- IEM §440 *chuimhnigh xīvr̄ i: / xīmr̄ i: / xīvn̄ i:*, elsewhere *kīvn̄* - (*cuimhne* §133, *cuimhnigh* §375, *cuimhniughadh* §78), implying perhaps that *kīvn̄* - is the main variant in Erris Co. Mayo.

Speakers are found with up to five (**01P**) or six (**892M**) variants. The three most common variants in the data for our dialect are *kī:vr̄* -, *kī:mr̄* -, *kī:n̄* -, as ranked in Table 1.4, although *kī:vr̄* - seems to be becoming less common. In dialects to the north *kīvn̄* - appears to be most frequent; to the south *kī:n̄* -.

1.85 II *suaímh-*

suaímh- has five variants in this class, *i:vr̄*, *i:mr̄*, *i:vn̄*, *imr̄*, *i:mn̄* (and a single attestation each of *uəvn̄* and *uəvr̄*):

- i:vr̄* *sī:vr̄ ăs 04Br, SM, 26P, N̄ i:s sī:vr̄ i: M;*
- i:mr̄* **894Cs, 18J, 72N, sī:m̄r̄ ăs sī:vr̄ ăs 26P**, also **S; sī:mr̄ ăx (>> simr̄ ăx)**; cp. *sī:m̄br̄ i:hă 25M;*
- i:vn̄* *su(a)ímhneas 869P2, 5 ⇒ sī:vn̄ ăs, suaímhneach 869P2, sī:vn̄ ăf 04B;* (neither **869P** nor **04B** have *i:vn̄* in *cuimhn-*, Table 1.4)
- imr̄* *hīmr̄ ă fī 897PLC, simr̄ ăs 01PDO;*
- i:mn̄* *sī:mn̄ ăs 01J, M, 27Md, sī:mn̄ u: 881J, cuimhneoidh kī:vn̄ ă: muid ar go leor leor rudaí an dtigeann tú nuair a ghothas muid un suaímhnis. sī:mn̄ ăf 881J;* also *míshuaímhneach 'm̄ i: hī:mn̄ ăx 892M2425;*
- uəvn̄/r̄* *suəvn̄ ăs suəvr̄ ăs 04B*, presumably higher register.

1.86 III *in(n)mhe* — IV *Muimhneach*

III *in(n)mhe* with metathesis > *imhne* has five variants, *i:vr̄*, *i:mr̄*, *i:vn̄*, *i:vn̄*, *ivr̄*:

- imhne* often **894C9**, etc., *in imhne fir | ă N̄ i:vn̄ ă 'f̄ ir̄ | 869P, ă N̄ i:vn̄ ă !05M* (cf. 1.87), *ivr̄ ă* (Aag)**03C, i:mr̄ ă SM**; short vowel noted only once

in *teagthaí in imhne* **tækí: n'ivṛə** M. The word *imhne* is explained by Seán and Máire through *inní* (folk etymology): *teagthaí in imhne* **i:mr'ə**, *sin go mbeithéa sách sean le go mbeadh inní* **i:mr'i: ort**. Cp. full homophony of *imhne* **i:mr'ə** with obsolescent *imneadh* **i:mr'ə** **03V**. Speaker **35E** has in *innimh* **ən' in'əv' 35E** (highly literate speaker); cp. in *innimhe fí* **852Sb-TS121** (transcription sometimes erroneous).

IV *coimrí* < *comairghe* (*c[óir]* cáol leis iad) IGT:

ki:mr'i: 04Br, SM, **ki:mr'i: 05M**, but also *coimhrí* FGB **kī:vr'i: 10B**, **kivṛ'i: ~ ki:vr'i: M**, the recording is unclear in **xī:v/mṛ'i: d'ia yit' 04Br**; homophonous with variants of *cuimhrí*.

There is an instance of a transient epenthetic consonant in *le mo chuimhnesa* **Ÿe mə xim^br'əsə 899P**. Speaker **21Pt** has an additional variant in **-br'** in (certain) words of this class:

cuimhn- **ki:vr'/i:mr'/i:mn'/i:r' - 21Pt**; *suaimhniughadh* **si:br'u: 21Pt**.

V This speaker also has an additional lexeme: *inní* **i:mn'i: (i:mn'i: 892M, 35E)** << **i:mr'i:** generally (also **imn'i: 01P**), but for **21Pt**, this noun belongs to the class containing historical *mhn*. His variants are:

inní **i:mr'i: i:vr'i: i:vr'i: 21Pt**, but also, recorded once, **i:br'i: .¹**

Cp. *clúimhreach* (perhaps originally *clúimhneach*, cp. *clúimhne* Dinn, *clumhnach* FFG) > *clúimhreach* **klaivṛ'əx**.

VI The pronunciation of *Muimhneach* is **mi:n'əx**; this is an instance of a proper noun reflecting the dialect of its predicate (i.e. *Muimhneach* **mi:n'əx** follows Munster historical phonology). Exceptionally **main'** in *-Laighnigh, ar seisean, agus Muimhnigh*. **Lain'ə or fəfən ogəs main'ə 04Bl**.

1.87 Discussion; Other changes

The development of *-mhn-* **vn'**, **vr'**, etc., and *-bhn-* **vn'** are clearly distinct. There is an instance of *-mhn-* > *-bhn-* > **vn'** in derived forms of *domhain*: *doimhne, doimhneacht*. But also **vn'** in *domhain* **daun' 31P** > *is / níos doimhne as / n'is daivn'ə 892M, 06C, 31P, *doimhniú* **daivn'u: 35Et**, *doimhneacht* **divn'əxt 06C**. Cp. *donn* > comparative *doinne* **daun'ə Sq, daun'ə 66N**, but also **daivn'ə Mq, Sq**. Similarly, *mhn* appears as **vn'** in the comparative of *sleamhain* **fl'awən' (-n' 29C only)** > *sleaimhne* **fl'æ:vn'ə Mq, fl'evn'ə 66N** (also **fl'aun'ə Mq, fl'æv'n'ə Mq (= /v-n'/); fl'æ:vni: Sq**). There is also **vn' ~ vn'** alternation in *indme* DIL > *in(n)mhe* > *imhne* (or *imhne*) **i:vr'ə, ivṛ'ə, i:vn'ə, i:vn'ə, i:mr'ə**, common following in **ən'** in *in imhne*, cp. in *innimh* **ən' in'əv' 35E**.*

bhn > *n* in:

¹ Speaker **21Pt** is the only Iorras Aithneach speaker I have noted with unhistorical **vr'** in *inní* but *inníoch* **ivṛ'əx** is recorded in FFG32 (s.v. *imhríoch*) from West Cois Fharraige (FFG32 = Ros an Mhíl, An Cheathrú Rua, An Tuairín). Given that **vr'** is not found in the historical *mhn* class in central CF (ICF, GCF, FFG20), the occurrence of unhistorical **vr'** in *inní(och)* west of central CF might be interpreted as a hyperdialectism. (In query regarding *tanaíochan* speaker **21Ptq** produced **tani:xən** (also **tane:xən, taniəxən, tane'əxən**) as verbal noun of verb **tā'vnə** with alternate verbal noun **tā'vnu:** (five tokens of **tā'vn-** in all) for general *tanaigh* **ta'nə**.)

scríbhneoir ʃkr'í:n'or' S, *bh* 'restored' by some ʃkr'í:vn'or', also ʃkr'í:v-n'or' 66N; *scríbhneoireacht* ʃkr'í:n'or'əxt 03C, ʃkr'í:vn'or'əxt M;
cp. by-forms of (higher register) *ó Duibhne* ~ *ó Duinn*, *Donn* o: daivn'ə, daín'ə, devn'ə, dev'ən'ə, daín', also o: döjən / dowən' 869PZCP163, 161.

Other changes

-bhr- ~ -r- in *loibhre* laivr'ə SM, perhaps also lair'ə S, but MØperm.

-dhbhs- ~ -s- in *taidhbhse* taivfə SM, 52J, etc., but rare taifə 21PtAM, 60MMN (father from East Cois Fharraige).¹

-bht- optionally devoiced in *sléibhte* ʃl'e:vt'ə ʃl'e:ft'ə.

1.88 Postvocalic nonpalatal *bh*, *mh* and vowels (stressed); I (e)abh

Medial nonpalatal *bh* usually disappears following a short stressed vowel, with concomitant lengthening or diphthongisation. The general developments in summary are, according to stressed vowels:

I	(e)abh	>	au	
II	(e)amh	>	āv,	sometimes au
III	iobh	>	u:	
IV	obh	>	o:	
	omh	>	u:,	less often o:
V	ubh, umh	>	u:	

Cp. unstressed medial nonpalatal *bh* > u: (1.95).

A more detailed review follows.

I (e)abh

(e)abh > au, e.g. *cabhair* kaur', *leabhar* l'aur, *seabhac* fauk.

Of the variants *gobha* ~ *gabha* the latter regularly yields gau. Note *feabhas* f'aus including *dhá fheabhas* gɑ: aus, often gɑ aus, in slow prepausa articulation γɑ: a.u's | 892M4047, but the auditory impression (at least) is sometimes *gɑ: u's.

¹ *taidhbhse* has the following main variants in Connacht and southern Ireland (SIDII–III q 584 'ghost' (cp. q 583), forms in the left-hand column have been converted to my transcription):

	Points	Main Area
tauvfə	54, 55, 56	East Mayo
taufə	31, 52, 57, 60	North and East Connacht
tevfə,	53, 54, 55, 58; also ITM §262, IEM §359(ii);	North Connacht
tovfə	cp. tev'ɪf pl tev'əfi: pt 62	
taivfə	25, 29, 36, 40, 41, 43a, 43b, 46, 61	South Galway, Sligo
taifə	24; also taifi IWM §361, taifi GCD §430 (cp. <i>tai(dh)bhseach</i> taifəx IRW §507); rare IA	Munster

In this context it appears that the form *taifə* in Iorras Aithneach can arguably be considered as a Munsterism. In Ulster SIDIV q 584 yields the main variants *taufə*, *tovfə*, *tevfə*; but also the by-forms *təlfə* pt 79 and *təlv'fə* pt 74 which correspond to Connacht *taufə* and *tauvfə* respectively. The diphthong *au* reflects a nonpalatal consonantism as in *tadbás*, *tadboise* DIL, apparently with loss of -dh- as in *támhas*, *tamhasc* FGB and *tamhasg* in Scottish Gaelic (compare the nasalisation in pt 74); cf. R. A. Breatnach (1948–52: 245–7). The second element of the diphthong əl (in Donegal) may in fact be a phonological fudge combining *au* and *ai*. Disyllabic *tev'ɪf* pt 62 may arguably be a fudge between earlier *tadhbhaise* > **tabhaise* **taɔf(ə)* and *tevfə*, and the -vf- in *tauvfə* may be a combination of *taufə* and *tevfə*. (Also *tövf'ɪt'ə* pt 66, Stockman and Wagner 1965: 104.)

This has been transcribed as *dhá fhús* for speaker **869PRBÉ**.¹ This speaker has, in an audio recording, **gɑ: au^wis | 869P**, which is easily mistakable (through metanalysis to **gɑ:ɑ u^wis**) for ***gɑ: u:s**. Similarly, *dhá fheabhas* **gɑ: o:is | 04B**.

- > **au ~ u:** in *geabhróg* (*giúróg*) FGB, **g' u:ro:g 892M4279, 47Ps**, *Scothach na nGiúróg* Rob.91, *Oileán na Geabhróige* **g' auro:g'ə 18J**. The **au** variant reflects base *-eabhr-*; the **u:** variant reflects *giubhróg* via vowel raising before the *ó* of the second syllable. Cf. 1.4.
- > **o:** in *tabhair tór'* and related forms including *mac tabhartais mak tórtif* 46 s.v.; also **tór'** with **o**, general in *tabhair dhom tórəm*; also by analogy **t' u:r'** < *tiobhr-*. Note *tabhartha* FFG may well be *tórtha* FGB, e.g. *tórtha ar chártaí tórha er' xartí*: Mq. Before *á* in *gabháil* in some of its meanings **go:l'** (also analogical **gol'**), *gabháltas go:ltəs*. Cp. 'harm' *abhcoíd* SM, *abhcoide* S **aukə:d' (ə)**, *ócóid* M.
- > **ɑ:v ~ ɑ:b ~ ɑ:f ~ ɑ:** ~ **au** in *Labhradha lævru:* **892M4245, læbru:** M, **21Jq**, *Láfrú* FFG s.v. *leathrach*, **lævro:** S, **læru:** S, **lauru:** **20M**. Cf. **a ~ ɑ:** (1.89).

1.89 II (e)amh

Medial and preconsonantal (e)amh retained as **āw, āv**, e.g. *amhas āvəs*, *cleamhnas kl'āvnəs*, *Damhros dāvrəs*, *gamhain gāvən'*, *geamhar g'āwər*, *reamhar rāvər*, *samhradh sāvrə*, *scamhóg skāvo:g*, *screamhóg fkr'āvo:g*, *sleamhain fl'āwən'*, *i dTreamhair ə dr'æ:wər* **04B** (for historical *Teamhair*).

(e)amh is sometimes **au** (in clusters and vicinity of *n*):

clamhsán generally **klāvsɑ:n**, but **klausɑ:n 23M**;

gamhain gawən' and *gamhna gavnə* most often, but speaker **36Pq** (Coill Sáile and An Aird Mhóir) has **gaunə** [x3] **gauni:** [x2] **gauən'** [x2] **36Pq** as well as *sleamhain fl'au'n'* **36Pq**;

leamhnacht has by-forms **L'āvnəxt >> L'aunəxt** (**L'u:nəxt** ?), **L'awnəxt** **L'amnəxt** FFG;

mac(c)samla also *mac(c)asamla* DIL, *macasamhail* FGB **makə'sāwəl'** SM ~ **ma:kə'saul'** M;

samhlaoid sauli:d' (run) **889P** (only). Contrast, for example, this speaker's *an tsamhail n tā:wəl'* **889P**, *do mhacasamhail də wā'kə'sā:wəl'* **889P**;

Samhna (< *Samhain*) generally **savnə**, but **saunə 66N** (mother from district of An Cheathrú Rua);

samhradh sā:vrə SM very occasionally **sa:urə** S, **sauro 79S**, so also *sāvrə* plural **saure:xi:** **25Mq**;

sleamhnán fl'aunɑ:n **10B, 16M**;

tamhnach generally **tāvnəx**, but *tamhnacháin taunəxi:n'* **897PLC**.

The diphthongal realisation of original *amh* may remain qualitatively distinct from the phonemic diphthong /au/. In the phonemic diphthong /au/ the second vocalic element is clearest (phonetically [əu]), whereas in diphthongal *amh* the first element is prominent (phonetically indicated by [a(·)w]). Speaker **894C**, for example, has in the same recording: *oíche Shamhna i:ə hā'vñə | ... i:ᵇ hā'vñə | ... i: hā'vñə | ... i: hā'vñə | ... i: hā'vñə | ... i: hā'vñə | ...* **894C**. Similarly, speaker **05M** has **āv**

¹ The precise volume reference in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann was not noted, through oversight.

~ **āw** vs. /**au**/. For speaker **869P**'s **aū** ~ **āv** forms, see 1.324 ff. There may be some increase of /**au**/ in the youngest speakers, e.g. *Samhain saun' 77C*.

The obsolescent form **aurə** (corresponding to common **arhə** < *ortha*) may derive from or be influenced by *amhra* (1.201). The diphthong **au**, rather than **av**, in *lomscamhartha* /**lʰu:m,sgaurhə**/ FFG, would imply the more appropriate spelling *lomscabhartha*, given *scabhartha* FGB.

- > **o:** in *amhrán o:ra:n* (also spelt *abhrán* DIL, in nasal dissimilation, see 1.304).
- > **u:** adjoining a nasal in early borrowing *amhantar u:ntər*. Cp. *damhán allaidh du:ən alə*, also *du:wə:n alə*, plural *duvə:n' alə* [x1] M (in emphatic pronunciation), *duyən a:lə* (SmDs) **04B**.
- > **u:** ~ **au** in *deamhan d'u:n* >>> **d'aun** (perhaps also **daun**). Examples of **d'aun** are: *ní raibh a fhios acub sa deamhan d'aun 18J7416*, *a dheamhain! ə jaun' 14M*, *níl a fhios agam sa deamhan n'i:l'əs am sə d'aun Mq*, *sa deamhan ná sa deamhan sə d'u:n nə sə d'aun Mq*, *deamhan a fhios agam d'aunəs a:gəm 05M*. Máire commented of *ó a dheamhain! o: ə jaun' Mq* that ... *déarthá nuair nar mhaith leat 'deabhal' a rá Mq*. The **au** form is, however, more limited in use according to (Mq): *dheamhan a fhios agam ju:n əs a:m M* but *jaun əs a:m MØperm*.
- > **a** ~ **ɑ:** in *meamhghail m'ɑ:wi:l' ~ m'æ:wi:l'*; cp. *nemaide*, *nemdaide* DIL, *neamhaí* (*neámhaí*) FGB, *n'ɑ:wi:* Mq. There is loss of *mh* generally in the prefix *neamh-* *n'ɑ(h)-* with the exception of *neamhní* 'N'ɑ:ñ.n'i: **881J** (in religious context). Similarly, in *Labhradha* (1.88) as well as expected **lauru:** there is exceptional retention of *bh* and lengthening of *a:* **lɑ:vru:**, **lɑ:vro:**, with hardening or devoicing of *bh:* **lɑ:bru:**, *Láfrú* (cp. *fafrúil* (< *fabhar*) LFRM, *fáifriúil 869PCAR*); also **lɑ:ru:** (< **lauru:** and **lɑ:vru:**). Cp. *badhún* (also *babhdún*, etc., DIL) > *bábhán 875T1*; *ámhlbh ~ amhlbh* (1.10).

1.90 III *iobh*; IV *obh*, *omh*; V *ubh*, *umh*

III *iobh*

iobh > **u:**, e.g. *iobhar* > *iúr*, *siobhal* > *siúl*, *tiobhraidh* > *tiúrfaidh*. Cp. the borrowing *Siobhán fu:ən* < 'Joanne, Jo(ha)n', which, according to Risk (1968: 1975 §224(b)), had (originally hiatus-filling) *v* in Anglo-Norman.

IV *obh*, *omh*

obh > **o:**, in *ball dobhráin ba:l dɔ:ra:n'*.

omh > **ū:** **u:** >> **o:**, e.g. *comhairle kū:rl'ə*, *comharsa kū:rfə*, *Domhnach du:nəx*, occasionally *dɔ:nəx 36S*. For **ū:** ~ **u:** ~ **ō:** ~ **o:**, see 1.21.

- > **ū:** **u:** generally in *comhluadar kū:lɔ:dər* (e.g. **04B**) but also, perhaps higher register, *aon chomhluadar ē:ŋ xūvlo:dər* [perhaps *xūnlɔ:dər*] **04Btñ**.
- > **au** in *domhain daun'*, also **daun' 894Cs**, *domhan daun*, both words through apparent nasal dissimilation (1.304). Cp. *oblóir* DIL, *abhlóir* FGB, adjective *abhlaith* **auli:hə** FFG, (*amhlaithe* and *amhlán* in CAR presumably represent **aul-**, i.e. *abhlaith* and *amhlán*).
- > **o:** in *comhrá kɔ:ra:*.
- > **u:** *tomhais* 'guess, riddle' **tū:f** (verb, noun) but 'measure' **tef**, also **tif 20Mlt**, also verbal noun **tos 894Cs**, **tos** 'measure, amount' **06C**, and **tu's 889P**.

- > **ō u** >> **o:** in *comhartha*, generally **kohərə** FFG, **kōhərə** 11C, **kuhərə**, but **kō:ri:** 46 s.v. *comhartha*, *comhartha na croise* **kō:rhə nə krefə** [kri:fə ?] S, **kō:rhə** (heard from a male native of An Aird, born c. 1950) and *comharthaíocht* **kuhəriəxt** S >> **kō:riəxt** St.
- > **u:** regularly in *romhainn* (also *róinn*) **ru:n'** (1 plural *roimh(e)*), but **ri:n'** (47P only, MØperm) through analogy with *dúinn* ~ *duinn*, *linn* ~ *liúinn*.

Retained in derived forms of *lobhann* **lowən** and other verbs in the LOBH class (5.140). The adverb *comh* is unstressed and generally *chomh xə* (also (**ʏ**)ə (see 1.69) and **kə**). SID has:

tə: ʃe xo 'k'r'i:ənə l'e: 'ʃinəx 46.150 *tá sé chomh críonna le sionnach* which corresponds to **xo: 'k'r'i:ənə** Mp 47 (1.412).

V *ubh, umh*

ubh, umh > **u:**, e.g. *cubhar* **ku:r**, *cumha* **kū:**, *dumhach* **dū:x**, *subhach* **su:x**, *ubhall* **u:l(ə)**, *umhal* **u:l**, *umhlaigh* **u:lə**.

Before second-syllable **a:** > **u:** ~ **uw** ~ **iw** in *dubhán* **du:a:n duwa:n diwa:n**, e.g. **du:a:n** 21Pg6379, **duva:n** 01C6383, **dīwa:n** 01C6381, **dīva:n** 899D6376, –85.

Retained in derived forms of *dubh:* plural adjective *dubha* **diwə**, verb *dubhaigh* **duwə**, but *dubhachan* **du:xən**. There is a possible alternative plural, i.e. *dubha* **du:** or **du:wə**, in *bratachaí dubha a chuir ar ...* **b'raetəxi: | du: ə xir' er' ...** 869P, *clabhtaí dubha san aer* **klouti: du:'ə ,sən 'e:r**, 46.890. Cp. the spelling of the noun *dubhadh* in *dúbha na gcruic* 866ESemr156 perhaps for **du:(w)ə**.

The dative of *dumhach* **du:x** occurs (particularly in place-names) as **du:ə**, **duə** and **du:**, e.g. *An Dumhaigh Mhóir* **ə duə wo:r'** M, **ə du:** 'wo:r' 892M1670. For possible *Dumhaigh Iathair*, see 1.25.

> **u** ~ **u:** in *cumhang* **ku(:)ŋg**.

In *cumhachta*, **u:** is general but **uə** in (perhaps corrupt) *i gcramna cumhachta* **ə gra:nə guəxtə** 05Md.

1.91 Medial nonpalatal *bh* retained

Medial nonpalatal *bh* is retained when preceded by a long stressed vowel or diphthong, e.g. *námhaid* **na:wəd'**, *fiabhras* **f'iəwrəs**. Exceptionally lost in:

clúmhach **klū:x** (perhaps *clúmhach* > *clumhach* **klū:x**, cp. *clúimhreach* > *cluimhreach* **klaivr'əx**);

buabhall **buəl** recorded only in *shéid sé an buabhall* **he:ɖ ʃe əm buəl** [x4] 892Mt;

diabhal **d'aul** >>> **d'iəl**, *diabhlach* may be the etymological spelling in *ghráin dhiabhlach* **əŋ ɣra:n' jīələx** 21Ptq, 27Mdq (FFG *díolach*);

riabhach **riəwəx**, but lost in place-name, as in modern standard spelling, *Baile Locha Riach* **bal'ə lox riəx** 11C.

Cp. *subháilceach* (related to earlier *súalaig* DIL) **su:al'k'əx**.

-*bh-* > **b** in the environment of *r* in *grabhaid* FGB, **græ'b'əd'ə** SM, *graibide* FFG; *bh* >> **b** in the borrowing *tábhairne* **tə:wərn'ə** P, **tə:bərn'ə** 11C; note *mara bhfuil* **marə bil'** >> **marə wil'** (cp. *marab* (copula)). Cp. surname *Labhradha* **læ:vru:**, **læ:bru:**, *Láfrú*, **læ:vrou:**, **læ:ru:**, **lauru:**; place-name

(nautical) *Liabhrás*, *Liabhras*, *l'iaɲ³ra:s* 892M, *l'iaɲ³rəs* 892M, also *l'iaɲbra:s* (e.g. *Liabrás* SÓC1.81).

-mh- > f in *amharc* *āfrək* *āfərək*; cp. *Conndae Mhaighe Eo* middle element *fí*, *vi*, *f'í*.

(e)abh > (e)amh in *cabhlach* > *camhlas* S (in my early transcription, perhaps indicating *āv*, but cf. regular *kauləx(t)* LFRM); *Inis Treabhair* *in'əf* *dr'æ:vər'*, perhaps < *Creamhair* related to *creamh*. Cf. 1.307.

1.92 *mh* > *m*, including *a(i)mhs* > *a(i)ms*; *da(i)mhs*-

There is delentition of *a(i)mhs* > *-a(i)ms*- optionally in borrowings, and to a lesser extent, in native words, i.e. *vs* ~ *ms*; *vʃ* ~ *mʃ*. The historical phonology of the borrowings in question is complicated and would repay further study. The evidence of *damhsa* SID1 belies the remarks regarding Irish *damhsa* in Grannd (2000: 57; cf. Lambert 1996 s.v. *damsa*; Ó Maolalaigh 2003a: 120–4; 2003e). Ignoring nasalisation for now, *amhs* has three variants when relatively rare vocalisation (*au*) is included: <*aus*>, <*avs*> and <*ams*>, e.g. *damhsa* *dausa* <<< *davsa* << *damsa*. Palatal *aimhs* also has three variants, when (higher register) diphthongisation is included: <*aivʃ*>, <*avʃ*> and <*amʃ*>. A selection of speakers' use of these variants is set out in Table 1.5. The spirantisation of *m* in *aimsigh* > *āvʃə* (and possibly *pramsáil* > *prā'vsa:l'*) is in the opposite direction, presumably based on this variable class (*mhs*).

Table 1.5 (*mhs*); *damhsa*, *daimhsigh*, *daimhséar*

Speaker	<i>damhsa</i>	<i>āv</i>	<i>ām</i>	<i>aū</i>	<i>av</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>au</i>
852S4 (often)			<i>damsa</i>				
46, 869P		+ 696, RBÉ		+ Mp191			
892M			+				
06C			+				
11C			+				
12S						+	
16M		+					
18J			+				
20My		+					
male c. 50, RM							+
	<i>daimhsigh</i>	<i>āv'</i>	<i>ām'</i>	<i>aiv'</i>	<i>av'</i>	<i>am'</i>	
46, 869P2, 4, 5		<i>daimhs-</i>	<i>daims-</i>	+ !			
894C		<i>daimhs-</i>					
12S						+	
16M		+					
20My		+					
21Pt		+	+				
	<i>daimhséar</i>	<i>āv'</i>	<i>ām'</i>		<i>av'</i>	<i>am'</i>	
894C		+					
894Cs			+				
06C			+				
12J		+			+		
16M		+			+		
21Pt ^a		+					
23B			+				+

^a 21Ptq: *daimhséarach* *dāvʃe:rəx* (as prompted), but also *dāvnr'e:fəx* *dā'mr'e:fəx*.

Cp. *damhsa* **dā:vəsə** [x1] ~ **dā:wsə** [x2] **00C** (Doire Iorrais); also *pramsáil* **prā:msa:l** generally, but **prā:vsal** **20C**.

For *mhs* in native words, compare *tréimhse* **tr'e:mʃə** **M**, *clamhsán* generally **klā:vsan** but **klausan** **23M**; *claimhséara(cht)* **klā:fʃe:rə klā:vʃe:rə klā:vʃe:rəxt** **M**; cp. *stramh(s)ach* **stræ:vsəx** >> **stra:məx** **M**, **strā:vəx** **S**, *stramsach* **FFG**.

Further examples of *mh* > **m** (~ **v**):¹

cnáimh cp. ... *chnáma* **FFG** s.v. *mionspruáin*, unless this is a misprint for *-mh-* but cp. **-am-** in *mámh*, *rámha* directly below;

corra geam(h) **FFG**, **korə g'æ:v/w** **12S**, **18J**, **35E**;

deachmhadh > **d'axmə**, contrast the productive ordinal *deichiú* **FGB** **d'ehu**; cp. *eachmairt* **FGB** **axmər't** generally, but **axwər't** **35Eq**;

liamhán (mór) **L'ia:vən** **S**, **L'i:vən** **moir** 46.1167, **L'ia:man** **SM**, **21Jq**, **L'i:man** **892M**, **06C**;

mámh: *ar mhámh ná ar dhrámh* ... **er'ə va:m na' ər ɣra:v** **04B**, ... **er' wā:m na e' ɣra:ðv̥** |; in a questionnaire on nasal vowels, Máire produced **ma:m** as the noun in isolation but retained **v** in the phrase ... *mámh ná drámh aige* **mā:v na drā:v** **Mq**;

neamh **N'aw** generally, but **N'æ:m** **23B**;

cp. *prúmláithe*, perhaps related to *próimhithe*, *próimithe* (?), *próimhidhe* **CAR**;

rámha in *maide rámha* generally **rā/a:wə**, less common **rā/a'wə**, least common **ra:mə** **01P** (only);

ramhraigh generally with root **rāvr-** (including **11C**), a sporadic example of **m** occurs in **rā'mru:** **11C**1128;

samhradh **sā'vrə sa'vrə** generally, but **sā'mrə** >> **sā'vrə** **21J**;

scamhach iongan has a by-form **skamən uŋgə** **31M**;

sníomh **ʃN'i:w** generally, but *dá shníomh ann* **də hn'i:m an** (Apme)**39J**.

> *mhr* ~ *nr* ~ *mbhr* in:

Teamhair **tr'æ:wər** **04Bl**, lenited genitive *Theamhrach* **ʃæ'nvrəx** **11C**, also **hā'vřəð** **11C**; note in a slip of the tongue *Theamhrach* **hā'vřə | f'ā'mvrəx** **11C**, cp. *seamhróig* **ʃæ'mvro:g** **S** (1.157), also *lúthmhar* (1.98).

In *-mhn-* (cp. palatal *-mhn-*, *cuimhne*, etc., above, 1.83):

leamhnacht **L'aūnəxt** **SID.46 Mp** 20, **L'āvnəxt** 46.61, 68, **L'awnəxt** **L'amnəxt** **FFG**;

Tamhnaigh **tāmnə** **21J**;

cp. *misceam(h)naíthe* **m'i:ʃk'avni:hə m'i:ʃk'amni:hə** (1.157).

Cp. *Caitiligeach Rómhánach* **ka't'əl'ig'əx ro:ma:nəx** **04B** (**MP**, prose), cp. *Róimh* **ro:v' ro:m' ru:m'**, perhaps a later form or influenced by English (1.93).

Cp. *Dinn súm*, **FGB** *súm sám* > *sú(i)m sá(i)m*, also **'sū:v 'sā:v** **35E**, influenced by *sógh*, *sá(i)mh* and compare *suan sámhchodlata* (1.318); < English 'hum, ha(w)' (T. S. Ó Máille 1953–8: 144), cp. *shú shá / thú thá ná tarraingt* **FFG** s.v. *shú*; *a shamlacháin!* **852Sb2** as derisive term, perhaps related to *samhlachán* **BBeo.167** (n. 24; **FGB** *samhnachán*).

Cp. *neamh-mhodhach* **N'æmu:x** **S**.

¹ Cf. Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 120–30).

glamh-, *glam-*, *glámh-*, *glám-* FGB, ING are reflected in seven different stems:

	-aire	-ar	-airt	-óid
glav-				glā:vo:d' M
glam-	glamər'ə S ¹			glāmo:d' S
glav-				glā:vo:d' SM
glam-				glām(h)óid FFG
glaf-	glāfər'ə 12J, M	glā(:)fər SM	glā:fərt' M	
glamf-	glāmfər'ə M	glāmfər M	glāmfərt' M	
glanf-	glā:nfər'ə S	glā:nfər S	glānfərt' S, ~ a: S	

Also with *-aíl*: *glamhaíl* Clad, *glámhaíl* Mq. It appears that the by-forms with medial clusters, including surface **f** (originally < **w+h**), are most common before *-aire*, *-ar*, *-airt*, indicating a likely underlying *-mhth-*, in contrast with a single consonant before *-óid*. Also with prosthetic *s*, e.g. *sclamhthar*, *sclamhaire*, *sclamhaíl*, *sclam*, etc., (1.228). In fact, speaker **20Cq** claims not to use the stems *glamh-* (except in *glamhthar*) and *glámh-* but rather *sclamh-* only. Cp. *gláiféisc* (~ *glaimhéisc* FGB), *bláiféisc*, *bláibhéisc*.

1.93 Further instances of loss of friction

> **m'**, **m** in:

coimhead **kim'ɑ:d** in *do choimeád bheatha* **də xim'ɑ:d v'æhə** **894C**, cp. *do choimeád beatha* **894C2**, *bhain sí an ceann is an coimeád gumád beatha dhe* **11C**, *a chomán beathadh* **852SbLL1**;

scéimh **ʃk'e:m'** **11C**;

uaimín **uəm'i:n'** Pt24.10.94, **u:m'i:n'** **21Jq** < *uaimh+ín*, place-name *Na hUaimíní* **nə hu:m'i:n'i** **21Jq**.

> **m'** ~ **v'** (~ **m**) in:

claidheamh > *claimhe* generally **klæv'ə** but sporadic **klæm'ə** **892M3191**;

fréimh, **fr'e:m'**, plural **fr'e:mr'əxi**; also **fr'e:v'** ~ *fréamh* **fr'e:w**, plural **fr'e:wrəxi**; S, **pr'e:m** **10Bq**, plural **pr'e:mrəxi** **10Bq**;

geimhreadh, sporadically **g'i:mr'ə** **S85**;

Róimh, **ro:v'** **ro:m'**, *dhon Róimh* > *gon Róim* **!894C9**, **gən rü:m'** **869P**;

roimhe, rarely **rīm'ə** for S, e.g. *tá tú ag cuir an chapall roimhe an gcarr* **tə: tu: kir' ə xɑ:pəl rīm' n gɑ:r** **S84**, regularly as 3m prepositional pronoun for speaker **06C**, i.e. **rīm'ə** (cp. preposition *uim*, 3m *uime*, Ó Maolalaigh 2003a: 125);

táimhleisceamhail **tā:m'l'əʃk'u:l'** **892M**, **tɑ:m'l'əʃk'u:l'** ~ **tā:vl'əʃk'u:l'** M.

> **b'** ~ **v'** in vicinity of *n*:

sceaimhínteacht FFG, Mperm, **ʃk'æ'b'i:nt'əxt** Mq;

cp. *cnáimhseach* **krā:vʃəx** (Asc) **04B**, *cráibisire* **!894C9**.

> **ŋ**, *mh* followed by *g* (< *gh*), e.g. *i gcomhghar* **ə gu(:)ŋgər**, cp. possible metathesis in *teagmháil* > **təŋgəxta:l'**.

> **ŋ** in *mh* optionally before *ch* in *geamhchaoch* **'g'æ'ŋxi:x** **'g'æ'xi:x** M, **'g'æ'vxi:x** **21Pt**.

¹ Also *glamaire* **875TDt54**, hence *glamaireacht* CAR.

> **n** in *mh* preceding *r* in *comhra* **kunrə kunʔrə** (**ku:nʔrə** rare, also **kə:nʔrə** found in higher register), cf. 1.94;
comhrag **kū:nʔrək 00T**, **kū:nək 898P**, with by-form (genitive) **ku:rək'** also *cūrhaic* **875T1** (indicating **kū:rhək'**);
 variably preceding *s* in *cumhsclaí(the)*: *cúsclaithe* FFG, *cúnsclaithe* CAR **ku:skli:(hə)** also **kluski: ku:nskli: klu:nski:**.

1.94 **conra < comhra (cp. comhnair < comhraiṛ)**

Short **u** is the general vocalism, rather than long **u:**, in *comhra* (cp. *comhnair*) > *conra* **kunrə kunʔrə**, etc., with **u:** attested in **ku:n¹.jə 35E9233**, as well as long **o:** in higher register. The short vowel in *conra* is found in the interstitial South Galway zone (cf. 1.363). This is clear from Map 193 of SID which, ignoring irrelevant details here, shows **kunrə** in points 25 (26 no return), 27–9, 39–44, 46–8. Only the short vowel is found in (the indexed tokens of) ICF and GCF. In fact, **kunrə** can be interpreted as a dialectal compromise form; it is segmentally equivalent to **kə:nʔrə** ~ **ku:nʔrə** found directly to the north of this zone and morai-cally equivalent to **kə:rə** ~ **ku:rə** found directly to the south.¹ The short vowel may be based on analogy with the class of words which has variation in vocalic length preceding nasal clusters (1.172). For example, analogy with *punt* **punt** ~ **punt** (1.184) would yield **ku:nʔrə** ~ **kunrə**, with the longer variant being progressively replaced by the shorter one. The long variant of this class is the typical Munster pronunciation, whereas the short variant of this class is of course the typical northern form found in North Galway and further north. The resurgence of the shorter form could be seen as a reassertion of Connacht phonology in this class. The use of short **u** in *conra* may therefore be a hyperdialectism; in the context of this provincial border area, a hyper-Connachtism. This hypothesis, however, does not explain why the short vowel should be almost universal in *conra* in this zone but not in the variable class in general, for instance, in similar words such as *scanradh*, *conndae*, *cuntar* and *suntas*. The short vowel is nevertheless dominant in *punt*. Cf. the variable lengthening class in 1.401 and *súgradh saugrə* **su:grə** in 1.203.

1.95 **Medial -bh- (nonpalatal, unstressed)**

Medial nonpalatal *bh* following an unstressed vowel, including an epenthetic vowel, is lost and the vowel is lengthened to **u:**, e.g. *leisceamhail* > *leisciúil*, *díthreabhach* > *díthriúch*, *arbhar* > *arúr*, including the old compound *mallmhuir* > *mallúir*.

Adjectival suffix *-amhail* added to *gnaoi* usually yields **gri:u:l'** but also **gri:wil'** (heard in Roisín na Mainchíoch and from (Acá)03V, and quite common according to 56Pe) and **gri:wu:l'** (also heard in Roisín na Mainchíoch). Suffix *-amhail* causes (optional) nasalisation in *dathamhail* **dāhu:l'** only; as does *-mhar* in *lúthmhar* **lū:fəɹ** only (see adjectival *-mhar*, 1.98).

¹ O'Rahilly (1950c) suggests that Connacht and Westmeath '*cónra* is either a metathesized form of *cónair* [or **cónar* < *comhnar*], or else a blend of [southern] *comhra* [i.e. *cōra*] and [northern] *cónair* [or **cónar*]' [my additions and glosses]. Therefore, as I argue, southern Connacht *conra* is doubly intermediate: between general Connacht *cónra* and Munster *cōra*, while *cónra* itself is a phonologically intermediate form (whether it became so via metathesis or direct blending is a separate question).

In clusters following long vowels and in unstressed syllables there is no epenthesis and these clusters are regularly retained, e.g. *iarmhais iərɯəf* SM, *iərɯəf* S, *iarmhaiseach iərɯəfəx* M; but there are examples of loss: *Maolmhuire* > *Maolra*, perhaps influenced by Welsh ‘Meilyr’ (via Anglo-Norman and English, e.g. ‘Moyler’) > *Maoilir*, cp. *dúlrach* = *dúlmharacht* in *Tá cúigear ...* ‘cuir a ndúlrach (?) i gcéill ’om !894C9.

Exceptions

baramhail baru:l’ ~ barə:l’ ~ ba:r:l’ M, *baru:l’ ~ ba:r:l’* 11C. E.g. *an mbeadh barúil baru:l’ acub* (cén aois a bhí sí) 11C, *bheadh barúil baru:l’ mhaith a’inn* 11C. Seán Ó Cathasaigh (An Aird) writes *barail* (SÓC). Speaker 11C had *baru:l’* in his first three tokens in a radio interview. These tokens were followed in the same interview by *ba:r:l’* in: *Sé mo bharail go raibh fe mə ‘war:l’ gə ‘ro* 11C; *cheapthainn é le mo bharail war:l’ ach ...* 11C, *tá barail mhaith a’inn* 11C, *sé mo bharail nach fe mə ‘war:l’ nāx* !11C. These were then followed by *nuair a casfí duine eicín orm, mbeadh barúil ‘ba:ru:l’ aige* 11C. Similarly, *barail* (*Sé mo bharail go bhfuil*), *baraileach* FFG. The noun *baramhail* is therefore potentially differentiated from the adjective *barramhail* Dinn, *barrúil* FGB *baru:l’*. It may be that the noun is overall less prevalently stressed, e.g. in common *baramhail mhaith*, than the adjective and therefore more susceptible to reduction; note that *-u:l’* is also a productive adjectival suffix.

Cearbhalán generally *k’ar(h)u:lən*, also *Cearlúran* 894C6.704; *bh* retained in metathesis *Cearlabhán* !01S CABI §50(a) v. 5 if transcribed accurately, also regular *Cearúllán* !01S CABI §50(b) v. 4.

Loss of *bh* without compensatory lengthening in: *failmhigh fal’hə*, *ullmhaigh*, e.g. *ullmhaighthe oli:(hə)*, both verbs may have been reanalysed from regular reflexes of their respective verbal nouns in *-mhughadh* > *u:*. Loss of *mh* in *(l)mh* also occurs generally in Scottish Gaelic, however, (where *-mhughadh* > *u:* is not found); such loss implying early cluster simplification or coalescence of *(l)mh* (in contrast with retention in *falbh*, *falbhaidh*, etc.). Cf. Ó Maolalaigh (2002: 70–71; 2003f: 187–9). Cp. *Tuathmhumhain* > *Tua’mhain* (*Uí Bhriain*) !894C6; also *eanbhruithe a:nɿ rə*; *bonnbhualadh bunuələ bunə:l(ə)*, also *bunə’ olə* 20Páq.

Also lost in another cluster and intervocalically:

drochmhúinte droxu:nt’ə, *drochmhúnadh droxu:nə*, also *mímhúinte m’i:u:nt’ə*, *mímhúnadh m’i:u:nə*; by-forms with retained *mh* occur in *mímhúinte m’i:wū:nt’ə* 872P, *drochmhúinte* is *mímhúinte droxu:nt’ə* § m’i:wu:nt’ə 15W.

There is noteworthy loss with (partial) metathesis in *teagmháil* > *taŋgəxtə:l’*. There is one explicit note in 869P5 indicating a probable retention of *mh* in this verb: the future is regularly spelt *tangó* in 869P5 but also *tangmhó* with the note ‘pron[ounced] *tang-mhó*’. Retained before long vowel in higher register *teagmháil t’æŋgəwə:l’*.

1.96 Retained

Retained, especially before long vowel, in the following words:

deangamháiltí !894C9 CABI §620(b) v. 6 (*diongabháilte* FGB); *forbhás* FGB *forəwəs* but also *foru:s*, *foru:x* SM; *garbhán ga:rəwən* Mq; *gealbhan g’alu:n*

FFG(24, 19), Mq, **g'aləwɑ:n** M; *iomarbhá*, e.g. *iomarbháidh* **894C9**; in derived and presumably higher register *Deasgabháil* **d'æ:sgəwɑ:l'** S < *gabháil*; cp. *ionghabháil* > *iongúáil* [x2] **!894C9**; *teagmháil* **t'æ:ngəwɑ:l'** (immediately above), *teagabháil* Semr84; *searbhónta* **ʃarəwɑ:ntə**.

Cp. **w** in alternation with **m** in *siodrabháil* **ʃudərəwɑ:l'** SM, **ʃudərəma:l'** SM; *luaithreamhán* **luər'həwɑ:n** **869P**, *luaithreamán* **866ESc207**, 208.

Contrast *talamh* **talhə**, genitive *talmhana* **talhu:nə**, with *talmhaidhe* **taləvi:**, *talmhaidheacht* **ta'ləviəxt**.

Banbha **banəbə** (*bh* perhaps hardened from higher register use or influenced by *Alba* **aləbə** or possibly in denasalising hardening, cp. Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 129–30)), also **banəbrə** / **bambə** **!ZCP160**.

In derived *balbhán* **baləwɑ:n** S, **21Pg**, also **baləbə:n** S.

Derived *marbhach* (recall also the adjectival suffix *-mhach*) has regular **maru:x** as well as **marəwəx** and mixed **maru:əx**, also **marə:x**, e.g. *san am mharbhach* **sən ə:m waru:x** S84, *an t-am mharbhach* **ə tɑ:m warəwəx** P, *leitís mharbhach* **l'et'i:ʃ waru:əx** S84, **l'et'i:ʃ warəwəx** M, *go ham mharbhach na gcoileach* **gə hɑ:m | 'warə:x nə 'gɔl'əx** | **18J8280**, ***warwəx** may be the pronunciation indicated in: ... *whitín* ... *go dtuga sé goin mharwach dó* **!894C9**, also *marbhán* **marəwɑ:n**.

Note *torbach* also *tarbach* *tarbech* DIL > palatal **tar'əv'əx**, from base *tairbhe* **tar'əv'ə**.

EModIr *leanab* (rather than by-forms *leanabh*, *leanbh*) may be reflected in derived *leanbhaidhe* **l'anəbi:**, and *leanbhán* > *leanabán* **!894C9**.

Medial nonpalatal *bh*, adjoining a voiced fricative which has lengthened the preceding vowel, is generally retained, e.g. *adhbhar* **əwər**. Note *foghmhar* generally **fū:wər** sometimes **fə:ər** **fə:r**.

1.97 Epenthesis and exceptions

Where words such as *marbh* (i.e. with final *bh* preceded by an epenthetic vowel) occur in compounds, *bh* is lost or otherwise changed:

- > Ø in *marbhlán* **marəla:n** S; cp. additional lengthening *marbhleathair* **'mo:r,l'əhər'** **27Mdq**, **'mo:r,l'əhər'** Mq, **ma:r'l'ahir'** FFG s.v. *máirléir*, the first two variants perhaps influenced by *mór*;
- > **u:** in *garú-rán coirce* **869P2** < *garbh-arán*;
- > **f** and perhaps **u:** in *marbhfáisc*, generally **marəfɑ:ʃk'**, but *marúfháisc ort* **!894C6** (corrected by Séamas Mac Aonghusa from *marabhfháisc*, implying perhaps an alternant in **-əw-**). B. Ó Buachalla derives **marəfɑ:ʃk'** from *marbhtáisc* (Bliss 1979: §135). The *marúfháisc* example implies that the second element, as well as being commonly understood as *fáisc*, was also morphologically indicated as lenited *fáisc*. For the nonlenition of *f*, see 9.20 ff.

Medial nonpalatal *bh* preceded by a stop consonant disappears, e.g. *seachtmhain* > *seachtain*, *fágbháil* > *fágáil* (cp. *-mhar -ər*, 1.98). Note the development of *sbh* in stressed *easb(h)aidh* **aspə**, *teasb(h)ach* **t'aspəx**, and unstressed *uireasbhaidh* **fer'əsə**. Cp. *seasmhach* (1.98).

Exceptions

- (i) **u:** in *acmhaing* **aku:n'**, *míorbhail* **m'íoru:l'ə**;
- (ii) **w** ~ **u:** in *béalbhach* **b'e:lu:x** generally, cp. **b'e:lwu:x** **21Jq** (speaker uncertain);
- (iii) (*Séán*) *Éadbhaird* (**ʃa:n**) **e:du:rd'**, *Rí Éadbhard* **ri: e:dvərd** ! (SGuair) **11C**;
- (iv) *naonbhar* **ni:nwər** (as expected, without epenthesis), with dissimilation, or reanalysis *naoi+bhar*, **ni:wər** **21Pt**; but also **ni:nur** (with **-ur** as in regular *deichneabhar* **d'in'hu:r d'en'hu:r**).
- (v) **w** ~ **Ø** ~ **r** ~ **b** in *geolbhach* **g'olwəx** S, **g'oləx** M, pl **g'olrəxi:** **20M**, also (in metathesis) **g'olbəx** **21Jq**.

Cp. *ceobhrán* **k'obə:n** **892M**, **k'obə:n** S.

Our dialect form corresponding to *mionachar* (~ plural *mionacha*), *mionbhach* FGB (cp. *mionúch* FFG20, also *minach* DIL), is singular **m'un(h)əx**, more commonly plural **m'unəxi:** **m'unhəxi:** **m'unexi:** **m'unoxi:**.

1.98 Adjectival -mhar

mh in the adjectival suffix *-mhar* has four variants:

- wər**, historically regular medially following long vowels (followed by continuants),
- ur**, historically regular in epenthesis,
- ər**, historically regular following stops,
- fər**, historically regular following *th*.

These variants have, in certain instances, spread to unhistorical environments.

V: + **wər** in *bríoghmhar* **br'i:wər** M, *grádhmhar* **grə:wər**.

C + **wər** in *ciallmhar* **k'ialwər** generally, *fonnmhar* **fu:nwər**, *gaolmhar* **gi:lvər** **20M**, *glórmhar* **glor:vər** **43M**, *glórmharach* **glor:wərəx** M, *greannmhar* **gr'ənwər**, *líonmhar* **l'i:nvər**, *luchtmhar* **loxtwər** **869P**, *míshlachtmhar* **m'i:ləxtwər** Mq, *slachtmhar* **slaxtwər**, *slíocht mhar* **sl'oxtwər** M, *íogmhar* **igwər** SM, *luachmhar* **luəxwər** SM, *tréanmhar* **t'e:nwər** **04B**.

C^{+stop} + **ər** in *míshlachtmhar* **m'i:ləxtər** Mq, *slachtmhar* **slaxtər** Mperm.

C + **ur** in *ciallmhar* **k'ialu:r** **07M**, *glórmhar* **glor:ur** **05M**, *greannmhar* **gr'anu:r** (the only lexeme, with **ur**, in which epenthesis would be expected, i.e. < *greannamhar*), *luchtmhar* **loxtu:r** **11Ctn**, *slachtmhar* **slaxtu:r** FFG, **899D**, **27Mdq**, *slachtúr* **869P2**. Cp. *slachtúil* **21Pt**.

th + **fər** regular in *bláthmhar* **blə:fər**, *gaothmhar* **gi:fər** but also *luachmhar* **luəfər** **29P**. The suffix causes nasalisation in one word, *lúthmhar* regular **lū:fər** **04B**, *lúfar* **869P**; also > *mf* in *lúmfar láidir*, often **894C6** (including in a song composed by **894C**), e.g. *buachaillín lúmfar spéiriúil* **!894C9** and prose [x2] **894C9** but in his recording I hear **lu:nfər sp'e:r'u:l'** **!894C**, here **ū:f** > (**mf**) > **nf** perhaps influenced by *lonn(mhar)*, cp. *glamh-* (1.92).

Cp. *dúlrach* = *dúlmharacht* **!894C9** (1.95); *gníomh* has adjective *gníomhach* S but also *gníomhar* S (perhaps a reflex of *gníomharthach* FGB).

mh in adjectival suffix *-mhach* > **u:x** also **wəx** (cp. adjectival *-ach* regularly **əx** and *-adhach* regularly **u:x**, also *marbhach*, 1.96): *ceadmhach* **k'ædu:x**, *seasmhach* **ʃæsu:x**, also **ʃæ'swəx** **ʃæ'swu:x** M.

-mh(e)adh in ordinal numerals > **u:** **wə** **wu:** **hu:** (3.81).

1.99 bhth > f

Medial *bh* adjoining a voiceless fricative > *f*, e.g.

naomhtha > *naofa*, *caithmheach* > *caifeach*, *deithbhir* > *deifir*, *aithmhéala* > *aiféal(a)*, *gairbhthean* > *gairifean*, *lobhtha* and *lobhfaidh* **lofə**, *bláthmhar* > *bláfar* (as noted above); *tuathal* (*tuaifeal*) FGB **tuəf əl** (generally, e.g. **869P**, **11C**, M; gen **tuəf əl'**; cp. adverbial **tuəf əl'** S85); *daibhche* (nonclassical plural of *dabhach*) **daif i:**. Cp. *comaithech* also *comaigthech* DIL **kohiəx**, less often **kof iəx**; note *tír coimhtigheach* (**köhiəx** or **köf t iəx**) 46.937.

Cp. **āf e:ltə** 35Eq (adj), **af e:ltəs** (noun) related to *aidhbhéil* (**ā**)**v e:l'** and *aithmhéala* **āf e:lə**, *aithmhéaltas* **āf e:ltəs**; cf. *áibhéil*² ~ *áiféil* FGB, É. Ó hÓgáin (1984); 14 *áfach*, *áfúil*, *áfás* **āfəs** 35Eq.

Cp. *luifearnach* **lif ərnəx** SM, **lif r ənəx** S; perhaps derived from *luibhthearnach* or the like, from a combination of *luibhneach* Dinn and *lutharnach* DIL (cp. *luibhriúch* FFG24).

Exceptions: *bithbheanach* **b ihu:nəx**, *deirbhshiúr* > **dr'ehu:r** >> **dr'efu:r**, also **dr'ifu:r** 46.346 (normalised), genitive **dr'ef i:r'ə**, (**mö y'r'öf i:r'ə** 46.346); *uathbhás* **u:fəs**, *ufás*, **u:həs u:əs**, *uathbhásach* **u:fəsəx u:fəsəx u:həsəx u:əsəx**, *baintreabhthach* **bantr'əx**, *Flaithbheartach* **flahərtəx**, Ó *Flaithbheartaigh* **o: flahərtə** 897P, *marbhthach* > *marbhach* **maru:x**, etc., (1.96).

Of the by-forms of *deirbhshiúr*, **dr'ehu:r** is by far more common (e.g. SM, **21Pt**, **48J**), although **dr'efu:r** has been gaining ground, particularly among those born since the 1950s and 1960s (cp. *mo dhá dheirbhshiúr* **mə yə: jr'efur** [sic] 76Mt). Some speakers use both, e.g. 46.346–7 and **869P**'s daughter **15W** (from her sister **dr'ehu:r** 04Br was heard).

In prefixation which involves *-th-bh/mh-* there is generally no devoicing, e.g. *leithbhliain* **'l'e' l iən'** M, *liathbhán* **'l' iə wə:n**. The prefix *leath-*, *leith-* (3.124) coalesces facultatively with *bh/mh* in *leithbhliain* and *leathmhás(a)*, *Leath-Mhás* yielding **f**, **hw** and **w**.

gh, dh > gh

The fricatives *dh* and *gh* have generally fallen together and *gh* will be used to refer to both.

1.100 Initial gh

Initial *gh*: nonpalatal **y**, palatal **j**, e.g. *dhall* and *Ghall* **yəl**, *dhíol* **jiəl**, *gheall* **ja:l**.

Exceptions

- (i) In numeral *dhá* **yə:** >>> **ə:** (**ə:** is common in North-East Iorras Aithneach and is on the increase in younger speakers generally; younger speakers also have **xə:**, the oldest speaker noted with **xə:** is **64M**, his niece (Bridie, born in the late 1980s) has **ə:**), for eclipse of *dhá* as **hə:**, see 9.97.
- (ii) (a) *dhá* 'if' **gə: yə: də: ə:**, (b) *dháiríribh* **yə:r' i:r'ə gə:r' i:r'ə** >> **ə:r' i:r'ə**; (c) prepositions *d(h)e* and *d(h)o* **də gə yə ə**, in some contexts elided; (d) *dhá(r)* (< *dhe* / *dho* + *a(r)*) **gə: yə: də: ə:**; (e) *dh-* in prepositional pronouns may be elided (in sandhi), e.g. *tabhair dhamh tor um* (7.31 ff.). Cp. verbal noun particle *do*, *dho* > *a* generally.

- (iii) Also in sandhi in *Mhac Dhonnchaidh* ə **kunəxə**. Compare the surname ə **ku:l'** perhaps from *Mhac Dhubhghaill* or *Mhac Thuathail* (or a blend of both) or *Mac Comhghaill*; cp. *Cruaich na Cara* (1.254).
- (iv) Optional in irregular verbs *ní dheachaigh*, *ní dhearna* **n'i: (j)əxə**, **n'i: (j)ərnə**; cp. **n'i: 'ə:rnə** 46.1040 and the unhistorical glide in *ní fhéad-faidís* **n'i: je:təd'ij** 46.244.
- (v) *gearrhionach* FGB **'g'ə:r'i:nəx** S85, *an ghearrhionach* **n 'ja:r'ji:nəx** M85, *an ghearr ghéanach* **864MDT13**; cp. *an ghearr Mhuimhneach* and *an ghearra ghionach* LFRM (s.v. *gearr*), *gearrhionach* FFG20, *géar-ghoineach* FFG20, ING.
- (vi) *deoin*, depalatalised in sandhi, in *ar dheoin ná ar éigin* **er' u:n na er' e:g'an' 03V**. Cp. *in iúin* 11.110.
- (vii) Cp. *Deirdre* in *ar Éadra Ní Mhanannáin* **894C**.

Younger speaker **73P** has **y > x** in, for example, *ghoil* **xol'** **73P**, *dhó xo:* **73P** as well as *dhá* **ʒa:** **73P**.

Initial nonpalatal *gh* can be lost, quite infrequently and particularly in allegro speech.

gho- > **o:-**: *ach ní ghabhthainn* **ax n' o.əN'**.

ghl- > **l:-**: *muinntir Ghlinisce* **mi:n't'ər' l'i:nf'k'ə** ~ **yl'i:nf'k'ə** S, *ar ghlan tú?* **ər la:n tu:** S, *ní ghlaoidhídís* **n'i: li:d'ij** M, cp. *seanghloineachaí* **'faŋ'ŋlin'əxi:** M.

ghr- > **r-** ~ **r:-**: *an deabhal dhe dhraein d'aul* **gə re:n' << yre:n' M**; *do ghnúis* **də 'ru:f/ru:f** M, *do ghnótha* **də 'ru:hə** M. Speaker **23Ms**'s *ar a dhroim* was transcribed as **er' ə 'ri:m'** **23Ms**.

Cf. the much older reduction of *ghn-* in irregular verb *do-ghní* > dependent **n'i:n níonn**.

1.101 Final stressed *gh*

Final stressed *gh* regularly disappears without lengthening of short vowels, e.g. *fíodh* **f'i**, *modh* **mu** (in *modh focail*), *ceadh* **k'a**, *sleagh* **ʃl'a**, *froigh* **fro**. Also lost following stressed long vowels and diphthongs, e.g. *ád*h mostly **a:**, inflections of *fiach* > *fiaigh dhubha* **f'ia yuvə**, *toirt fiaigh ná feannóige* > *toirt fia ná fionnóige*.

Exceptions

- (i) Palatal final *gh* > **Ø** ~ **x'** (~ **h** in sandhi, ~ **j** before pausa) in *amuigh* **ə'mu ə'm'u ə'mix'**, *istigh* **ə'ʃt'i ə'ʃt'ix'**. Final **j** was recorded from a speaker from North-East Iorras Aithneach, Doire Iorrais: **| ə'ʃt'ij | 01P** *istigh*.
- (ii) Nonpalatal final *gh* > **w** facultatively in *ugh* (*ogh*) **u uw u:**, genitive **iv'ə**; *tiugh* **t'uw t'iw t'u t'i**, *aniogh* **ə'n'u ə'n'i ə'n'uw ə'n'iw**. Note **875T1** has *ugh* most often, *ubh* seldom, and *úgh fháil* **875T1** once, this might be interpreted as **u >> uw >> u:**. Cp. *brod* DIL > *brobh* **brow** (O'Rahilly 1930: 195).
- (iii) Verbal noun *crádh* **kra:w**, as noun also **kra:**, but *dódh* **do:**. Genitive plural in place-names *géadh*: *Lochán na nGéadh* **loxan nə ŋ'e:w 04B**, *Garraí na nGéadh* **ga'ri nə ŋ'e:w**; otherwise singular *géadh* **g'e:**.

- (iv) Short vowel lengthened in (a) verbs (in back formation based on prevocalic forms) *leagh* **l'ɑ:**, *meadh* **m'ɑ:**; also future of verb *bí*, *beidh* **b'eí** (reduced **b'e**), and **b'e:** in phrase *beidh a shliocht air* '**b'e:** **ʃ'ox** **'er'** **894C**; (b) nouns (in back formation based on plurals) *feadh* **f'ɑ:** 'fathom' (identical to historically plural form *feadha*) but noted **æ(·)** in *chúig feadh(a) fichead xug' f'æ' f'ix'əd* **21Pt**, and possibly in *dhá feadh déag yɑ: f'æ d'e:g* (?); *sneadh* **ʃN'ɑ:** (identical to historically plural form *sneadha*); also *spleadh* > *splé* CAR, **spl'e:** SM, **spr'e:** S; *teach* has old locative *tigh t'i:*, with long vowel which corresponds to genitive singular *tighe* (locative sometimes short, e.g. *tigh na baintrighe t'i nə | bæ'nt'r'i:* **889P**, *tigh Thomáis Uí Mháille t'i hūmā:ʃ i: wɑ:l'ə* **894Cs**, also **892M**, **21J**, *tigh Pháidín t'i fɑ:d'i:n'* **27Md**); cp. *dái dái:* perhaps from *dáigh* (by-form of *dóigh*).
- (v) There are examples of collocational lengthening prevocalically: *ar fleidh is ar féasta er' fl'ai s er' f'estə* !(Acsb)**881Jt**, *fleidh agus féasta fl'ai ogəs f'estə* (Smbb)**04B**; compare short preconsonantal *Maigh Cuilinn mu kil'ən'* (genitive identical) and long genitive in prevocalic position *Conndae Mhaighe Eo ku:nde: fi:/ wi:/ f'i: 'o:*.

When lost finally following a short stressed vowel, *gh* may be replaced by **-h(-)** in position before a vowel at morphological boundary and in sandhi:

feadh: *ar feadh uair ə f'æ huər'* S;
meadh 'balance': *meadh ar mheadh m'æh er' v'æ: ~ m'æ: er' v'æ:* S, *ní raibh smid ná meadh aige n'i: ro sm'id' nɑ: m'æ: eg'ə* S;
sleagh **ʃL'a** plural **ʃL'a:xə** 46 s.v. *sleagh*, also **ʃL'ahəni:**¹;
stagh sto, *stoith* FFG with genitive *stoithí*.

1.102 Medial stressed *gh*

Medial *gh* normally disappears with coalescence of syllables, e.g. *bliadhain bl'ien'* (*bliadhna bl'ienə*), *cádhas kɑ:s*, *faghaim fɑ:m'*, *gadhar gair*.

Note *thgh* > **ʃ** ~ **x** in *athghróigeadh* commonly '**a,ʃro:g'ə**', generally obsolescent '**a,xro:g'ə**' (also **43Mp**); > **k'** in *aithghiorra ak'ərə*; > **f** in *lúthgháir lufɑ:r'ə*.

Exceptions

- (i) **g, g'** in *Seoighe ʃo:g'ə* (it is tempting to attribute the hardening of *gh* here to the disyllabic form **ʃo:jə** current in North Conamara where this surname is especially prevalent, cp. *Muimhneach*, 1.86), *Síodhaidhe ʃi:gi:*, cp. *sídheog ʃi:og*; cp. *glé-gheal gl'e:g'əl*, *ionghabháil* > *íongúáil* **!894C9**.
- (ii) **v, v'** in (a) *adhnacal* > *adhlaican* **ā:vləka:n** **25M**, **ɑ:vləka:n** **M**, with by-forms *annlacan* **ā:nləka:n** **11C**, **ā:nləkən** **892M**, *ánlacan* **869P**, **875P** (CAR), also *anlacan* FFG implying a by-form ***anləkən**, (cf. *álacan* **ɑ:ləkən** LFRM). Cp. *adhlaic* verb, in higher register where four apparent variants are found, i.e. *ánlac-*, *íodhlaic*, **e:lək'**-, **ailək-** in: (i) *hánlacadh* **869P6**, (ii) *D'íodhlaic mur sa tumb' é* [1pl pst] (Aíf, perhaps speaker **04B**) CABI §386(a) v. 2 (this may be the verb *íodhlaic* 'accompany', or was influenced, in speaker or transcriber, by *íodhlaic*; cp. *idhlucad[h]* for

¹ The singular *sleá* FFG seems to be a standard spelling rather than reflect dialectal use.

adhllacadh DIL s.v. *idnacul*; Dinn s.v. *íodhllacadh*), (iii) *hadhllacadh* **he:lək' u:** (Aif) **05M**, (iv) *céasadh agus a hadhllacadh* **k'e:su' ogəs ə hailək' u:** M (Credo), *adhllacadh* **ailəkə** **35E**7698 (this **ailək-** variant may come from later standard (or Munster) pronunciation, given that it is used by Máire, from 'Credo' learnt at school, and by the younger, highly literate speaker **35E**). One should compare the development **-nl-** > **-vl-** in *annlann* **an:lən** but also **av:lən** **05M**, perhaps also **am:vlən** **!35E**.

(b) *badhún* (also *babhdún*, etc., DIL) > *bábhán* **875T**1; cp. *-bhdh-* > *-bh-* in *cuibhdheas(ach)* **kiv'əs(əx)** S.

(c) *guidhe* **giv'ə** and hence verb *guidh* **giv'**, *eidheann* **ev'an**, *claidheamh* 'sword' **klāv'ə**, 'type of seaweed' **klā:f'ə** (generally in plural **klā:f'i:** < *claidhmhthi*), *Mag Uidhir* > *Mac Guibhir* ~ *Mag Uivir* **894C**6, *géadha* plural **g'e:wə**, *trágha* genitive **trə:w** (in some place-names **trai:**), *stród(d)* DIL, generally **stro:** but *strón ar bith* **!894C**9 and *strón* [x1] **894C** elsewhere.

- (iii) **x** in *buadhaim* > *buachaim*, perhaps by reanalysis of verbal noun *buadhachtáil* (as suggested in ICF §538) and forms such as verbal adjective *buadhtha*. Cp. *gnóthaigh* (verbal noun *gnóthachtáil* **grū:xta:l'**) > minor variant *gnóch* **grū:x** **10B**.

Following a stressed vowel, *-ghe* is lengthened to **i:** in:

láighe **lai:**, *páighe* **pai:**, *nú(a)idhe* **nui:**, *súidhe* **sui:**;
also *báidhe* Dinn **bai:**.

Similarly, *uaighe* > **uai** in *cruaidhe* **kruai**, *fuaighe* **fuai**, *truaighe* **truai**, *luaidhe* **luai**, *ruaidhe* **ruai**; there is a slightly unclear recorded example of *cruaidhe* **kruəjə** **892M** (as in lects to the north, e.g. ITM §461(i)); and *uagh-* > **uəu** **uəw**, e.g. *fuaghadh* **fuəu** **fuəw**. Note the three vowel sequence in derived *truaigheach* **truəix**.

Exception: speaker **27Cb** reports that his neighbour in An Aird Thiar consistently said *súidhe* **su:x'ə** (**848B**), which is currently only **sui:** in our dialect. In **SIDIII** q 547 **su:x'ə** is found quite a distance north of Iorras Aithneach in West Mayo (points 53–7, no return for point 52 where one would also expect **su:x'ə**) and **su:h'ə** in North Mayo (points 58–60) and both are typical in Ulster (**SIDIV**). The form **sui:** is general in South Galway (points 25–30, 35, 37, (38), 39–48) and is also found in East Mayo (point 62). North Galway and adjoining Mayo have **su:jə** (points 31–4, 36, 49–51). Munster has general **su:** (**SIDII**).¹

There is often little or no coalescence of syllables with long vocoids: *dóigheamhail* > *dóghúil* **!01S** CABI §178(b) v. 1 and *dóthúil* **!894C**9 (⇒ ***do:u:l'**, ***do:hu:l'**), *liaghán* **l'i:ən**, *sidheán* **fi:ən** but *cruadhóg*, etc., above (1.20, 1.27) and *fiadháin* **f'i:ən** >> **f'iən** the latter noted from **12S**, **27Cl**, **36S** (regular), **43M**, **52Cr**, **66N** (regular) (cp. *fiadhach* **f'iəx**). Cp. *feagh*, *feag* FGB > *fióg* **f'i:og**.

1.103 Compensatory lengthening of vowels preceding *gh*; **l** (*e*)*agh*

The general developments in summary are, stressed vowels:

¹ In this summary, I ignore minor vocalic and consonantal variants found in **SIDII–IV.547**.

I	(e)agh	>	ai,	before consonants	ɑ:
II	aigh, eigh, oigh	>	ai		
III	i(o)gh, uigh	>	i:		
IV	(i)ugh	>	u:		
V	ogh	>	au,	before consonants	o:

Unstressed medial:

nonpalatal gh	>	u:
palatal gh	>	i:

A more detailed review follows.

I (e)agh

(e)agh > **ai** generally intervocalically, including through epenthesis, e.g. *adhastar aistər*, *gadhar gair*, *Tadhg* (> *Tadhag*) **taig**, *Ó Raghailigh* **o: rail'ə**, *adharc airk*, *meadhg* (> *meadhag*) **m'aig**, *meadhair m'air'*. Cp. *laghad* ~ *laighead* **laid**.

ɑ: regularly preconsonantly: *adhmad* **ɑ:məd**, *adhbhar* **ɑ:wər**, *adhrain* **ɑ:ri:m'** and *adhradh* **ɑ:rhui**, *feadhnach* **f'ɑ:nhəx f'ɑ:nəx**, *Maghnas* **mɑ:nəs**. The prefix *deagh-* is generalised as **d'ɑ:** except in *deighchríoch* in the phrase *ná(r) raibh* (*deagh-rath ná*) *deighchríoch ort!* **nɑ: ro** (**d'ɑ:ra nɑ:**) **'d'e,xr'iax ort**.

ɑ: also intervocalically in *faghadh* (< *faghbhadh*) **fɑ:x** and related forms and through analogy finally *faigh* **fɑ:**, *leagha* (plural of obsolete *liaigh*) **l'ɑ:**, *leaghadh* **l'ɑ:w** and simple stem *leagh* **l'ɑ:**, *breaghdha* **br'ɑ:**, *bleaghan* **bl'ɑ:n**, (perhaps in *laghach* **lɑ:x**), *meadhaim* **m'ɑ:m'** and *meadhachan* **m'ɑ:xən**, *fadharcán* **fɑ:rkɑ:n** **20S fárcán** FFG,¹ unstressed in compound *ceannadhairt* **k'unɑ:rt'**, *cionnáirt* FFG. Also in *sleaghán* > *sleán*, *meadhán* > *meán*.

There are two recorded instances of **ɑ:** / **ɑ'ɑ** in the stem *leagh-*: *leaighte* **l'ɑ:t'ě** 46.719–20, *leaghadh* **l'ɑ'ɑ"y** **892M1085** (contrast his *leaghadar* **l'ɑ:dər** ARN1102).

ɑ: and **ɑ** in possible *adhabha(i)r* > *ábhars* FFG, **11C**, also *abhars* **894C2**, with note in manuscript: 'pron[ounced] *awurs*' (cp. 1.10); similarly /**ɑ**/ in *amhars(aíocht)* LFRM and both **ɑ:v-** and **u:v-** in East Galway *abharsaíocht* (see de Bhaldraithe 1984: 196).

ɑ: and **u:** are probably derived from the same root in *gleadhrach* FGB, *glegrach* DIL (both adjectives) dialect **gl'u:rəx** (noun), *gleadhradh* FGB **gl'ɑ:rə** and **gl'u:rə** including the echo word **gl'u:rə gl'ɑ:rə**. Cp. *gliúdán* Mq, FFG, **875PCAR**, *gliúdrán* **869PCAR**, *gliúdarnach* **875PCAR**.

ai ~ **e:** in *tragna* (*traona*) DIL, *traonach* (*tragnach*) FGB **trainəx tre:nəx**.

i: ~ **ai** in (a) *leadhb* **l'aib l'i:b l'i:b'** M, **l'aib'** **27Mdq**, *líob* FFG, *leadhbaire* **l'i:bər'ə** M, *leadhbóg leathair* **l'i:bog l'ahər'** SM, cp. *liabóg leathair* FFG indicating **l'i:bog l'ahər'** 46.811, cf. also *sleadhb* **fl'aib** Mq, cf. *liobóg* variant of *leadhbóg* FGB **l'ibog** **892Mg**, *líobóideach* CAR; (b) *le haghaidh* (by-form *le haighidh*) **l'e hai** << **l'e hi:**, **l'ehi:**;

¹ Cp. ag *treabhadh na bhfarraigí furcánta farcánta* **furkɑ:ntə fɑ:rkɑ:ntə** (run)35E.

(c) *fadhbach* (noun, *faobach* FGB) **fí:bəx** SM, *fiobach* FFG, cp. *fodb* DIL, *fadhb* IGT > *faidhb* **faib'**.

i: (according to IDPP p. 180) in the surname *Gadhra* > *Gaora* **gi:rə**.

au (through loss of *dh* according to IDPP 182–3) *Meadhbh* **m'au**, *Sadhbh* **sau**; contrast *adhbhar* **ə:wər**.

o and **au** in the contrastive development in preconsonantal *dh* (initial element) with final stressed *dh* (final element) in *badhbh* *badhbh* **'bə'bau**.

a in inflected and derived forms of *snaidhm* **sni:m'**, plural *snadhmannaí* **snaməni:** M, verbal nouns *snamnu:* M, *snama:l'* SM, *snadhmóg* **snamə:g** S; with the same vocalic pattern as, for example, in *greim* **gr'i:m'** *greama* **gr'amə**, but also with retention of root **i:** in *sni:m'a:l'* FFG, *sni:mə* FFG.

Cp. **au** in *meabhrán* ICF, *meadhrán* FGB **m'aurə:n**; **o:** in *leomhan*, perhaps from *leagmhán*, > **l'ə:n** (cf. Ó Maolalaigh 2005; Ó Maolalaigh, forthcoming).

1.104 II *aigh, eigh, oigh*

aigh, eigh, oigh > **ai** generally, e.g. *aighneas* **ain'əs**, *claidhe* **klai**, *faidhb* **faib'**, *maighdean* **maid'an**, *saidhbhreas* **saivr'əs**, *leigheas* **l'ais**, *feidhm* **f'aim'**, *Loch Eidhnigh* **lox ain'ə**, *foidhíde* **faid'**, cp. *oighre* **air'ə**; given *loigh* **lo lai**, the form *loighe* appears to be the basis, verbal noun **lai**, from EModIr *loighe* ~ *luighe*, OIr *laigid* DIL; *oidhe* **ai** but note also (according to FFG s.v. *itheann*) *oidhe agus aithis ort!* > *ithe is aithis ort!* FFG, also *ithe agus aithris ort* (*is an baile ag breathnú ort!*) **ix' əgəs ær'həʃ ort** (**əs ə ba'ɪ ə br'æ:nhu: ort**) S. In place-names, e.g. *Aill na Groighe* **əl nə grai** 889P, and *Garraí na Groighe* (glossed 'gry' in a RBÉ transcription, indicating **gari: nə grai**, Ó Con Cheanainn 2002: 194). Cp. *broigheall* FGB **brai(ə)l**.

ai: in *aidhbhirseoir* **ə:wərʃo:r'** (by-form *adhbha(i)rs(e)óir* DIL); *maighistir* **mā:ʃt'ər** and related forms (perhaps influenced by, or reflecting English 'master'); *claidheamh* 'sword' **klā:v'ə** (high register plurals **klā:f'i:**, **klā:v'i:**, also in *seacht gcathair na Cláifí* **ʃə'x gə'hər nə klā:f'i:** 852Sb), 'type of seaweed' **klā:f'ə**; note that *aidhbhéil* **ā:v'e:l(')** (**ā:v'e:l'** 05M) is related to *adhbhal* (DIL) and compare **ā:f'e:ltə** 35Eq, **ā:f'e:ltəs** 889P (FFG *áiféaltas*) related to *aidhbhéil* and *aithmhéaltas* **æ:f'e:ltəs**, also *áfach*, *áfúil*, and *áfás* **ā:fəs** 35Eq similar in meaning to *samhas* **sawəs** **sə:wəs** LFRM.

i: in *snaidhm* **sni:m'**, *maidhm* **mi:m'**, *oidhche* **i:hə**, *croidhe* **kri:**.

e: in **laighthiúil* cp. *laigthech* DIL, *laethúil*² FGB **le:hu:l'** SM, also **lehu:l'** S, *laethúlacht* **le:hu:ləxt** S; I also have **laihu:l'** S marked with a question mark in my notes (Máire thinks that **laihu:l'** is a possible form but that **le:hu:l'** is 'correct'). Cp. *Feidhlim(idh)* **f'e:l'əm'**; *meighleach* > *méi(gh)leach* > **m'e:l'əx m'e:l'hu:x m'e:l'həx**.

e in *Saidhbhín* **sev'in'** 27Md, *saidhbhir* **sev'ər'**.

e ~ **ai** in compound *froighfhiuchas* **frel'əxəs** S, **frail'əxəs** 03C, 54M (*froigh* **fro**).

1.105 III *(i)o)gh, uigh*; IV, V

i(o)gh, uigh > **i:** generally, e.g. *fioghair* **f'i:r'**, *figheachán* **f'ixə:n**, *tuighe* **ti:**, *buidhe* **bi:**, *Grioghóir* **gr'i:ər'**, *sidén* also *siodán* DIL, *sidheán* Dinn > **ʃi:ə:n**.

Irregular verb *faigh* **fa:** usually has future stem dependent variant *bhfuigh-* **wi:-**, rarely *bhfaigh-* **wai:-**, e.g. (in analogical 2sg past subjunctive) *dhá bhfaighteá ga: wait'a: 21Pt*, for more common *dhá bhfaghtá ga: wa:t'a:*, **ga: wa:hə:**.
Regular in place-name *Caladh Fhidhinse* **kalhə wi:nfə** generally, but **kalhə winfə 892M4651** perhaps reflecting *Caladh Inse* or perhaps an overgeneralisation of short vowels before sonorant clusters, cp. *múnla mūnlə 892M3335*, *múnlail mūnlə:l' 892M1484* and 1.401.

iə in *iodhlacan iələkən iələkən*, *tiodhlacan t'iələkən*, *tighearna t'iərnə*.

ai in *righin rain'*, corresponding to *ai* development through the early depalatalisation of initial historically palatal *r*, i.e. *raighin*.

IV (i)ugh

u:, e.g. *lughə lu:*, *tiughchan t'u:xən*, *ughdar u:dər*, but *tiughas t'is* (cp. base *tiugh t'uw t'iw t'u t'i*).

V ogh

au intervocally, e.g. *bodhar baur*, *foghail faul'* with genitive **fauləx**, *roghain r'aun'*, *toghadh tau*. But *braon broghach bri:n bro:x*, and derived *broghchán > bróchán* CAR.

o: preceding other consonants, e.g. *foghlaím f'oləm'*.

o: ~ **au** in *bodhrán baurə:n bə:rə:n* (the instrument), **baurə:n** 'dull person or animal', **baurə:ntə**, **bauru:**, etc., *bogha ceatha bau k'əhə* SM >> **bə:k'əhə** M.

o: regularly raised to **u:** preceding a nasal, e.g. *foghnámh funə*, also *foghanta funtə*, *foghain fun'*.

o: frequently raised to **u:** through nasalisation in *foghmhar fu:wər* >> **fə:wər**.

ai in *fodb* DIL, *fadhb* IGT > *faidhb faib'*, **faif'**, **faip'**.

Medial unstressed gh

Unstressed medial *gh* is lost with compensatory lengthening to **u:** (nonpalatal *gh*), **i:** (palatal *gh*), as set out in the following sections.

1.106 Nonpalatal gh

u: (nonpalatal *gh*), e.g. *bunadhas bunu:s*, *bailiughadh bal'u:*, *béicfeadhach b'e:k'u:x*, *diomdha d'umu:*.

Exceptions

- (iv) Plural suffix *-adha* > **u:** regularly in *gearrchaileadha 'g'a:r,xal'u:* ('**g'a:r,xal'əvi: 26P** only), but **və** in stressed position in the plural of *gé*, *géadha g'e:və g'e:vi:* and **əwi:** (< **ui:**) in certain plurals, mostly in *-theadha*, e.g. *leithe > leitheadha l'ehəwi:*. Cp. *Na Doireadha nə der'u:* also **nə der'əw**. Plural **u:** is often combined with, and replaced by other plural markers (4.66, 4.127, 4.132 ff.).
- (v) Verbal noun *-adhach* regularly > **u:x**, e.g. **b'e:k'u:x**, lowered to **ə:x** by some speakers and may be replaced by **əx**, e.g. *ruathrach ruərhəx* M, **ruərhə:x**, **ruərhə:x** Mperm, cp. adjective *ampladhach > amplúch amplu:x*

881J, **a:mplo:x** M, often **a:mplo:x** M, (cp. Máire's **-o:xi** plurals and her lack of **-u:xi** plurals, 4.168 ff.).

- (vi) > **i:** in nominal suffix **-ghail** > **i:l'**, e.g. *screadhghail* **fkr'adi:l'**; in *garrdha* **gari:**, plural generally **garənti:**, *ealadhain* **ali:n'**, *ceannaghaidh* **k'ani:** (see also 1.427 s.v.), *Carghas* **kari:s**, *iomdha* **umu:** >> **umi:**.
- (vii) *tigheadhas* **t'i:fəs**, **t'i:wi:s** (cp. *tíobhús* FFG20), **t'i:wəs**, also *aon-tigheachas* (⇒ ***e:n',t'i:xəs**), cp. **'ē:n',t'i:r(h)əs** **894Ct** (1.252), cp. by-form *tigheas* > *tíos* as well plurals *tighthe* **t'i:fə**, **t'i:wi:**, etc.
- (viii) Lost in **-nghr-** clusters in: *dianghrá: mo dhian-'(a)rá* **!894C6**; *inghrásta* **əŋ'ra:stə**, **ən'ra:stə** **S**, **ən'ra:stə** **11C**, the first variant is taken by Seán as the basic form (cp. ~ **in'ɣra:sdə** LFRM).
- (ix) Other exceptions are: *fionnfadhach* **f'i:nhəx** genitive **f'i:nhə f'i:nhit**; the surname *Mhac Dhonnchaidh* **ə kunəxə** (in contrast with surname containing older patronymic and genitive *Ó Donnchadha* **o: dunəxu:**); with lengthening of stressed vowel in two compounds of *muir-*: *murdhúcha* **mu:ru:x** 46.1056, *an mhúrdhuach* **876JDT85** and **875PDT86**, *an mhúrdhach* **879BDT86**; *muirghalra* > *múrghalra* and *mórghalra* FFG (the latter influenced by *mór*); lenition is absent following **s** in a few compounds, e.g. *Deasgabháil* **d'æ:sgəwə:l'** **S** (9.26); *siolrúch* **866ESc308-1.11** may be based on *siolradh+ach* or influenced by verbal noun *siolrughadh* > *siolrú*, cp. *siolbhach* ~ *siolradh* ~ *siolrach* FGB, cp. also *bunadh* > **bunu:** with similar meaning (also *bunúch* FFG24 Mionlach).

1.107 Adjectival **-dha**

Adjectival suffix **-dha** > **-a**, **-g-**:

bríoghda with combination of endings > *bríogúil* **S**;

diadha > *diadhanta* > *diaganta*;

gruamdha **gru:mə**;

leoghanta > **-g-** in *Ba dh'é 'n marcaí é ba leogánta sa tír* **!894C9**.

Cp. *meardha*, *meardhána* > *meargánta* **m'ærəgə:ntə** **S**; *eolg(h)ach* **o:lgəx** **06C**; *mórdhálach* > *mórálach*.

This adjectival **-dha** often alternates with **-tha**:

corpardha > *corpartha* **!(MP)894C9**, *corpara* **!894C9**;

maortha, *maordha*: *maoraíthe* **!894C9**, *maorthaí mucánta* **!894C9**;

nádúrda DIL also gives *nádúrtha* and *nádúr[dh]a*, *nádúra* [x2] Ó Cuív (1994), **nə:du:rə**, **nə:du:r**;

seanórdha > **fæ:no:rə**, also **fæ:no:rəx**;

stuamdha **stu:mə**, *místuamdha* generally **m'i:stu:mə**, but **m'i:sdu:mhə** 46 s.v., as if *místuamtha*.

1.108 Palatal **gh**

i: (palatal **gh**), e.g. *bailighim* **bal'i:m'**, *soilgheas* **sol'i:s**, *suirghe* **sol'i:**, *gadaighe* **gadi:**, *athchuinghe* **axən'i:**.

Exceptions

- (i) Suffixes *idheach(t)* > **iəx(t)**, e.g. *gaiscidheach* **gafk'iəx**, *filidheacht* **f'il'iəxt**. Contrast nonfinal *tanaidheachan* **tani:xən** derived from *tanaidhe*

tani: (also lowered **tane:xən 21Ptq**; also **taniəxən** and lowered **tane'əxən 21Ptq**).

- (ii) Impersonal suffixes: present indicative and present subjunctive *-ighthear* generally with substitution of allomorphs **i:t'ər**, but rarely **i:hər i:r**; future *-fidhear*, etc., with substitution of endings **f'ər**, also **hər** in East Iorras Aithneach; *-óchthar* with substitution of endings **o:f'ər**; past habitual *-ighthe -ighthí* generally **i:t'i** but also obsolescent **i:hə** and obsolete *-íthí*. For further details, see 'Verbs' (5.59 ff.).
- (iii) Suffix substitution may occur, e.g. *corraighe kori:* but also **koru:**.
- (iv) Plural noun suffix *-idheacha* > **iəxə**, **eəxə**, etc., (4.61, 4.127). Similarly, plural *-ghail+acha* in *múr* > plural **muri:l(')əxi:** but also **murələxi: 60Mq**.

The plural *airrdheana(ibh)* (< *airrdhe* IGT, *airdhe* Dinn) may be reflected in *arúintí an bháis* !(MP)852S, perhaps (related to) a plural form of *athrughadh*, cp. *arúintí* with a plural meaning which can be related to singular *earradh*, CAR p. 36. Variants *coimínghe coimírce* EModIr > **ki:mr'i: kim'ərək'ə**, etc.; *doscaidteach* DIL, also *doscughach* Dinn, *doscaí* (*doscúch*) FGB > **dusku:x**; *suirghe Fionn ser'hi: f'un ... ~ ser'əji: f'in, 04Bl (higher register).*

1.109 Final unstressed *gh*

Final unstressed *gh* is lost with no lengthening of preceding vowel, e.g. *bacaigh* and *bacfaidh* **bakə**, *brisfidh* **br'ijə**, *caladh* **kəlhə**, *cailligh* **kəɫ'ə**, *culaidh* **kəlhə**, *codladh* **kələ**, *cuireadh* **kir'ə**, *cheannaigh* **x'anə**.

Nonpalatal exceptions

- (i) Verbal *-adh* > **x** in personal, with sandhi **d t**; > **u: w** in impersonal.
- (ii) **w** in monosyllabic *dligheadh* **dl'i:w** generally, speaker 03Vt, however, has, in nominative, both **dl'i:w** and **dl'i:**, rare genitive also *dlighidh* **dl'i:**; in monosyllabic genitive (based on IGT §4) *tuigheadh* **ti:w** < *tuighe* **ti:**, cp. VN *tuighiodh* (DIL s.v. *tuigithir*) and genitive *trágha* **trə:w**, VN *trághadh* **trə:w**; in monosyllabic VNs, e.g. *clódh clád*h IGT Verbs §42, also root *claoi-* > **kli:w**, *leaghadh* **l'ə:w**, *téaghadh* **t'e:w**, *léaghadh* or *léigheadh* **l'e:w** generally but in Loch Con Aortha also **l'e:** 899P and his son 32P.
- (iii) **u:** in *bunadh* **bunu:** influenced by *bunús* < *bunadhas* (cp. *bunú an amhráin* Neain Team Teaimín de Búrca for traditional *bunús* (or *bunúdair*) *an amhráin*); *iongnadh* generally **i:nə**, but *rinne sí an-íonú go deo* 894C2, ordinal numeral marker *-mh(e)adh* is generalised as **u: wu: wə** following vowels, **u:** following consonants, yielding *cúigeadh* **ku:g'u:**.
- (iv) **u: v w** in collocations such as *deireadh oíche* **d'er' u: i:hə**, *deireadh an tsaoghail* **d'er' əv ə ti:l'** (2.52 ff.).
- (v) **w** in the place-name *Caladh Fhidhinse* **kəlhə wi:nfə** generally, also **kəlhə wi:nfə** 892M4651.
- (vi) **i:** in *imneadh* **i(:)mr'i:**, influenced by *imshníomh*; regular historical reflex, however, noted from speaker 03V only in *ná bíodh imneadh ort* **nə b'i:x i:mr' ort** 03V.
- (vii) Lost in *grafadh* > *graf* S.

1.110 Further exceptions

Palatal exceptions

- (viii) **i:** in *filidh f'íl'ə f'íl'i:* influenced by agent suffix *-ighe*;
doiligh del'i:, e.g. *duine doiligh din'ə dol'i:* S, also SID.46 s.v., perhaps
 influenced by related abstract *doilgheas > doilíos dol'is*;
shoraidh horə hori: hor (2.56);
tapaidh tapi: S, *bí tapaidh b'i: tapi:* S, but also *tapa* CABI §340 v. 1,
chomh tapadh sin CABI §175 v. 9 (⇒ ***tapə**), cp. 14 *tapa* noun;
ar leithligh er l'er'hi: Mq (known but not understood by M), *go leithre*
894C9;
brionglóidigh br'i:nglo:d'i:, with spread of verbal noun suffix **i:**;
in aointigh (aontaidh) or *in aoidigh > in éindí ən' e:nd'i:* (reduced forms,
 7.116);
 cp. *abaidh* with verbal adjective *aibchighthe ap'i:(hə)*;
 cp. *taobh na Beirtrí Buí ... sa mBeirtí Bhuí ...* (*sic*) **894C3** where the sec-
 ond token, expected as *sa mBeirtreach Bhuí* (as in an audio recording
 of **894C**) or *sa *mBeitrigh Bhuí*, may have been influenced by the
 first (for **-rtr' - ~ -rt' -**, see 1.193).
- (ix) **> (-i:) j-** possibly in *Dumhaigh Iathair > Dúmha Íhir* **894C9**, *Dúí Íthir*
!894C9, *i nDumhaigh Ithir ə nu: 'ehər' 11Ct = /-i: e-/*, also *ə nu: 'jehər'*
11C, *ə nu: ji:hər'*.
- (x) 2 plural imperative *-idh > i:* and **əg'i:**, 2 Conjugation also obsolete **i:g'i:**.
 It is noteworthy that 2 plural prepositional pronoun unstressed *-ibh* also
 yields unhistorical **i:** (instead of usual unstressed *-ibh > ə*).
- (xi) In 2 Conjugation *-igh* in verbal sandhi in East Iorras Aithneach such as
athraigh é arhi: e:; obsolete elsewhere (2.63 ff.).
- (xii) Nominals in *-ánach*, *-únach* and a few other 1 Declension nouns may have
 genitive/vocative singular (and plural) in **-i:**, e.g. vocative *a bhodaigh ə*
wodi: | 869P, 897P. Similarly, *madadh* has vocative *a mhadaidh ə wadə*
~ ə wadi: Mq.
- (xiii) Local place-name *Oileán Aimhréidh il'a:n ævř'ə* also *il'a:n ævr'əd'ə*
47Ps. Cp. *aimhréidhteach ævř'e:t'əx*, Scottish Gaelic *aimhreit*.
- (xiv) Speaker **71D** (Damhras) has some traits of North Conamara from his
 mother, these include final /i:/ (> [i, i:]) in *anuraidh é ə'norhi e 71D*.
 Semi-speaker **22P** (Leitheanach, North-West Iorras Aithneach) has *-igh -i:*
 in *Garrdha an Chladaigh gari: (ən) xla'di: 22P*. The last fluent speaker
 from Leitheanach, **20MI**, has regular unstressed *-igh -ə*. Cp. *-ela > -i:* in
 both these speakers **71D** and **22P** (1.48).

Nonpalatal and palatal exception

- (xv) There may be some relation between final fricatives in *-a(i)dh*, *-ach* and
-amh and the development of devoiced sonorants medially, e.g. **-nh-** **-lh-**
 in words such as *meanadh m'anhə* and *baladh balhə*; see lists in 1.151
 ff., 1.169 ff.

1.111 f, ph

f, ph generally **f** *f*, e.g. *fan* **fan**, *fíor* **fíor**, *pháipéar* **fá:p** *e:r*, *pheann* **f** *an*.

Exception > h

- (i) Adjoining sonorants in *fiafraighe* **fíorhi:**, *finna* noun, *finnfad* noun, *finnfadach* adjective, **fí:nhəx** (cp. *fíonnúch* FFG24, but also *mianach* > **mí:nux** 21J, *mianúch* FFG24, 31), borrowed *cófra* **kərhə**.
Suffix *-(e)adhach* > **-hux** in (nouns functioning as) verbal nouns such *ménfadach* DIL **m'e:nhux** M, unhistorically in by-forms of *méighleach* > **m'e:ləx** **m'e:l'hux** **m'e:l'həx**, also *blaidhriúch* **blair'ux** S, **blair'hux** M, *rua(i)thr(e)ach* **ruər'həx**, **ruər'hux**, cp. *f* (via **h**) lost following *-c* in *béicfeadhach* **b'e:k'ux**.
- (ii) *-f-* in future personal, e.g. *-fidh* > **-hə**, (for the single attestation of **-f-**, see 5.58), impersonal both **f** and **h**, e.g. *-fidhear* > **-fear** **f'ər** **hər**.
- (iii) *féin* (compare rare older *chéin*) **he:n'**, obsolescent **f'e:n'**; in limited sandhi (synchronically mainly) following *-m*, also **p'e:n'** **pe:n'**, **phe:n'** **p'he:n'**, **b'he:n'**.
- (iv) In a reduced by-form of the conjunction *féachaint* (*an*) **hi:n'tə** in *faeint* **hi:n'tə** *céard déarthadh muid leatsa* FFG s.v. *faeint*.

1.112 Exception > Ø

- (i) Borrowings *geata*; *lo(f)ta* **lotə**, cp. *lohtaí* *Ghleánn Chóchain* !894C9; *rafta* DIL **ra:tə** ~ **rætə**.
- (ii) *farraid* (*forraid*) > *araoid*.
- (iii) The alliterative phrase *oiread na rí ruaidhe* M, FFG **er'əd nə ri: ruəi** may derive from *frighe ruadh*, cp. *oiread na frighde* and less common *oiread na ruainne ruaidhe* M; note further the spelling *oiread na froighe* DIL *frige*. Cp. (*an*) *rí rua* 'chaffinch' FGB s.v. *rí*¹ 5(a).
- (iv) Comparative adjective *fearr* **f'ar** is often **ar** following *is* of the copula (including *níos*; similar absence of *f-* occurs generally in *fíor*, *fiú*, also *frusta* (< *furusta*) 20C). Lenition of *f* probably reflects the historical lenition following the copula relative present but *is fearr as ar* also occurs in the nonrelative and there is furthermore evidence of cluster reduction of *-s f-*. This *fearr ar* is rarely extended to copula contexts other than *is: ní fearr n'i: ar* 14M, *n'i: har* 20Cq, *gur fearr gar har* 20C. (The initial **h** in these tokens can be analysed as mutational preposed *h-*, it may nonetheless be significant that **har** is phonetically similar to **f'ar**). Cf. 9.127 and historical *más fhíor*.
- (v) Complex abstract noun *feras barr* DIL, *farasbarr* (*fearasbarr*) FGB > **f'ar as bar** !ZCP165, **f'ar as bar** 20T, **'arəs 'bar** FFG19, 20, 24 s.v. *earasbarr*; also **'f'ar as 'bar** ~ **arəsbar** LFRM s.v. *arabarr* (Agaisín). The variant without *f-* was perhaps influenced by *earra*.
- (vi) There is an example of loss of initial *f* in the preposition *faoi* in *labhair muid faoi gheall na gcorach laur'ə mid' i: ja:l nə 'gorəx* 892M1730. We can compare here the weakening and loss of initial *bh* in the verb *bí* (1.78).

Initial *f* > *w* in *falach* **waləx** 23M influenced by *i bhfalach*, and *fastú* **wastu**: derived from *i bhfastú*, cf. 14 *fastú*, *vastú*.

Initial *f* > *p* in the borrowing *feircín* > *peircín* 875PCAR also in the place-name *Balla an Pheircín* **balə f'erk'i:n'** M, with loss of *-ín* > *peirc* FFG.

1.113 *ch*

Nonpalatal *ch* normally *x*, e.g. *amach* ə'max, *loch* lox. Generally velar articulation but some speakers have a facultative uvular articulation, e.g. 892M, 36N, and siblings 52J and 56B and other younger speakers. Initial palatal regularly *x'*, e.g. *chiúin* x'u:n', *cheaig* x'æ:g', *cheol* x'ol, *chéibh* x'e:v'.

Exceptions

x ~ *h* in *brochóg* (*bruthóg*, *prochóg* FGB) in *tom brochóg* FFG s.v. *brochóg*, *tom ruthóg* 866ESc127.16, *tum vroho:g* S, *tonn bhrochóige* FFG s.v. *tonn*, *tum vroho:g*, *tum vroxo:gi*: 21Pt, *tum 'vroxo:g* 46.588. Also, perhaps through dissimilation or through influence of English form or both, in *Gleám Chóchain* 1894C9, *gl'a:n ho:xən'* M; *Clochartach kloxərtəx klohərtəx* (which often contains three historical *ch* sounds in *dhe Chlochartach* so that dissimilation may be present in *x* > *h*), cp. 'Clogherty' *kla:xərt'i: klohərt'i: xlahərt'i:*, phonologically similar surname *Flathartach* < *Flaithbheartach*. Also *sceachóir* ʃk'oxo:r' 21Pt, *Garraí na Sceachóirí garri: nə ʃkr'oho:r'i:* 21Jq, (word now obsolescent) cp. *sceicheoir* FFG24. There may be assimilation with *th* in *caitheamh meáchain* *kahə m'a:hən'* [x4] 51P (generally *kahə m'a:xən'*).

k in *chtn* in *machtnamh* *mæ:knu:* S; in *sch* in plural *clais* (> *claise*, *glaise*), *claschanna* *glaskəni: klaskəni:* (cp. *ochsal ascall*, etc., DIL, *coiscéim* (> *coismeig*); 2.37, 9.39).

x ~ *k* in *is dócha* (*liom*) *s do:x* (f'um) generally; also with delenition in *s 'do:k*, f'um (Lam) 04B, perhaps from homorganic elision and coalescence in *is dóch go*.

x ~ *s* in *chl* in *bachlóg* *baxlo:g* 20C, *baslo:g* 01P, 20My, 55S, *baslo:g'* 23Bq.

x ~ *h* ~ *f* before *ua* in irregular verbs *chuaidh* *xuə huə fuə*; *chuala* *xuələ fuələ*.

f in *cuachóg* *kuəfo:g* P, cp. *kuəho:g* M perhaps from *cuaicheog*.

h initially in *cheana* *hanə*; *chím* *hi:m'*; in *chuig* *heg' eg'* and related forms (exceptionally *chugad* *xugəd* 881J), further weakened in *chun* (< *dochum*) *ən*.

-cht regularly *-xt* but *xt* sometimes in *ceachtar* *k'æxtər* S >> M, note *fearacht*, *-x* ~ *-t* ~ *-t̪* S (7.111).

The form *lagraíoch* *lagriəx* may derive from a combination of *lagchroidheach* and *lagbhríoghach*; it is semantically closer to the latter.

1.114 Intervocalic and final palatal *ch*

Intervocalic palatal *ch* > *h*, e.g. *cloiche* *klohə*, *cuaiche* *kuəhə*. Note the rare word *féichiúnta* > *féithiúnta* CAR.

Final palatal *ch* is lost, e.g. *braich* *bra*, *cloich* *klo*, *deich* *d'e*, *cích* (*cígh*) *k'i:*. It may be retained, as *h*, in sandhi before vowels, e.g. *cloich aoil* *kloh i:l'*.

-ichn-, *-inch-* > *n'h* regularly (also *n'h*), e.g. *deichneabhar* *d'in'hu:r*, *fóichnín*

fuⁿhⁱn', *Mainchín* mæⁿhⁱn' 25M, 45M, 52J, maⁿhⁱn' 64M also maⁿiⁿ' ~ maⁿiⁿ'.

muinchille was noted with seven (or eight) by-forms, two of which (iv, v) are common:¹

- (i) m^ül'hæⁿə 10B, m^ül'hin'ě plural m^ül'in'i: 46.287; through metathesis *muinchille* > *muilchinne* or the like;
- (ii) m^ül'hær'ə in plural m^ül'hær'əxi 76Nq; perhaps a blend of *muilchinne* (i) and *muirchille*;
- (iii) m^ür'hær'ə 76Nq;
- (iv) m^ühær'l'ə S, muhær'l'ə M, 21Pt, 23C, 26P, 36Pq, 52J; via *n* > *r* in *muirchille* (attested to the east of Iorras Aithneach in ICF App I §641) through metathesis > *muichirle*;
- (v) m^ühæl'ə 06C, 11C, muhæl'ə 21J, 21Pt, 31M, 34M, 36Pq, 60M, *muithchille* SNG295, (plural) *muihilí* 852Sb6.69 (indicating singular muhæl'ə, if transcribed accurately), muhæl'ə 36Nq (1.164); with loss of *n* or *r*, the latter before *ch* or *l*, perhaps lost in a compromise between *muirchille* and *muichirle* > *muichille*;
- (vi) murhl'ə 56B; perhaps (another) compromise form between *muirchille* and *muichirle*, with the consonant order of the former and the nonpalatal *r* of the latter;
- (vii) m^ül'hə m^ül'ə plural m^ül'hi: 84P.

inchinn > in'hæn', ihæn', in'hæn', ihinn (1.141, 1.145).

-lch- > **l'h** regularly in the obsolete diminutive of *coileach*, *coilchín*: *coighilthín* !894C9 which stands for **kail'hin'**, now also **kol'hin'** but generally levelled to *coileachain* **kol'əxin'**.

-irch- > **r'h**, e.g. *an Fhairche* ən a^rhə, cp. *buaírin*, *buaírchín* buə^rhi:n'. Lost in *toirchim* > ***ser'am'** in tale *run trian le soirm suain agus sámhchodlata* 866ESc128.25; lost with diphthongisation in *Muircheartach* (perhaps > **Mricheartach*) > *Briartach* br'ia^rtəx.

1.115 Exceptions

x' in *fiche* f'ix'ə also f'ix'ə 21Pt, *fichead* f'ix'əd also *fichead* f'i:həd 21Pt, *fichid* f'ix'əd', also (*is*) *fiche* (əs) f'ix' ~ (əs) f'i (with **h** in sandhi) (including 21Pt);

and in old compounds no longer analysed as such: *míchéadfadh* m'i:x'et, cp. *díchean* 'd'i;x'an M.

x' ~ h in nominative *Mícheál* but **h** only in vocative and genitive *Míchíl*: *Mícheál* m'i:ha:l 892M1101, m'eha:l !05M, m'i:/i/eha:l M, m'i:x'a:l 21Pt, v'ix'a:l 21Pt, m'ix'a:l m'íha:l 894C, *Míchíl* m'íhi:l' m'íhi:l', also v'i:hi:l' 60M;

x' << h in by-forms of the comparative of some adjectives in both historical *ch* and *th*, e.g. *fliche* fl'ex'ə, *luaithe* luəx'ə, *buidhe* bi:x'ə; *dócha* > *dóiche* > *dóichí* do:hi: generally, but do:x'i: 46 s.v. *dóiche* (probably more conservative or formal). Cf. 3.65.

f' in *cluithche* (*cluiche*) klif'ə klof'ə, *doicheall* def'al; cp. *luifín* lif'in' in meaning 'heat in mouse' from 35Eq only, perhaps related to *luichín*;

¹ Cf. Ó Dochartaigh (1997).

suifeanach (perhaps a reflex of *soicheallach*) **sif'ənəx** SM, **sif'ərnəx** M.
Morphological reanalysis has occurred in some cases of original *-che* > **hi:**, e.g. *sceach*, genitive *sceiche* **ʃk'ehi:**.

tch > **t'**, e.g. *coitchianta* **kit'iantə**, cp. *faitcheas* **fat'ias fat'is fat'is fat'as**.
mch > **mp**, e.g. *timcheall* **t'im:pəl** >> **t'im:p'al** (the latter from, e.g. **875P**, **892M**), also **t'im:p'al** **894Cs**, *iomchar* **u:mpər**, cp. possible *-m chéin* > **-m p'p'e:n'**.
chbh (*chmh*) > **f** in *seachbhaidh* ~ *seachmhaidh* (also *sechfaid* DIL) > *seafóid*, with final *dh* hardened (perhaps before preposition *do*, cp. *mithigh* / *mithidh do* > *mithid do*) and with ending replacement, cp. *fonámhaid* > *fonóid*. Cp. *chmh* in *luachmhar* **luəxwər** generally, but also **luəfər** (1.98); *mh* > **f** in *amharc* (1.91).

h often lost in phrases with *oidhche*, e.g. *Oidhche fhéil tSain Seáin i: l' t'in' fə:n'*.

Vowels before palatal *ch* (> **h**) are normally retained. There are exceptionally shortened reflexes of *i* in (cp. before *th*, 1.125 ff.):

dícheall(-ach) **d'e/ohəl(əx)** M, with lenition **jehəl** **11C**, **jehəl** ~ **ji:həl** **12J**, genitive **d'ihəl'** **d'ihəl'** **21Pt**;

Míchéal **m'ihə:l m'ihə:l m'ehə:l m'ix'al**, the genitive by-form *Mhíchíl* is generally **v'ihil'**, but **v'ihil'** **60M** (in *Peaitín Phádraig Mhíchíl* **60M** perhaps in metathesis).

1.116 x ~ h, x' ~ hj ~ h

Initially, especially in frequent phrases, **x** alternates with **h**, **x'** with **hj** and **h**, e.g.

ar chor ar bith **hor ə b'i P**;

ab é an chaoi ar shiúil tú isteach é? **b'e: hi r' x'u:l' tu f'tæ:x ə M**,

sé an chaoi ... fē hi: ... **892Mg**, *sé an chaoi a mbínnse fe hi:* **m'in:fə 21Pt**,

is dóichí go b'é an chaoi ar fhuadaigh sé sdo:hi: gə b'e hi: r uədə fə 21Pt;

gach aon > *achaon* > *chaon* **xə:n he:n**, rarely **e:n 23C**;

faoi cheann fi: **hja:n b'fhéidir trí, cheithre seachtainí 20A**;

tá mé ag cheapadh a deir sé ... **h'a m'e hjæpə d'erfe ... 11C**,

tá mé ag cheapadh ansin ... **ta m'e hapə n'fin' ... 20Mlt**; the form **hæ(ʰ)pə**, although frequent for some older speakers, is particularly common in younger people's dialect, e.g. **72C**, **77C**;

chonnaic sometimes **hun'ək'**;

a chonách sin ort is generally **xrə:x fin' ort** but Mq has **hnə:x fin' ort**.

A few speakers tend to weaken **x(ʰ)** > **h** more generally. For example, **892M** and **32J**, both of whom are fast speakers:

ar an gcaoi chéanna ansin **er' ə gi: he:nə n'fin' 892M1216**;

san am chéanna sēn ā:m hē:nə 894Cs;

ó thuaidh dhe Chruaich na Caoile ... **gə^h ru: nə ki:l'ə 892M1577**;

ina chiontsi Cair leis **nə 'hin' t'ukər l'ef 892M**;

bheadh ann v'eh an 32J; *drochfheamainn* **'dro'hæ:mən' 32J**;

also *ina charr* **ənə hær 79S**.

There is an instance of initial **hj** for usual **x'** from a younger speaker in *a Shéain* |

hja:n' | 66N. See also initial palatal *th* (1.119), and **k** (> **kx**) → **x** → **h** (1.405).

Medially **x** ~ **h** in frequent forms such as *féacha* (5.310), and *dheachaigh jaxə jahə*; also *achar* in collocation with *mórán*, e.g.

dheamhan mórán achair a bhí sí ag siúl go ...
ju:n mo:ra:n 'ahər' ə 'i: f'i 'fu:l gə ... 18J8846.

Final **x** is sometimes weakened or even lost, especially in weak articulation, e.g.

a chuir sé amach as a bhéal ə xur fɛ ma has ə v'e:l 04Bl,
a bheith ina pháánach ə v'ə nə fə:ga:nə | (MP, prose) 04B,
amach əma^(x) | 04Bl, nach bhfuil aon ... nah wil' e:n ... 20Mlt.

This loss of **-x** is perhaps the explanation for the form **fuərlə** 46.48 *fuarlach* (**fuərləx** 1162); cp. **mür'iv'ě** 46.1074 *Muirbheach* (place-name) which may be a dative singular feminine form used in the nominative, perhaps referring to *Muirbhig* 'Murvey' Rob.83, commonly known as *An Mhuirbheach ə wir'əv'əx*. Final *ch* > **-x** ~ **ʔ**, e.g. **er' ə din'ə d'ernəʔ 11Ct** *ar an duine deireanach*.

Speaker **11C** has frequent **-k̠d**, **-ʔd** for unstressed *-cht*, e.g. **f'il'ia̠k̠d 11C** *filíocht*. An example from **869P** is: *a bhí sé a thóráíocht ə v'i: f'e: ho:riəkt | 869P*.

1.117 *th*

Initial and medial *th* normally = **h**, e.g. *thall həl*, *thíos hi:s*, *cathaoir kahi:r'*, *máthair mā:hər'*, *ráithe rə:hə*, *reithe ro:hə*. Both pre- and post-sonorant *th* normally become postconsonantal **h** (*thC*, *Cth* > **Ch**), except initially where *th* is often retained as initial **h**, e.g. *breathnaigh br'ænhə*, *parrthas pə:rhəs*, *comhthrom kərhəm 18J*, *throid hred'*.¹

There is no phonemic distinction between palatal and nonpalatal **h**. Medially and in sandhi the transitional trajectories of contiguous vowels continue through the **h**. An example where either the preceding vowel or a trace of palatal **h** causes the following vowel to be fronted in its initial stage is *crith-eagla 'kr'ih^æaglə 894C*. Singular *soitheach so:həx* usually becomes *soithighe sehi:* in the plural, the stressed vowel being fronted before **-hi:** with phonetically palatalised **h** (but recall rare singular **se:həx 32PLC**). The velarised **h** in the rarer plural form *soithighe soh^vi: 889P* can be interpreted as containing morphophonemic **//-oh-//**. For speaker **66N**'s innovative contrast **h** vs. **h^v**, and rare **h^f**, see 1.409. Palatal **h** may possibly occur when corresponding paradigmatically to **x'**, e.g. *itheann siad ih'ən f'iəd 3 ix'ən f'iəd 4, 5 Mq* (3–5 = order in Mq), allophonically interpretable as **/x'/** > **[h']**. Cp. the realisations of verbal adjective *-ighthe (i:hə)* in **SID.46** with a range **ihə ih'ə ix'ə**.

Exceptions

dearbh-bhráthair dr'e/o/ihə:r' (etc., 1.7) generally, but **dr'ix'ə:rəxə 881J** (only the plural form was noted from **881J**; **dr'ix'ə:r'** is typical of North and East Connacht (e.g. ITM §345, IEM §390, **SIDi** 101); **881J**'s maternal forebears were from the Sraith Salach area, north of Iorras Aithneach). Speaker **889P** (Coill Sáile) has *dhá gcaitheá ga: ga'x'a: 889P* for common **ga: gahə**. The form in

¹ The **Ch** sequence is clear in the following instance where a singer inserts schwa into the cluster: *ar an gceathrá lá fíchead er' ə g'ærəhu: lə:ə f'ix'əd !!04B*.

medial **x'** is found regularly in dialects to the north, e.g. ITM §§407 (15c), 472 *chaithfeá xax'a*.

Initial nonpalatal *thr-* generally **hr-**, palatal *thr-* **hr'**. A sibilant develops in two prepositions recorded only from three speakers. Two brothers have *thrí si*: **20C**, *ši*: **25T**; speaker **869Pt** has *thar éis* **fɾ'e:f, fə'l'e:f**; in **SID.46** **l'e:f, fe:f, fɿ'e:f**. Cf. 1.192.

1.118 h ~ f; d; Ø

h- ~ f- in the preposition *thrí* and related forms, e.g. *thríd fri:d' ~ hri:d' ; fri:* being a minority form (heard along with **hri:**) almost exclusively in West Iorras Aithneach.

f following *u* (and perhaps *ua*) in:

- f** in *sruth* prevocally in the place-name *Sruf Orthalaín* **852S5**, in prose introduction to a charm;
- f(-)** rarely in the curse *imeacht an tsruth(a) ón* [or *tsruthán*] *muileann ort im'əxt ə truf a:n mil'ən ort << im'əxt ə truh a:n mil'ən ort S*;
- f-** in local place-name *Bun an tSrutháin* **bun ə trufa:n'**;
- f-** *tuthóg ~ tothóg* **FGB tufo:g** (also **FFG20** although not mentioned in **ICF**); cp. *ruathar* and *rúfáil* with **ru:fər** **04Bl** 'assault'.

The development *uth* > **uf** is a distinctive Connacht feature, regular in ITM and IEM but marginal in our dialect, which thus accords with dialects of South Co. Galway and dialects further south. In **SIDIII** *sruthán* (q 48) and *sruth* (in the vocabularies for some points) contain **f (ϕ)** in points 32–38 and 47–61.¹

Also *th* > *f* in *leithéis* **FGB liféis** **875PCAR**.

In Dinn *briadar* is given as a doublet of *briathar*. The word *briadaireacht* **869PCAR** 'fireside conversation' may derive from *briadar* (< *briathar*) but the same form *briadaireacht* 'coaxing' Dinn may be related to *bréadach* 'breaking (a horse)', etc. Cp. *briathraíocht* **CFT** 'flow of talk'.

Initial *th* may be lost sporadically but its loss can be lexically or idiomatically consistent in frequent phrases, e.g.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>nar thug:</i> | nar ug. |
| <i>nár thé:</i> | <i>nár thé an calar thair ... nɑ:r e: ŋ ka:lər hæ:r' ... SM.</i> |
| | <i>nár thé an calar thairti nɑ:r e: ŋ ka:lər hart'ə S.</i> |
| <i>má thograíonn:</i> | <i>má thograíonn tú ... ma ogri:n tu ... P. Cp. ograíonn</i> |
| | FFG24. |

1.119 Initial palatal

Initial palatal *th* before a back vowel = **x'**, e.g. *ro-thiugh* **rə'x'uw**, *thiughchan* **x'u:xən**. Also before a base back vowel which is fronted, e.g. *dhá thibheacht* **gɑ: x'iv'əxt** **M** (cp. base *thiubh* **x'uw**). The same rule also applies to initial palatal *sh* (1.135). Palatal *thr-* before back vowels which is generally **hr'-** but sometimes **xr'-**, e.g. *threabh* **hr'ov >>> xr'ov**.

¹ Interestingly, *uth* > **uf** is not discussed in O'Rahilly (1932), perhaps because its isogloss falls within Connacht. O'Rahilly (1932) concentrated on the interprovincial isoglosses and even more particularly on those which divide the Southern and Northern Halves.

Exceptions

The only lexeme noted with palatal *th* preceding **ɑ:** is *teann* which has *theann* **hɑ:n** >>> **ʰɑ:n** (e.g. verb **hɑ:n** 892M, 899D6012, *theannadar* **hɑ:ndər** SM, **ʰɑ:n** 01P, !39D, *theannadar* **ʰɑ:nədər** [x2] 01P; *theannadh* **ʰɑ:nə** 12Sperm, 16Mperm); the **h** before **ɑ:** in this word is by analogy with regular cases of **h** before **a**, e.g. *theannadh* **hanə**. Similarly, the compound preposition *i dteannta* has a common by-form in **a**; when lenited, *theannta* was recorded with **h** only: *ina theannta sin* **ənə hæn̩tə f̪in̩** 11C5009, **ənə h̩n̩tə f̪in̩** 11C5099.

ʰ ~ **h** in exclamations containing *Tighearna*: *a Tighearna* **ə ʰiərnə**, *a Tighearna Dia* **ʰiərnə d̪iə** >> **hiərnə d̪iə** M, Mq, *A Tighearna an domhain* **ə hiərnə n dauən̩** | 18J, *a Rí is a Tighearna* **ə ri: sə ʰiərnə** >> **ə ri: sə hiərnə** (Smds)04B. Also noted once in *ar deireadh thiar thall* **er 'der'ə 'ʰiər 'hail** 892M3179. As stated, initial **ʰ** is regular preceding back vowels. In these cases preceding front vowels **ʰ** is a result of stronger, more emphatic articulation and is comparable to the frequent use of [v], in contrast with unmarked [w], in the exclamation *a Mhaighdean* **vaid'ən**.

Speaker 21Pt generally has regular palatal and nonpalatal *th*- before nonback vowels as **h**, including with *thimcheall* and nonpalatal *thastaigh* (lenited from *tastaigh* **tæstə**, historical *teastaigh*), but exceptionally:

réir mar a theastós sé uaidh (**ʰ**)**er mar** ^a **ʰæstə: ʰe wai** 21Pt.

There is also an example before **i:** from singing (!21Pt):

ach greann a bheith in mo thimcheall **ax gr'ɑ:n ə v'ə nə mə ʰi:mpəl**.

Cp. his exceptional *shéasúirí* **ʰe:su:r'i:** 21Pt; and *gaoithe* **gi:ʰə** 64M, *haon* **ʰi:n** 89M (1.399), *haon* **ʰi:n** also from young speakers in Ros Muc, born since c. 1995.

1.120 **ʰ** ~ **hj** ~ **h** in *thiobhr-* and *thioc-*

The initial lenited consonant is realised variably as **ʰ** ~ **hj** ~ **h** (~ Ø) in the future stems of irregular *tabhair*, e.g. *thiobhradh* **ʰu:rhəx hju:rhəx hu:rhəx**, and irregular *teara*, e.g. *thiocfadh* **ʰukəx hjukəx hukəx ukəx hikəx**.

Speakers show different preferences for the three consonantal realisations of initial *th-* in *thiobhr-* and *thioc-*, making their usage amenable to variable analysis. For example, although not noted systematically, speakers 899DARN, 01CARN, 66N and 72N show a marked contrast in preference of **ʰ** (899D) against **h** (01C, 66N, 72N), the latter being apparently the preferred usage among younger speakers:

Initial	899D	01C	72N	78Rb
ʰ	5	3	0	0
hj	1	1	0	0
h	0	5	5	2

Similarly, innovative negative present impersonal of *tabhair* > **n̩'i hu:rənf'ər** 78E. In response to query, speaker 66N produced consistent *thiobhr-* **ʰu:r-** in contrast with her general conversational use of **hu:r-**. This implies that 66N may consider the **ʰu:r-** by-form to be the more 'distinctive' or 'distinguished' variant.

1.121 -th- > Ø

Intervocalic **h** may be lost facultatively in all environments but it is lost categorically in some words and regularly, though not always, in others.

Categorical loss of *th* occurs mostly following long vowels. A short vowel is lengthened in *friotháil*, and in *tofond* OIr, later also *-thf-*, *-fh-* > **to:n'* followed by nasal vowel-raising to *tu:n'*, cp. *cuthach* (1.122).

aithinte in *furasta a aithint* **frust æ:n't ə**, contrast the verb *d'aithin* **dæhən'** (more commonly *d'aithnigh* **dæn'hə**)

antráthach **ā:ntrā:x**, adjective from *antráth* **ā:ntrā:**

áth(a) in place-names (under weaker stress), e.g. *droichead mór Átha Luain* **drohəd mōr: a: luən'** 11C, *Baile Átha an Rí* **bl'æn ri:**, *Béal an Átha Fada* **b'e:l ən ā: fa'də** 11C

cp. *bráth* in *go lá an bhrátha* **gə lā: vrā: !** (Adr) 21Pt

cútha(i)l(-) **ku:l, ku:l'əxt, ku:l'ədəs** S, perhaps influenced by *umhal* **u:l**

éitheach **e:χ, an éitheach ən' e:χ** 04B

Faithbheartach **fa:rtəχ** 21Jq, *ag an bhFaithbheartach* **eg' ə wa:rtəχ** ! (Abó)-21Pt, plural *Faithbheartaigh* **fa:rtə** 21Jq. This is the only lexeme in historical short stressed *a* which shows the change *a* > **a:** and loss of **h** and is apparently borrowed from lects further east (e.g. Cois Fharraige and Arainn), the surname being rare or unknown in Iorras Aithneach; cp. *Doire Fhathartaigh* **der' a:rtə** (place-name in An Cheathrú Rua)

friotháil **fr'i:al'** (i.e. disyllable **fr'i:al'**)

gnáthach > *gnách* **grā:x** 04B, 11C

gréithí **gr'e:i:**

sáithech DIL **sā:x**, adjective from *sáith* **sā:**

soláthar **sulā:r**, *soláthraí* **sulā:ri:** M

tofond OIr, *tathantaigh* FGB **tu:n'** SM, verbal noun **tu:nə** SM

Seacán Mhac Thuathail **ʃa:n ə xu:l'** (unless *Mhac Dhubhghaill*, *Mac Comhghaill*).

Cp. **ə ku:lā:n'** (also **ə kuələ:n'** 875P) generally associated with *Mhac Thuathaláin*. The medial *th* was perhaps elided in dissimilation in both these surnames, although **ə ku:/uələ:n'** possibly *Mhac Fhualáin*.

Cp. *uathbhás* and related forms **u:fa:s, u:ha:s, u:a:s**, also transcribed *ufás; mísc m'í:fk'* < *mí-thoisc* or perhaps *mí-aisc* (*miaisc* T. S. Ó Máille 1961: 124–6) with *ia* > *í* in the nasal environment.

1.122 Frequent loss

Frequent loss (also original palatal *thch* and *thbh*) occurs in a small miscellaneous group of words.

bláthach **blā:x** generally, e.g. **blā:x** 46.65–66 with general genitive **blā:hi:**, e.g. 46.65, 24N, **blā:həχ** >> **blā:x** S, genitive **blā:hi:** Sq, **blā:həχ** 10N;

bliothachán **bl'ohəχa:n** 'big thing' but *tart bliothachán* **tā:rt bl'oxa:n** M, *tart bleitheacháin* FFG, cp. *tart bruithleacháin* **tā:rt bril'əχa:n'** M;

cuthach **kuhəχ** often. Also **ku:həχ ku:əχ** 04B in *faoi chuthach feirge* **fi: xu:həχ f'er'əg'ə** 04B, *tá cuthach an domhain air* **tā ku:əχ ən daun' ir'** 04B; cp. *tháinig cumhachta feirge orm* **hā:n'ək' ku:xtə f'er'əg' orəm** 04B; *le cuthach oilc* **Íe kuhəχ 'elk'** 11C; **kuhəχ, ku:əχ, kuəχ** P; **kuhəχ, ku:əχ,**

kuəx, **ku:həx** M; cp. the phonologically similar *cúthal* **ku:l** and *úthach* (*tarta*) CFBB, FGB, and *cumhachta*;
dúithche generally **du:hə**, but often elided under weaker stress, e.g. *muinntir Dhúithche Seoighe* **mi:nt'ər' yu:ə fə:g'ə**, *Dúithche Sheoigheach* **du: x'ə:g'əx** 21Pt;
gnóthaigh **gru:(h)ə**, etc., (5.315);
(bróga) úrleathair (**bro:gə**) **ur'l'əhər/ur'l'əhər'** S87, but **ur'l'ar'** FFG, cp. *marbhleathair* **mər'l'əhər'** FFG s.v. *máirleir*.

1.123 Facultative loss

Some examples of loss are given here.

cén sórt BEITHÍOCH thusa? **k'en sɔ:rt b'e.iəx hisə** S;

DÉITH f'e:hə, plural **f'e:həxi**: S, **f'e:xi**: SM; note that Mq produced as citation forms singular **f'e:hə** followed by plural **f'e:xi** in close proximity;

LEATHUAIR thar éis a cúig L'au: he:f ə ku:g' [sic] M;

an fear is mó a shiúilfeas nó an fear is mó a LÉIGHFEAS, ach siúilfidh tú agus LÉIGHFIDH tú m' f'ær əs mu: hju:l'əs nu: m' f'ær əs mu: l'e:əs, ax f'u:l'hə tu: əgəs l'e:hə tu: 01J;

... go mbíodh sé ina OIHCHE ... gə m'i:t' fe ni:ə P;

... tada dhe bharr a SHAOTHAIR aige, ... dhe bharr a SHAOTHAIR tæ:də wær ə hi:r' eg'ə ... wær ə hi:r' 23C (*th* may be regularly lost in this word by 23C; other speakers have regular *saothar si:hər*);

na SOITHIGHE sin nə se:i: fin' M.

See further examples in the CAITH verb class (5.124 ff.) and irregular verbs (*faigh*, future *gheofaidh* 5.274 ff.; *teighre*, *gabh-* 5.299, 5.301). See also (Sonh) → <Sonh> <Son> (1.394). Similarly, aspiration *h* in *le haghaidh iad a bhaint l'e:i: iad ə wæ:nt'* M (perhaps *l'ei*).

1.124 Loss in clusters

Medial *th* is lost in the cluster *mt* in *imthigh* **im'ə**. Prefixes in *-th* do not as a rule add **h** to sonorants, e.g. *meathrabharta* **m'æ:raurtə**, *athleasú* **'æ:l'æ:su:**. Exception: place-name *an Athlíonadh* **ən 'æ:l'hī:nə** 32Jt (attested as a noun in [a]r *an aithlíonadh* CABI §291(a) v. 3).

Generally, *thr* > **rh** but **r** is categorical in *cheithre* **x'er'ə** and common in some words:

comhthrom often **korəm** SM, **korhəm** 23B (and SM); *fearthainn* in *faoin bhfearthainn* **fi:n v'ærhən'** (Smds)04B, genitive *fearthainne* **f'ær:ən'ə** 21J (x3, in proverb); *fothram* **forəm** S, *fothramán* **forəma:n** >> **forhəma:n** P, **forəma:n** S, **forəma:s** S, **forəməs** SM.

Similarly, *rth* > **rh** generally but **r** without **h** in a few, morphologically complex, words:

ar a stártha **er' ə stæ:rə** SM;

contrast *stiúrthóireacht* **st'ur:hər'əxt** 872P with *stiúrthóir* **st'ur:rər'** S.

In unstressed *-artha* (mostly genitive), **-ərthə** and **-ərə** (also **-r-**) are common:

lá chascartha **læ: xras:kərə** ~ **xaskərə** S, **koskərə** SM, but **kraskər(h)i:hə**;
Coscartha **ə xoskərə** only;

bád iomartha bá:d umərə ~ umərħə; cp. discussion of *maistreadh* (*maisteartha*) below (1.363);

cp. *-rdha ~ -rtha*, e.g. *nádúrtha nɑ:du:rə ~ nɑ:du:r* S only.

Also in verbal adjective: *pláistéartha plɑ:ʃt'ɛ:rə* 894C.

Cp. *Loch Con Aortha lox kə'ni:rhə >> lox kə'ni:r >> lox kə'ni:rh*; *comhartha kōhərə kōhərə*. Note also *tabhartas ~ tabharthas* (*tabart(h)as* DIL) in *mac tabhartais mak tɔ:rtɪʃ* 46 s.v., *mac tabhartanais* 864MDT3.

Also facultative in unstressed position in the verbal adjective *-ighthe -i:ħə ~ -i:*.

Cp. future *-álfaidh* sometimes *-a:lħə*, mostly *-a:lə*.

thl generally *lh* but *ré roithleagán* FGB > *ruilleacán* FFG; note also *silegach* DIL *sithléig(each)* Dinn (and ITM) *siléig(each)* FGB > *ʃil'ɛ:g'(əx)* *siléigeach* FFG19, 24, 32; cp. *roithlén, roillén* DIL with *rilleán* 'sieve' *ril'ɑ:n*. For the (SONh) variable, see 1.394. The limited loss of *th* beside sonorants can be compared with the limited phonetic lenition of *f* beside sonorants (1.112(iv)).

1.125 Vowels preceding *-th-*

ia > i: ~ *iə* in *criathar k'ri:i:ħər* 'sieve' 46,671, 894Cst, S85, 21Jq; *kr'iaħər* 'marsh' S85, also *Criathar na Mónóg kr'ia:ħər nə mu:nɔ:g* S85. The diphthong is retained in the noun *criathrach kr'ia:ħəx* and the verb *criathraigh kr'ia:ħə*. Cp. the possible base *Dumhaigh Iathair* which has one by-form *du:i: ji:ħər'* (1.25).

Historically long vowels before *h* are sometimes (not very frequently in West IA) realised half-short, or completely short:

i: > *i* *gála mór gaoithe aduaidh 'gɑ:lə 'mɔ:r gr'ħə 'duə* 892M3501,

píosa dhen oíche p'i:sə gən ihə 18Bm85;

ɑ: > *ɑ(·)* *nar báitheadh thú nar bɑ'hu' hu* P, *áthasach ɑ'həsəx* M,

tráthúil trɑhu:l' S, trəhu:l' 40S, an-tsnáthaid í 'ɑ'n'trɑ'ħəd' i' M.

Frequently shortened in plural *laethann(t)ái* (< *lá*), e.g. *laethannaí (gála) lə'həni'* *'gɑ:lə* 892M4221, *lɛ'hənti:* 53J, less common *lɔ'hənti:* 889P.

Note *feithid* DIL, *féithiú* (~ *feitheamh* s.v. *feith*) FGB > *f'ehə f'ehu:* (VN). Cp. *féithiú* FFG20 in meaning *feith* 3(c) FGB.

The vowel is lengthened with loss of *th* in *othras ɔ:rəs* FFG. Cf. vowels before palatal *ch* (1.115); *-th-* > \emptyset (1.121).

1.126 Shortening before *th* in East Iorras Aithneach

Shortening of historically long vowels before *h* is more common in East Iorras Aithneach where there is also a particular tendency to spirantise *h*. Speaker 899N (Ros Dugáin), whose mother came from Leitir Calaidh (cf. ICF §§638, 661), has a slightly higher incidence of fully long vowels than half long vowels in this position. Speaker 13Jd (Loch Con Aortha) has a tendency to spirantise intervocalic *h*, e.g. *mháthair wɑ:h'ər'* 13Jd (cf. 1.405). Speaker 36P (Coill Sáile) has *oíche i:ħə >> i:x'ə*. Speaker 45N (Maínis) was noted with frequent medial χ , or perhaps *x*, in *bóthar*. Similarly, speaker 63S (Roisín na Mainchíoch) was noted with *máthair mɑ:xər'*, *na hamhráin nə "χɔ:r'ɑ:n'* (cf. 1.399). Speaker 30P (Cill Chiaráin) has *gaoithe [gix'ə]*, *bóthar [bohər]* (not *gr-*, *bɔ-*). A native of Cill Chiaráin (46C), whose mother comes from Innis Bearchain, off Oileán Gharamna in West Cois Fharraige, has two 'opposing' phonetic strategies regarding long

vowels preceding /h/: he facultatively shortens historically long vowels before /h/ and spirantises /h/, e.g.

mháthair **wə'hər'**, *bháthadh* **wəhə**;

oíche **ix'ə**, *dh'oíche* **gix'ə**; *bóthar* **bə:χər** (all 46C).

Cp. his *obair throm* **obər'** **xru:m** 46C. Also *bláthanna* **bla(:)həni**, *bóthar* **bə'hər** **bə:hər**, *máthair* **mə'hər'**, *oíche* **ix'ə** (all 51N, Caladh Fhínse; mother from An Cheathrú Rua). A younger speaker from Cill Chiaráin, whose mother comes from Leitir Mealláin, also has *san oíche* **sən ix'ə** 79P.

1.127 Medial *th* in clusters with other fricatives

thch > **f'** in *cluithche* (*cluiche*), note *cluiche fithchille* **klef' ə f'ihəl'ə** 04Bl.

thbh > **v'** ~ **f'** in *leithbhliain* 'L'e,vl'ian' 'L'e,fl'ian' and similar compound words, including **hw** in *Leath-Mhás* (3.124).

bhth > **f**, e.g. *cráibhtheach* **kra:f əx**.

Palatal *-ghth-* normally **h**, e.g. *froightheachaí* **frohəxi:**, *doightheachaí* **dohəxi:**.

In verbal adjective *-ighthe* > **i:** **ihə** >> **i:x'ə** (also **ix'ə** in a by-form of *imthighthe* **ə'm'ix'ə**); similarly, genitive verbal noun *-ighthe* **i:** **ihə** >> **i:x'ə**; also (agent and verbal noun) plural *-ighthe* **i:** **ihə** (seldom **i:x'ə**, noted only in *marcaidhthe* **mā:rki:x'ə** 897PLC). Note also rare *cleith* **kl'e** > **kl'ex'uwi** (related to *tightheadha*, etc.). In 2 Conjugation verb 2sg, e.g. *chruinneoghtá* **xrin'a:ha**; also **xrin'a:**. For further details and developments, see 'Verbs' (5.65 ff.), and 'Plural Noun' (4.135, 4.175).

-ghth- > **f f'** in plurals, *doirghthe* **drif'ə**, etc., cp. *tighthe* **t'ifə** less often **t'ufə**, broad **f** here is, perhaps, a result of developments based on *tightheadha*, but also noted as **t'i(:)f'ə** (less often, unfortunately noted without speakers' names); *crú* plural *cruife* **krif'ə**.

Exceptional **t'** in a by-form of *comaithech* also *comaigthech* DIL **kohiəx**, less often **kof'iax**; in 46.937 *tír coimhtigheach* (**köhiəx** or **köf't'iax**).

Cp. exceptional **d'** in *áirithe* ~ *áiridhe* > **ə:r'həd'**.

toghtha 'excellent' **tau** is very common as a predicative adjective, and also occurs less frequently in attributive function. Far less common is **tofə** 'excellent': *tá sé toghtha* **ta fə tofə** = **ta fə tau** Mq, *bhí sé tofa uilig* (probably in query), and in conversation *toghtha toghtha toghtha toghtha!* **'tau 'tau 'tau 'tofə** P. As verbal adjective *toghtha* is found as **tofə**, **taut'ə**, etc. De Bhaldraithe's (1971–2: 280–81) argument, for Cois Fharraige, of a development such as *toghtha* > ***tohə** > ***to:**, which would obscure the relation with *togh* and then require a new form based on *togha*, does not hold for Iorras Aithneach. One may assume that the adjective *toghaidhe* has been replaced or influenced by the phonetically similar adjectival use of the noun *togha* (e.g. DIL s.v. *toga* (f)) and that the verbal adjective *toghtha* has been almost completely replaced. Cp. predicative use of *an togha* in, for example, *tá siad an togha* **ta fjad ən tau** 19B (East Cois Fharraige, Doire an Locháin) for more common *tá siad togha* **ta fjad tau** (Iorras Aithneach); also: *fiódóir a bhí ann, agus a thogha*, 879BDT86 (for common *agus an togha*).

With replacement of suffix, verbal adjective *-tha* may become *-ta*, impersonal verbal *th* generally becomes *t*, e.g. *-thar* > *-tar*, *-ighthí* > *-ítí* (obsolete *-íthe*).

1.128 Final

Final *th* is lost, e.g. *cioth k'i*, *maith mǎ*, *cath ka*, *sáith sa*, although often retained in prevocalic position before affixes and in sandhi, e.g. *maithe mǎhə*, *cathannaí kahəni*, *is maith an ceann é əs mǎh ə k'ə:n e*.

Following a long vowel or diphthong in many instances *th* is lost finally (in inflected and derived forms and before vowels in sandhi, 2.42), although it may be retained optionally in some words. E.g.

bláth: *blá* plural *bláannaí* 869P5, and generally *blá:əni*, *bláithín beag gorm blá:i:m' b'og gorəm* [x3] P; a younger speaker's *blá:həni blahəni* 51N is most likely influenced by the spelling;

fáth: *an fáth is mó m fa: s mu: S*;

luath: 1 Conjugation present *luəhən fe*, *lu:ən fe* Mq, 2 Conjugation present *luəin' fe* S, *luath-* in compounds, e.g. *luathintinniúil 'luə:i:nf'ə:n'u:l' Mq*; as adjective the base is *luə* but also *luəhə*; for other instances of final *-th* > *-tha* following long vowels, perhaps a compensatory strategy against *th* loss, see 1.51;

fuath: *fua' 7 ceathrú ' anama* 875T1, *fuath ná freagra fuə na fr'æ:grə* M; in reply to query Máire claims that *fuath* does not occur before *orm* in *ní dhéarthá *fuath orm ... fuə orəm ...* Mq;

lúth: *cleasa lúith agus gaisce kf'æ:sə lu: gəs ga:f'k'ə* 11Ct.

Cp. *oidhche*, *h* retained generally, but absent in certain collocations, e.g. *oidhche Fhéil i:l'*.

1.129 Loss; Exceptions

Following a short vowel, *th* is most often absent in *bheith*, the verbal noun of the verb *bí* 'to be', in sandhi, e.g. *bheith ann v'e ə:n*. Similarly, in the word *breith* 'judgement', Máire regularly drops *th*, except in inflected *breithe*: *breith a cuireadh br'e kir'u*: M; *breith a bhí br'e v'i*: M; plural *br'eni*: Mq, but genitive singular *breithe br'ehə* M also plural *br'ehəni*: Mq. Contrast *breith* 'catch': *breith isteach ... br'e hə'f't'ə:x ...* M. Also lost in the plural of the surname *Mac Craith* > *na Craitheannaí nə krani*: 37T, 66N. Presumably, the prevalent non-inflection of the surname (e.g. *muinntir Ghraith*, which can function similar to a plural) is attributable to the diachronic loss of final *th*. There seem to be complex processes involved in *leath(-)*. There is regular *h* in *leathuair l'æhuər'* S, *leathamadán l'æhuməda:n* S (also *l'æhaməda:n*), *leathfhocal l'æhokəl* S, *leathunsa l'æhu:nsə* S, also *leathordlach l'æhaurləx*, but no *h* in *leathfhataí l'æ:a:ti*: M, *l'æ:a:ti*: S, perhaps to avoid confusion with *hata*, but neither is there *h* in *leath acra l'æ'a:krə* S. Perhaps there is some form of length-harmony between both *a* phonemes in these *h*-less examples. Long *a* in the first syllable in harmony with the second syllable may cause the elision of *h* (since *a* is generally short before *h*).

Exceptions

Nonpalatal *th* > *x* in *bráth bra:x* generally, cp. *brothálach* FFG but *brochálach* 894C2; palatal *th* optionally > *x'* in *bruith bru bri brix'*, *ith i u ix'*, also in *bi(o)th b'i b'ix'*, *rith ru ri rix'*. A rare form in *-j* occurs before pausa in East Iorras Aithneach: *bith b'ij* | 889P (Coill Sáile), cp. *istigh* | ə'f't'ij | 01P (Doire

Iorrais). These lexemes *bith*, *istigh* in Ø ~ **h** ~ **x'** ~ **j** form a variable lexical class with *istigh* and *amuigh* (sandhi (-**x'**) 2.50).

1.130 **s**

s normally = **s** (nonpalatal), **f** (palatal), e.g. *suidh si*; *sí fí*.

Initial *s* alternates with **h**, or is lost completely in some particles, e.g. *seo fo ho o*, also **s h x** Ø in *s(h)ula sulə*, *hulə*, *xul a*; etc.; cf. copula *sea fæ* >> *hæ*, *sé fē*: >> *he*. Cp. *mar sin* > *mar hin* (> *ma hin*), 6.81.

Initially, preceding labial palatal consonants **s**, e.g. *speal sp'al*, *smeig sm'ig'*, but medially **f**, e.g. *ispín ifp'in'*, *Tuismeán tifm'an*. (Cp. stress movement (1.381) *taispeáin* > *spáin*, *taispeánadh* > *tuspánadh*.) Preceding other palatals, including palatalised velars, almost universally **f**, e.g. *striapach ftr'i:pəx*, *scéal fk'e:l*; but initial **sk'** was recorded in *scioból sk'ibol* [x1] 866E (An Aird Mhóir), and *scéal sk'e:l* << *fk'e:l* 03V (An Bhánrach Ard), cp. *sceallán sk'ilan* 73P, also **st'** in *níor tháinig sé sin isteach ar chor ar bith n'ir han'ək' fē: fun st'æx xor ə b'ɪ* 21Pt (An Aird Mhóir).

There are five place-names containing *Inis* (preceding nonpalatal contexts or palatalised labial, cf. 2.28) which have either **s** or **s ~ f**:

Inis Múscraí in'əš mū:skəri: 896P, *in'əf mū:skri*: 11C;

Inis Oírr in'ə si:r generally; also nontraditional, influenced by spelling (probably including English 'Inisheer'), e.g. *in'əf fīər* [in'ə- ?] 73N;

Inis Srathair in'ə srahər' SM;

Inis Troigh (Inis tSruth) in'əs tro 892MDU, 27MdLA, contrast *in'əf tro* 21JRM from a speaker who lives further away from *Inis Troigh*;

Inis Bearchain in'əs b'ærəxər' 46C (this speaker's mother was a native of that place, implying 46C has acquired the older variant which is retained at or near the locality of *Inis Bearchain*; similar to *Inis Troigh*) but *in'əf b'ærəxən'* 18J, *in'əf b'ærəxər'* 11C; -**s b'**- is also heard in this place-name from some speakers in An Cheathrú Rua (Ruairí Ó hUiginn, personal communication).

Similarly, elsewhere *Ini sBó Finne*, *Ini sFraoch*, **Ini sCaoín* > *Iona sCaoín* (Ó Muirgheasa 1934: 194 (commentary), cf. Ó Muirgheasa 1926: 36, 74); *Ineas Meán* (LSE248) for IA *Inis Meáin in'əf m'an'*.

Palatal *s* > **s** in a rare by-form of the compound preposition *thar éis* (in *éis*) **n'əs** 01P. The alternation of **s ~ f** beside *r* is discussed in the following section.

There are instances of loss of *s* in weak stress (before *t*): *agus tá | gə ta sé i gceist ariamh*, 892M; rarely also absent in relative verb: *fad is mhairthea(s) tú aríst fə:ds war'hə tu 'r'i:t'* 03V.

1.131 (**sr**) variable, <**s**> ~ <**f**> beside *r*

When *s* adjoins *r* it is realised as **s** or **f**. This variation which can be treated as one variable, i.e. (*sr*). In finer phonetic detail, there are four generally easily distinguishable variants: two variants with little or practically no retroflexion (**s**, **f**), and two corresponding retroflexed variants (**ʂ**, **ʃ**); the last two are underrepresented in my transcriptions, especially in earlier notes. (Note that I use **ʂ** to represent IPA **ʂ**, the apical post-alveolar voiceless sibilant.) A fifth variant occurs least often in which the *s* is heavily retroflexed and the *r* is no longer an independent

consonant, e.g. *rs* > *ʃ*. In my shorthand for this variable, where I am not primarily concerned with retroflexion as such but rather with those phones which can be classified as either /s/ or /ʃ/, <s> stands for both s and ʃ, and <ʃ> stands for both ʃ and ʃ̥.

Some words fluctuate between both <s> and <ʃ>, others use one proportionately more than, or exclusively in preference to, the other. For example, <ʃ> is used consistently (and unhistorically) by Seán and Máire in *cársán(ach)*; on the other hand, <ʃ> is being replaced by <s> in *cúrsa*, perhaps owing to standardisation, including spelling pronunciation. In fact, my impression is that <s> is on the increase in general where it corresponds to orthographic broad *s*. Historically, palatal medial clusters form the most regular subclass, containing overwhelmingly <ʃ>, the only exception is *toirseach* with two uncertain tokens of (obsolete) <s>.

1.132 List

A sample list of the variation is given here grouped according to the historical quality of the cluster.

Initial broad <i>sr</i>	<i>ʃr</i>	<i>sr</i>
<i>sráid</i>	<i>ar sráid</i> er <i>ʃrɑːdʲ</i> !21Pt	<i>srɑːdʲ</i>
<i>sraith</i>	<i>ʃraː</i> S, 21J	<i>Sraith Salach sru ...</i> 20Mlt, <i>srə ...</i> [often] S
<i>srannadh</i>	<i>ʃra:nə</i> 04B, <i>ʃrɑ:nə</i> 46 Mp 128	
<i>srannán</i>		<i>sruna:n</i> M, 21J
<i>sraoth(-)</i>	<i>ʃriː</i> S, <i>ʃri:fərtəx</i> M	
<i>sraoill(-)</i>	<i>ʃriːlʲ</i> S, <i>ʃriːlʲəx</i> S	<i>sriːlʲəx</i> M
<i>srathair,</i> <i>srathraigh</i>	<i>ʃra:hiːtʲ</i> fe S	<i>sra:hərʲ</i> [often] S, <i>sra:rhə</i> S, <i>sr-</i> 26P, <i>Bealach na Srathra ʃra:rhə</i> 35E
<i>sroich(-)</i>	<i>ʃro:hə</i> 04Bl <i>sroicheadh</i>	<i>sr-</i> [often] M, <i>sro:hə</i> S, <i>srotʲə</i> 52P
<i>srón</i>		<i>sru:n</i> M, <i>ʃro:nʲə</i> 04Bl
<i>sróil</i>	<i>ʃroːlʲ</i>	
<i>sru</i> < <i>arsa</i>	<i>ʃru</i> 11C	<i>sru</i> 11C
<i>sruth</i>	<i>ʃru</i> 892M, 892Mg, 18J, <i>ʃru</i> 11Ct	<i>sru</i> 06C, 31P, 35E
<i>sruthán</i>	<i>ʃru:hɑ:n</i> 892Mg, 11Ct, 18J, 35E	<i>sru:hɑ:n</i> 35E
Note <i>Inis Srathair</i> <i>inʲə sra:hərʲ</i> SM.		
Initial palatal <i>sr</i>	<i>ʃr</i>	<i>sr</i>
<i>sr(e)am-</i>	<i>ʃramiː</i> , <i>ʃraməxɑ:n</i> , etc., S	<i>sramə</i> , <i>sra:miː</i> 52P
<i>sreang</i>	<i>ʃræŋg</i> 894Cs	
<i>sreangán</i>	<i>ʃrunga:n</i> 20Mlt (x5)	<i>srunɡɑ:n</i> 20Mlt (x1)
<i>srian</i>	<i>ʃriən</i> 894C, 11Ct, <i>ʃri:nʲə</i> S	<i>nə sri:nəx</i> S <i>na srianach</i>
Medial broad <i>rs</i>	<i>rʃ</i>	<i>rs</i>
<i>arsa</i>	<i>orʃə</i> 04B <<<, 11C	<i>orsə</i> 04B, 11C, <i>orsə</i> Mq
<i>arsaigheann</i> ¹	<i>ɑ:rʃi:n</i> , <i>áirsionn</i> FFG	
<i>baorsa</i> < <i>baosra</i>	<i>bi:rʃə</i> only	
<i>baorsach</i>	<i>bi:rʃəx</i> 11C (< <i>baosrach</i>)	
<i>cársán(ach)</i>	<i>kɑ:rʃɑ:n(əx)</i> SM	

¹ Root *arsaid* DIL also *airsid*.

Medial broad <i>rs</i>	rʃ	rs
<i>ciarsánacha</i>	k' e: rʃa: nəxi kuərsənəxi (run) 05Md ,	
<i>cúarsánacha</i>	whose father has <i>círseánacha cúirseánacha</i> 864M LL148	
<i>comharsa</i>	04B, 11C, S	ku:rsə
<i>cúrsa</i> ¹	892M, 04B, 11C >>	ku:rsə 11C, M
cf. <i>déasrachai</i> below		
<i>fearsad</i>	46.231, 894Ct, 894Cs >>	894Cs, S, fiorsaid 894C9
<i>go bhfiosraí(-)</i>	gə v' e: rʃi: 04B	<i>go bhfeirsai</i> !894C9
<i>fórsa</i>	fə: rʃə !10B	fə: rsə 21Pg
<i>giarsa</i> FGB	g' iə: rʃi: 11C, S, 52J	
<i>léasrachai</i>	l' e: rʃəxi: M >>	l' e: rsəxi: Mq
<i>orsainn ursainn</i>	o/ u: rʃə n' most often	t' ursənsə Mq t' ursainnsa
<i>péarsla</i> FGB,	p' e: rʃə ləxi 46.38,	p' e: rsəli: 14M, 20A,
<i>péirsil (-sle)</i> Dinn	p' e: rʃli: 20Aq	p' e: rsəxi: 60Mq
<i>pursa</i>	porʃə 866E, M, P	
<i>sciúrsa</i> DIL		ʃk' u: rsə M
<i>sciúrsáil</i>	<i>sciúirseáiladh</i> !869P6 (pst imprs)	ʃk' u: rsə: l' Mq
<i>véarsa</i>	v' e: rʃə 18J	v' e: rsə 11C
Medial broad <i>sr</i>	ʃr	sr
<i>déasrachai</i>	d' a: ʃrəxi 894Cs, d' e: rʃəxi: 35E	d' a: srəxə 894Cs, d' e: srəxi: 35E
<i>fiosrach</i>		f' isrəx
<i>léasrachai</i>	l' e: ʃrəxi: M	l' e: srəxi: 20My
Medial palatal <i>rs</i>	rʃ	rs
<i>aidhbhirseoir</i>	a: wə: rʃə: r' (cp. adhbha(i)rs(e)óir DIL)	
<i>áirse</i>	a: rʃə	
<i>báirseach</i>	bə: rʃəx	
<i>céirseach</i>	k' e: rʃəx	
<i>cláirseach</i>	klə: rʃəx	
<i>doirse < dorus</i>	də: rʃə	
<i>fairsing</i>	fə: rʃə n'	fə: rsə n' (Aag) 03C
<i>foirseadh</i>	fə: rʃə	
<i>gáirsiúil</i>	gə: rʃu: l'	
<i>leabhairse</i>	l' a: rʃə	
<i>maoirseacht</i>	mi: rʃəxt	
<i>meirse</i>	m' o: rʃə	
<i>péirsí</i> (in run)	p' e: rʃi: 11C, !04B, péirse 875P DT15	<i>péarsai</i> 852Sb TS122
<i>Seoirse</i>	<i>Seoirse</i> !894C9, ʃə: rʃə !10B	

¹ *cúrsa* **ku: rʃə S >> M, ku: rsə SM**. Note the following exchange where Máire in her second token deliberately emphasised her preferred and usual variant:

-tə: ʃe d' i: nə ku: rs ə ʃa: l' ə M Tá sé ag déanamh cúrsa i nGaillimh.

-ku: rʃə S *Cúrsa*?

-ʃə: ku: rsə M *Sea cúrsa*.

Speaker **01CARN**'s consistent **ku: rʃə** (e.g. 6065) also contrasts with younger (school- teacher) **21PgARN**'s **ku: rsə** (e.g. 6063). In querying the use of lenition in the phrase *ceangal chúrsaí*, I pronounced **xu: rʃi:**; this was echoed by **27Md** as **xu: rʃi:** but her following tokens, in query and subsequent conversation, were **x/ku: rsi:**.

Medial palatal <i>rs</i>	rʃ	rs
<i>seáirse</i> ¹	ʃa:ɾʃə 11C, 35EARN Foclóirín	
<i>toirseach</i> ²	toɾʃəx generally	<i>tursach</i> 852S4
Medial palatal <i>sr</i>	ʃr	sr
<i>coisric</i>	kaʃrək	

One can see from my sample that initially both historically palatal and nonpalatal *sr* can be frequently realised as both <sr> and <ʃr>. Medial nonpalatal *rs* seems to be lexically conditioned with regard to more frequent <s> or <ʃ>. Medial palatal *rs* shows practically categorical <ʃ>.

1.133 Dialectology

In ICF §172 it is claimed that <s> and <ʃ> are ‘equally common’. If this claim is indeed accurate there may be a dialectal distribution of increasing <s> east of Iorras Aithneach. In Mionlach <s> appears to be the most common variant by far. From ITM §§150–1, 474 and the index of ITM it is obvious that <ʃ> is the variant ‘as a rule’. In IEM §416 <ʃ> is also dominant. From the evidence of the Connacht monographs one might conclude that there is a continuum of categorical <ʃ> in the north through facultative use in Conamara to categorical <s> in the southeast. Iorras Aithneach is geographically closer to, and so appears also quantitatively closer to, the northern usage regarding this variable than Cois Fharraige.

The evidence from SIDI does support a dichotomy of northern <ʃ> in contrast with south(east)ern <s> in Connacht. The word *srannadh* in SIDI.128 shows <s> basically in Munster, and <ʃ> further north. More precisely: š (i.e. ‘retroflex variety of ʃ’ SIDI.xxv) in Connacht and Ulster, with ʃ̥ (i.e. ‘depalatalized, slightly retroflex variety of ʃ’ SIDI.xxv) in three points in Connacht. There are two points in South-East Galway, points 25 and 28 bordering Co. Clare, which <s>. SIDI.183 *fairsing* shows <ʃ> in most of Ireland with <s> in only three points (57, and in South-East Galway 39 and 29). SIDI.255 *tuirseach* shows <ʃ> in most of Ireland. The lesser variant <s> is found mainly in South Co. Galway: to the east (points 25, 27–30, 38), in Árainn and South Conamara (points 41–3), and in North Conamara (47 and 49). South-West Donegal (point 85 and no doubt relevant points 79 and 83) and point 64 which also have <s> will not be considered further here.³ SIDI-II.48 (and Vocab) *sruth(án)* shows <s> (s and š) predominantly in southern Ireland including South Galway (points 1–25 (with a few gaps), 28, 29, 37, 39–42, 43a, 43b, 45–47, 54, 56) against <ʃ> (representing here š and ʃ̥) predominantly in the North (points 22, 32–36, 38, 43, 44, 48–53, 55–61; note points 22 and 56 have both variants). From this cursory examination of SID,

¹ Cp. FFG s.v. *seársa*. For Cois Fharraige both *seársa* and *seáirse* are cited. Examples from Iorras Aithneach (FFG19) have a tilde (~) only, indicating the headword *seársa*, implying *rs* only was heard. This must remain uncertain. Cf. LFRM *seáirse* **rʃ** ~ **rs**.

² *rs* was noted once from an old female speaker thought to be from IA heard on RnG.

³ The evidence of these two Maps clearly disproves O’Rahilly’s (1932: 206) overgeneralisation that in historically palatal *rs* clusters ‘Northern Irish, as a rule, goes further and depalatalizes the *s* too, so that these words become *farsainn*, *tursa*, *Seórsa*.’ Late seventeenth century spellings such as *farsaing* from King’s Co., quoted by O’Rahilly (loc. cit.), might represent <rs> (and perhaps even provide evidence of a continuum with South(-East) Galway) or imply a confusion of historical nonpalatal *rs* being realised as <rʃ>, so that, for example, orthographic *-arsa-* might in fact represent spoken <rʃ>.

it seems that South-East Galway may be the most consistent <s> area in Connacht. Much further research, based, for example, on SIDII–IV, is needed to analyse in detail possible dialectal distributions and developments.¹

1.134 Phonemic status of *f* beside *r*

There are strong arguments for considering *f* beside *r* as an allophone of nonpalatal /s/. Phonetically, *f* beside *r* can be retracted, velarised and slightly rounded, i.e. retroflexed (especially when sublaminal). Because of the velarisation of *f* here, Sommerfelt (1949: 417) argues, against ICF §171, that ‘it is obvious that it belongs to the *s* phoneme’. Furthermore, vowels before *rf* are backed, e.g. *éiris* *er’əf*, plural *or’əxi*. When the *s* of initial *sr* is mutated the resulting cluster is nonpalatal, this is true for both historically nonpalatal and palatal initial *sr*, e.g. *srian* *frin*, *an tsrian* *ən trin*, *shrian* *hrin*.² In fact, an argument in support of the phonemic nonpalatal /s/ interpretation is that the *r* beside *s* is always nonpalatal — consonant clusters usually agreeing in quality. The phone, *r*, however, behaves exceptionally regarding quality in other clusters. On the other hand, there is support for membership of *f* (beside *r*) as an allophone of the palatal /f/ phoneme. Syncope combined with palatalisation in the case of *rəs* always results in *rf*, e.g. *doirse* *dor’ə* plural of *doras*, never **dorsə* in our dialect. Plural *glaisreachaí* *glaf’əxi* (< *glaise*), when juncture schwa is inserted, yields palatal *r*, *glaf’ər’əxi*: 64Mq, implying that both consonants in the cluster are essentially (or at a more abstract level) palatal.³ In sandhi, retroflex *f* causes at least alveolarisation, if not full palatalisation, of a preceding coronal, e.g. *fonn sraothnail orm* *fu:n’ f’ini:l’ orəm* [x2] 17M. In a rare sandhi example where *s* becomes *f* following *r*, the adjoining *l* becomes *l’*: *saor slán go hÉirinn si:r f’l’an gə he:r’ən* (Smbb)04B. (In regular sandhi the quality opposition of *s*, *s* (§) vs. *f* (f), is retained beside *r*.) Cp. *l’əsf’r’əgrə* SM, *l’əsr’əgrə* M *leasfhreagra*, *l’əsf’r’əgrə* M *leasfhreagrach*.

Perhaps the sensible compromise would be to analyse *f* (beside *r*) as an archiphoneme in which certain phonetic features of both palatalisation and velarisation are combined and phonologically neutralised. This compromise analysis is especially attractive when another variant, the retroflex realisation of *s*, i.e. *ʂ*, is borne in mind. This *ʂ* can of course be taken to be halfway between *s* and *f*/ *f*.

¹ Watson (1996a) classifies the two main variants, retracted *s* IPA *ʂ* and retroflex *s* IPA *ʂ*, found beside *r* from dialect descriptions of Co. Clare, Connacht and Ulster. Both retraction and retroflexion are absent in descriptions of dialects south of Co. Clare. It seems safe to conclude that retroflexion has a northern origin (see also Watson 1994a). As pointed out by Watson (1996a: 134) retroflexion most probably brought about confusion of the historical reflexes of palatal and nonpalatal *s*. In this context South(-East) Galway (and North Clare) would lie between an area to the south, which retains the historical contrast, and an area to the north with confusion of the contrast. In particular, the northern area would have *f* for southern *s* or even vice versa *s* for southern *f*. In such a situation there would be the possibility of hypercorrecting all *f* sounds adjoining *r* to *s*. This hypothesis would be worth considering in any explanation of the use of nonpalatal *s* (i.e. <s>) found in all contexts beside *r* in South-East Galway lects. The influence of English, for example in Galway city, might also favour medial *sr* and exclusive *rs*.

² For exceptional *shróil* > *shreóil* *xr’or’* (Lam)04B, see 1.262.

³ Palatal *r* in juncture in this instance can be contrasted with nonpalatal *r* retained when *rn’* is broken by epenthesis in *coirnéal* *korn’e:l* ~ *korən’e:l*, *Loch Éirne* *lox e:r’n’ə* ~ *lox e:r’n’ə*.

1.135 **sh**

sh normally = **h**, e.g. *shuidh hi: hi hu*, *shín hi:n*.

Palatal *sh* > **x'** (as does palatal *th*, 1.119) before back vowels, e.g. *Sheáin x'á:n'*, *sheoid x'ó:d'*, *sheomra x'u(:)mrə*, *shiopa x'upə*, *shiúnta x'ú:ntə*. Also before base back vowel which is fronted, e.g. *shiopa x'upə*, *dhe shipín beag gə x'ip'i:m' b'og* M. Short /a/ is classified as front here, e.g. *shean hæ'n hæ'n*, in contrast with the diphthong /au/ which acts as a back vowel taking **x'**, i.e. *sheabhac x'auk*, *a sheabhaic x'auk'*. (/ai/ takes **h**, exemplified with *th-: théigheann hain*.) A rarer by-form occurs as **hj**, e.g. *an chulaidh sheoil ə xolhə hjo:l'* 872P, from a speaker who also has tokens of **h** for **x**.

Regularly *síorshiobhal* 'fiər'x'u:l, but 'fiər'hui:l 892M5241 (perhaps a type of dissimilation between **f** and expected **x'**).

Initial **fu-** and **fi-** alternate in some environments. In such alternation the shape of the lenited form may depend on whether speakers have **fu-** or **fi-** as their base. Speakers who have base *sionnach funəx*, for example, have lenited *shionnach x'unəx*, and, generalising from speaker 869P's two examples, those who have *finəx*, have lenited *hinəx* (*craiceann Shionnach na Saighead* | 'kræk'ən | 'hinəx nə 'said | 869P). Younger speakers show change: *shioscadh hjiskə* 52M and her brother *shionnach hunəx* 60M, also *do sheomra də humrə* 79S.

Speaker 892Mg's examples before a front vowel are anomalous: *shíl x'i:l'* 892Mg (2/2). This suggests that in 892Mg's speech **x'** has perhaps been generalised to all instances of prevocalic palatal *sh-*. This speaker therefore differentiates *shíl x'i:l'* from *shaoil hi:l'*, which are otherwise homophonous in the dialect, i.e. *shíl* (< *saoilim*) and *shaoil hi:l'* (< *saoghal*). Other relevant examples from him are the clusters *shníomh hn'í:w* 892Mg, *ar thrí cinn nó er' xr'i: k'i:n nū:* 892Mg. Speaker 21Pt generally has regular palatal *sh-* **h** before front vowels, including with *shéasúir he:su:r'* 21Pt, but exceptional *shéasúirí x'esu:r'i:* 21Pt. He has similar tokens of exceptional (palatal) *th-* **x'**-, e.g. *theastós sé x'æsto: je* 21Pt.

Two speakers have anomalous broad *shl-* **xl-** in *shláinte x'lænt'ə* 896P (2/2) (Maínis), *x'lænt'ə* 27Md (Leitir hArd). Note also a possible slip of the tongue (*xla't* caused perhaps by preceding **x'e:də**):

cúig nó sé dhe chéada shlat thimpeall an oileáin

ku:g' nū fe: gə x'e:də 'xla't himpəl ən' il'á:n' | 06C;

otherwise *dhe shlata gə hla'tə* 06C.

1.136 **Exceptions**

h ~ **x** in *ó shoin* **o:** *xin'*, **o:** *xun'*, also **o:** *hin'*.

Lost in clusters with *n* and *l* in words no longer analysed as compounds (in EModIr compounds *sh* was also elided in clusters): *anshód* DIL **ano:**, *anshocair* in place-name *Anacair anəkər'* (Rob.96), *dubhshlán du:lə:n*, *cúlshráid ku:lra:d'*; also in the surname *Con Shnámha kə'nā:wə* 18J. Retained in other derivationally transparent compounds, e.g. *cúshnáithe kū:hnā:hə*, *ku:hna:hə* M, *drochshnua 'drox'hnu:* SM, but *droxnu:* FFG, *drochshnúil 'drox'hnu:l'* M, cp. *droxnu:l'* FFG20.

Rarely lost initially, e.g. *mo shnáthaid mə nā:həd'* ... M, except *shliocht f'oxt* (in set phrase, 1.384) and *shléibhe* in *Go lá 'léibhe' Domhain* (MP) 894C9.

1.137 z

z in borrowings often = *s*, e.g. *Geansa g'an'sə*, *geansaí g'an'si*; *rósbhéilín 'ro:s,v'e:l'in'* !.

z is also quite common, for example noted in:

geansaí often *g'an'zi*; especially in the older generation, also *g'an'zə* **34M**;

Geansa g'æn'zə !(Amit)**04B**;

cp. *saghas cathaoir* ... *go raibh saghas draíocht* ... *sais, kahir'* ... *gə ro*

saiz dri:əxt ... (Lam, prose)**04B**; but generally *sais*.

Cp. *-z t' - > -z t' -* in sandhi (2.25); *z > ʒ* in palatalisation before *-ín* (11.89).

1.138 h

h normally = **h**, e.g. *hata hæ'tə*. Initial mutational *h*- (aspiration) is sometimes not present, e.g. *ná hól é nɑ: (h)ol e*. There is an apparently old alternation between **h** and zero in the borrowing 'Henri, Henry' > *Anraoi* and *Hanraoi* > *Ánntraoi* ~ *Hánnthraoi* **894C6**, *hā:nri*: **892M3211**.

go hoidhche > *go fuithin* in the phrase *ó mhaidín go hoidhche o: wa'd'əŋ gə fi:hən'* (T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6a: 21–2), perhaps through assimilation with preceding *mh*- and possibly influenced by *dul faoi na gréine* and *fuineadh gréine*.

1.139 Sonorants: lenited vs. unlenited

The Early Modern Irish contrast of lenited vs. unlenited nonpalatal sonorants has been lost, except for a lateral contrast which has become obsolete recently. The contrast of unlenited **L** vs. **l** is found only in some speakers born in the nineteenth century. Palatal sonorants retain the contrast between unlenited and lenited variants, with the exception of *rr* (formerly **r'**) which becomes nonpalatal *r r*. The original lexical classes are, nonetheless, retained to a significant extent by the devoicing of lenited medial sonorants in many lexemes, i.e. *n, l, r > nh, lh, rh*. (Devoicing may also arise in the clusters *lr* and *nr*, for which see 'Epenthetic Consonants' 1.372 ff.) There is also extensive vowel lengthening and diphthongisation before unlenited sonorants and sonorants in clusters. Unlenited palatal *n* and *l* became lenited preceding *s* in *nns* and *lls*, i.e. **nf, lf**. Lenited palatal *n* and *l* become unlenited in the clusters *bhn* and *bh/mhl*. These developments and others are described in detail in the following sections.

Nasals**1.140 n**

Nonpalatal *n*, both lenited and unlenited normally = **n**, e.g. *buan* and *bonn bu:n*, *Ana* and *annamh anə*.

I have noted unlenited nonpalatal **n** far less than unlenited nonpalatal **L**, both of which are now merged with the lenited sounds (1.139). Preposed to vowels, the *n* of the preposition *gan* and linking *n* do, however, sound more velarised than is usual in the traditional dialect, and perhaps dental, in:

gan uisce gan salann ɣən uʃk'ə ɣən sa'lən **894C**;

le n-ithe ɽe nix'ə **869P**; *le n-ól ... le n-ithe ɽe nɔ:l ... ɽe nix'ə* **894C**.

Exceptions

- > **d** in *cearn* **k'ard k'ard** S, e.g. *gach uile chearn dhen domhan a'xil' a x'ard gən daun* 892M2090, **k'ard** 11C, 18J, *ceaird* fem. FFG20, 32, (perhaps influenced by *aird*); *carnán* (cp. *carn* ~ *carnd* ~ *card* DIL) **k:arda:n** S, **k:arna:n** 04B, 05Md, 16M, 35E, 79A. Máire does not recognise **-d-** in *carnán* (used by Seán her husband) as a local nor even correct form. Cp. *fothannán* (etc.) DIL > **f:əhəna:n** 892M, 15Pt, more commonly **f:əhəda:n** SM, also **f:əhəna:n** 46.973. For *anseo an'fo a'ffo*, see 8.195.
- > **n, r, l** in *Cróchnaid* **kro:xnəd', kro:xrəd', kro:xlət', kro:xlən', kruəxlən', kno:xnət', klo:xnət'**, *Cruachnait* Rob.71, 'Croghnett' (Freeman 1936: 61). Compare *cróchraid* FFG glossed *cróchar* with FGB *crócharnaid* ~ *cróchnaid* ~ *cróchrann*, etc.
- > **n, l** in *sámhnas* > *samhnas* SM, *samhnás* S, *samhlas* S.
- > **m** before *l* in *grúnlach* FFG20: *grúmlach* M, cp. *grúmláil* FFG, 864MDT61.
- > **n, m** before *l* in *ionlach* **ē:nləx ē:nləx** 45C (also Seán Ó Cathasaigh (AI, sÓC) according to 45C), **i:ml'əx** (apparently also **i:mləx**) S 'spreading-ground', cp. *imleach beag dhe chnocán i:ml'əx b'og a xruk:a:n* 894C. Perhaps influenced by *imleach i:ml'əx* M 'marshy shore', cp. place-name *Imleach Á Rua i:ml'əx a: ruə* 11C. Cp. *ml* ~ *nl* in *iomlacht* (1.157). Unstressed final *ns* ~ *ms* in *ruacans* ~ *ruacams* (1.259) and *seileastarns* ~ *seileastrams* (1.362).
- > **v** in *annlann* **a:nlən** but also **a:vlən** 05M, perhaps also **a:mvlən** 135E, cp. > *amhlann* **a:ulən**, **a:vlən** LFRM. Cp. *adhnacal* > *annlacan*, *adhacac* **a:nləka:n**, **a:nləkən**, **a:vləka:n**, **a:vləkən** perhaps **a:uləkən** 894C, **a:vləka:n**.

1.141 Unlenited palatal n

Unlenited palatal *n* normally = **n'**, e.g. *cinneadh* **k'in'ə**, *nead* **n'ad**, *sníomh* **f'n'i:w**, *bin* **b'i:n'**, *oiris* **a:rn'əf**, *baint* **bant'**, *coinnleach* **k'i:nl'əx**.

The *n* in the palatal *rn* cluster sometimes sounds more like lenited *n*, e.g. *a cuid peictiúir dheasa tarraingthe a kid' p'ekd'ur' jæ:sə tærni:i* 11C1660. Also unlenited is *-n* of the article *an* and of *aon* and eclipsing *n-*, e.g. *an eochair a'n oxər'*, *aon iontas e:n' intəs*, *dhá n-iarraidh ga: n'ia:ra*. Exceptionally **n'** in the place-name *Doire an Fhéich* **dor'ə n'ē**: 897P (if this spelling of the place-name is etymological); cp. *Tigh nEathach* > *Tíne* 'Tynagh' in East Galway. For **n'**, **n'**, **n** in linking *n*, see 'Sandhi' (2.81). Regular in *grinneall* **gr'in'əl** generally (including 11C4724) but **gr'ind'əl** 11C.

Palatal *nn* > **n'** before *s*, e.g. *fuinnseog* **fin'fo:g**.

Palatal *nn* > **n'** (optionally) also in:

aoibhinn **i:v'ən'** generally, but consistently **i:v'ən'** 143Js;

broinn **bri:n'** generally, but *leanabh i mbroinn* **l'æ:n ə mri:n'** 05Md (perhaps corrupt or influenced by *buidhin*);

broinnghalach **brin'əlx** !(Acb)04B;

buinneach generally **bin'əx**, genitive **bin'i:**, but *na buinthe* 894C6 ⇒ **nə *bin'hi:**;

doinnín **daurn'i:n'** regularly, but in assimilation with final **n'** in **daurn'i:n'** M 'handle (of scythe)' (lexicalised); diminutive of *dorn*;

for **n'** ~ **n'** in *Féin(n)* see 'Sandhi' (2.57);

inchinn **m'hin** 46.480 [sic], **in'hən** M, P, **ihən** S, but also *inchinn*, *garla na hinchinne* **in'hən**, **garlā nā hin'hən** (ə) Mq, *ihinn* !894C6;
innis **in'əf**, but also **in'əf** a back-formation from syncopated forms with regular **nf**, e.g. *inseoidh infōi*, cp. *Inis* (1.143);
intinn: 'luə,i:nt'ən' *luathintinn*; 'luə,i:nt'ən'u:l' Mq *luathintinniúil*, 'luə- / 'lu:-i:nt'ən'əx Mq *luathintinneach* but also -i:nt'ən'əx;
ní, *níos* **n'i: n'i:**, etc., also **d'i:**, see 'Functors' (8.3);
sceinn **fk'in**, e.g. *sceinn sé fk'in' fē*, verbal noun **fk'in'ə** S, **fk'in'ə** 29Cq; also **fk'in** M;
To(i)nn Uí Fhloinn **tu:n i: li:n** S, **tu:n' i: li:n** 11C, **tu:n' i: li:n** ! (Apam)05M, 20C, also **ti:w i: li:n** M, **ti:w i: li:n** M, 898P; presumably influenced by (more common lexemes) *tóin*, *taobh* and *loing*.
 Máire, when queried about *glinne* **gl'in'ə** made an apparent mistake pronouncing **gl'in'ə** but also correct **gl'in'ə** [x1] Mq.
 Cp. *scaoin* CAR, *scaoinn* FFG20.

1.142 Lenited palatal *n*

Lenited palatal *n* normally **n'**, e.g. *ciúin* **k'u:n'**, *Áine* **ɑ:n'ə**, *cineadh* **k'in'ə**, *teine* **t'in'ə**, *do neart* **də n'art**. Nonlenition of *n* initially is now general (9.17 ff.).
 Following **v' < bh** (and denasalised *mh* in *domhain*), **n > n'**, e.g. *gaibhne* **gaivn'ə**, *Suibhne* **saivn'ə**, *doimhneacht* (treated as *doibhneacht*) **daivn'əxt** (less commonly also **-vn'** - (in speaker 06C) 1.82, 1.87),¹ including cases where *bh* is subsequently lost, e.g. *scríbhneoir* **fk'r'i:n'or'** S (also with *bh* 'restored' **fk'r'i:v'n'or'**, and **fk'r'i:v-n'or'** 66N); possible optional **n'** in (high register) surname (*Diarmaid*) *ó Duibhne*, *ó Duinn* **o: daivn'ə** / **dain'ə** / **devn'ə** / **dev'ən'ə** / **dain'** (the last variant only noted once, before pausa where the **n'** vs. **n'** contrast can be difficult to distinguish) also **o: dowən'** / **dōjən** 869PZCP161, 163; whereas *-mhn-* shows the coalescent effect of the shared nasality **> vn'**, **vr'**, **mn'**, **n'**, **r'** (1.83 ff.).
 Following *dh*, **n > n'**: *bruidhne* **bri:n'ə** 04B (genitive of *bruidhean*, cp. *ag bruidhin* **ə bri:n'** (Smds)04B), *an bhruidhin* **ən v'fi:n'** | 869P, *sa mbruidhin* **sə mri:n'** 21J; but also optionally **n'** in historical *bruidhin*, e.g. *sə mri:n'* 889P, *sa mbroinn* 7 !894C9, cp. *ach gleo agus troid agus bruidhin* **bri:n'** *agus réabadh* 11C; the derived adjective was noted as *bruidhneach* **bri:n'əx** 892M2429; *Loch Eidhnigh* **lox ain'ə** (male speaker from An Aird Mhóir).

1.143 Exceptions

Medially **n > n'** (optionally) in:

aithne generally **æ'n'hə**, but **æ'h'n'hə** 33M

Aonoileán in the place-name *Loch an Aonoileáin* **lox ən' e:n'il'ɑ:n'** 20M, resembling *aon*, numeral and indefinite adjective, which has **n'** before front vowels (similar to the article)

bréinleach, **-nl'** - **-nl'** - **-nl'**, SM

cp. *cainéal*¹ (*cainmeál*) FGB **kin'e:l** 889P

cp. *Eanáir* **an'ər'** S, **an'ər'** M (1.11)

¹ Cp. IEM: *aoibhneas* usually **i:v'n'əs**, but also **i:vn'əs** (IEM p. 68–9 n.1 line 60). Cp. p. 137 n. 3 above.

gein: *geineamhain* **g'ín'únt'** SM, *geineann* **g'ín'an** 20A, verbal noun also **g'ínt'** 01P, but in religious context (perhaps higher register), past impersonal *geineadh* **g'ín'ú'** !(MP)894Cs

gráinigh: *ghráineodh sé thú* **grá:n'ó:d fe' hu'** generally, but **grá:n'ó:x | f'e hu M** (etc.) influenced, perhaps, by forms of *gránna*, e.g. comparative *gráinne*

Inis generally **ín'əf** (in place-names) with genitive **ín'fə**, speaker 892M has *Inis Troigh* **ín'əs tro** ARN1523 but *Inis Leacain* **ín'əf 'L'ækən'** ARN1600; **n'** retained in second element of old compounds, e.g. *Muigh-Inis* **mi:n'əf** (< *magh* + *inis*),¹ *Fidh-Inis* **f'ín'əf**

leithne (the comparative of *leathan*) is generally **L'ín'hə**, cp. *bruidhne* (1.142)

Mainchín **mæn'hi:n'** 25M, 45M, 52J, **man'hi:n'** 64M, also **man'ín'** ~ **man'ín'**; with **n'** probably influenced by English 'Mannion', pronounced locally as **m'æ:n'an**, but also in a mixed form **ma:n'an** 20MI

pian; *piainín bheag* **p'íən'ín' v'og M**, but (in uncertain response to query) *dhe bharr na péine* **gə wær nə p'e:n'ə Mq**

péine Dinn, FGB (var. *péinne* FGB) *péinne dhearg* / *bhán* > **p'e:n'ə jæræg / wæn** 21J, also *péinn* **p'e:n'** 27Mdq, *péinn dhearg* **p'e:n' jæræg**

sain-eire > *seain-eire*, (recorded lenited) **hæ:n'ər'ə** 25Mn (reported by 25Mn from the speech of An tOileán Iarthach, Ros Muc)

sainiúil **sæ:n'ú:l S**

scáineadh and *scáinne* are differentiated by some speakers, e.g. **skæn'ə** vs. **skæn'ə** 37J, but not by others, e.g. both are singular **skæn'ə** for S84, and **skæn'əxi**: is the plural of *scáinne* **skæn'ə** S84, cp. the partial merger of *innis* and *Inis*

toibne (comparative of *toibeann*) **tebn'ə** Mq, with juncture, for expected **-bn'**, cp. *oipne* (*oibne*) DIL **ep'ən'ə**. Cp. *sleamhain* (1.144), *capall* > *caiple* (4.8). The token *lasair theine* **la'sər' 'hi:n'ə** | 11C2258 is exceptional, speaker 11C has regular *teine* **t'ín'ə**.

1.144 Final position

Nouns seemingly influenced by inflectional *-inn*:

bruidhin: see 1.142 above

Breatain > **br'ætən'** M

garmaín **garəmən'** ~ **garəmən'** S

marthain **marhən'**

caitheamh méachain generally **kahə m'ə:xən'**, but **kahə m'ə:hən'** [sic]

51P

cp. *méin*, *le do dheá-deá-méin* **l'e də ja: d'ə: m'ē:n'** !894Ct but *dheá-mhéinn* !894C9

uamhain generally **u:n'** but (*Garraí*) *Uamhain Mhóir* (*gari:*) **u:n' woir'** 27Jl.

¹ T. S. Ó Máille (1962: 56; 1984: 55) believes that *magh* 'plain' does not suit the topography of Maínis and suggests *Muing-inis* as base, which is of course a possibility. If, however, *magh* is etymological it could refer to the central, relatively level sand-hill in Maínis (e.g. Rob.96; Clad1; S. Ridge 1969: 1); large sand-hills being rarer and therefore more significant in Conamara than wetland. This reference of *magh* is suggested by near-by *Maoras*, perhaps from *magh* + *iorras*, where there is also a substantial sand-hill. In both places the main part of the sand-hill is called *an Dumhaigh Mhóir*.

Both *orsain* and *ursainn* are found in DIL s.v. *airsa*, our dialect has *o/ursainn o/urfə́n̪*.

Adjectives:

domhain daun̪ >> *daun̪* (presumably from syncopated forms in *-vn̪-*), e.g. *an Mhuráite Dhomhain ə wurə́t̪ə ɣaun̪* 04B; also *doimhinmhoch 'daín̪ wox̪* (Anl)13P with *daín̪* - very similar to syncopated forms, e.g. plural and comparative *doimhne daiv̪n̪ə*
sleamhain generally *ʃl̪əwə́n̪*, but *ʃl̪əv̪ə́n̪* 29C; for *n̪* ~ *n̪* in comparative forms, see 3.63.

Verb:

cosain > *koʃə́n̪*, VN *coisint koʃə́nt̪*; presumably influenced by syncopated forms with *n̪* regular following *s*, e.g. *cosnaigheann koʃn̪i:n̪*.

The change *n̪* > *n̪* is pervasive in younger speaker 66N's (An Aird Mhóir) usage, e.g.

amháin ə'wə́n̪, (*ta*)*spáineann sé spə́n̪ə́n̪ ʃe*, *móin mu:n̪*,
baineann ba'n̪ə́n̪, *múineann mu:n̪ə́n̪*, *tóin tu:n̪*, *seachtain ʃə'xtə́n̪*.

I have also heard *gaineamh ga'n̪ə* >> *ga'n̪ə* from a female speaker (slightly younger than 66N) in An Aird Mhóir. For an older speaker (25T) with some optional *n̪* > *n̪*, see 1.407.

1.145 Other developments

ln normally = *ll*, i.e. *l* and *l̪*, e.g. *olna olə*, *guailne guə́l̪i*; sometimes *guə́l̪n̪i*, etc.; similarly in derivatives of *muileann*: *muillne mil̪n̪ə* 35E_q (plural), *muilleoir muillneoir* DIL *mil̪o'r̪*, *mil̪n̪o'r̪* 18J, 35E, also *muillinneoir* FFG, *muilinnteoir mil̪ə́nt̪o'r̪* 18J. Nonpalatal *-tn̪-* > *nh̪* in *Breatnach br̪ə́nhə́x* S. Palatal *tn̪* > *n̪h̪* in *tainneamh ta'n̪hu* and related forms. The place-name now spelt both *Iorras Aintheach* and *Iorras Aithneach* is perhaps a reflex of *Iorras Aitneach* (< *aiteann*) given its medial *n̪h̪*, i.e. *ə́n̪hə́x*. This is spelt *Irrus Aitneach* (15th century) and ... *Aithneach* (16th century) in a poem edited by J. Carney (1940) where medial *-th-* is confirmed by the rhyme (with *tait[h]mead*) and 'Irrosainhagh' by O'Flaherty (Hardiman 1846: 97), and taken to be from *ainbhtheach* 'stormy' by O'Donovan, cited by Hardiman (1846: 97 note); *ainbhtheach* (being an adjective from the noun *anfadh*) would regularly yield (via *ainibhtheach*) **ə́n̪ə́f̪ə́x* or (via cluster simplification to *aintheach*) **ə́n̪hə́x* (cp. *anaithiúil*, *anfúil*, *anfach* FGB). Cp. Robinson and Mac Con Iomaire (2002: 17–8). Cp. *ceist(n)igh k'eft̪ə k'eft̪ə k'eft̪ə M*.

The historical value of intervocalic *n̪(n)* is not always reflected in derivation, e.g. *gunna* > *guinnéara gin̪eərə* 11C_{tn}, > *guinnín gin̪i:n̪* M; *gúna* > *guínín gu:n̪i:n̪* M.

Unstressed *n̪* is sometimes syllabic in realisation, e.g. *na hÉireannaí nə he:r̪̪i*: 35E9204, –9, –15; with further reduction in *go leor dhe na cainteannaí seo gə́ l̪o:r̪ gə́ nə kan̪h̪i: ʃo* 892M1258.

Nonpalatal *n̪* optionally > *n̪* in *crónachan*, normally *kru:nə́xə́n̪* (e.g. 11C) but note *cróinneachan* 875T1, influenced by *maidneachan*; also *krū:hə́xə́n̪* 06C presumably influenced by *oíche i:hə́* which often follows.

One speaker was noted with *tafann* > *tə́fəl* 18J for common *tə́fə́n̪*. Cp. *tafairt* CAR and *sclamhairt*, *sclafairt*.

The borrowing *Véineas* FGB > (genitive) *v̪e:nə́ʃ* (Abf)03C.

n is lost optionally in *inchinn* in medial position: **ihən** S, ([pronounced] *ihinn*) **!894C6**, through dissimilation, cp. *muinchille* **muhərɪɫ̪ə**, etc. (1.114); *smaoint*:- *smaoití* **!894C9**, *smaoitíos* **!869P**; *airndel* > *airdeall* **ard̪əl** (O’Rahilly 1942: 217); *gaimbín*, *gaimbí* M, FFG; also lost in *fí ná feá* SM *fí ná feáin* FFG; *meann gabhair* FGB **m̪æ ɣaur̪** SM. See also the article *an* (6.83 ff.) and *aon* (8.241).

1.146 *n* > *r*

Original lenited *n* becomes *r* after consonants, both initially and less frequently in medial position. More specifically Cn- > Cr-, where C = initial *g*, *c*, *t*, *m*, *mh*; preposed *t* of the article and *t* as mutation take optional **r**, as do medial *m* and *mh* in general, e.g.

gnaoi gri:, *cnáimh kra:v̪*, *Conchobhar kroxu:r* (perhaps also **kruxu:r**), *múthán tru:hən*, *mná mra:*, *an tsneachta ən̪ t̪n̪ˈaxtə* / *tr̪ˈaxtə* / *t̪n̪ˈaxtə*, *géimneach ɡ̊e:mn̪ˈəx ɡ̊e:mr̪ˈəx*.

A rule of lenition of the *sn*- cluster as *shn*- **hr**- was used by a small minority of speakers, corresponding to current **hn**- and progressive (nonlenition) **sn**-. Some older speakers (born in the 1890s) and one current speaker have lenition of *sn*- to *shn*- **hr**-, e.g. *shnáimh h̪ř̪ä:v̪* (nonpalatal examples only, 9.24; p. 1690 n. 1); otherwise *shn*- **hn**- is the rule. A younger speaker has unlenited (plural) *snáthadaí sra:hədi:* **81A** through analogy with the form following the article *an tsnátha(i)d ən̪ tra:həd̪(̊)*.

When following plosives medially, i.e. when plosive and *n* are heterosyllabic, *n* is generally retained, e.g. *leicneach ɫ̪ˈekn̪ˈəx*, also *macnas maknəs* generally, but *macras* **852SBts135**, **!894C9**, *mākrəs* **894Ct**, **05M**. Cp. *-mn*- (1.148).

In the initial clusters **r** is by now virtually universal. Two conservative speakers are **894Cs** (Caladh Fhínse) and **892M** (Dumhaigh Ithir) who have, for example, common *cnoc knūk*, *cnoic knik̪* **894Cs**, *k̪n̪ik̪* **892M**. They frequently have a clearly released initial stop, i.e. **k̪n̪**, **k̪n̪**. No quantitative analysis was made of their usage but **894Cs** has more **kn**- than **892M**, e.g. *cnáimh knä:v̪* **894Cs**.

1.147 Exceptions

As discussed under ‘Nasalisation’ (1.329), both **SID.46** and **869P** use **Cr**- overwhelmingly. Speaker **11P** (Leitir hArd) has *c(h)neasta kn̪ˈæ:stə xn̪ˈæ:stə* **11P** in his recording. Seán (**12S**) was recorded using **kn**- only in citation forms of the rarer words *cnádaí* and *gnaoi*: *cnádaí*, *cnádaí(the)* **knä:di:** S, *tháinig mo gnaoi orthub sin ha:n̪ək̪ m̪ə ɣni: orhəb̪ f̪in̪* S. Máire (**16M**) was recorded using **kn**- in citation forms **kn̪ˈasəxt** *cneasacht* and **k̪n̪æg** *cnag*, in reply to a request for plural in *gníomhannaí maithe gn̪i:vəni: mahə* (‘deeds’), in translating ‘he used to win’ *ghnóthadh sé gnu:həx̪ fe* [sic], *ag ghnóthachtáil ə gnu:xta:l̪*.

The verb *gnóthaigh* retains *n* in the common salutation most often *go ngnóthaighe Dia dhuit* (**gə**) **nu:i̪ d̪iə ɣut̪** **05M**, **10Bq**, M, **20My**, where initial **ŋ** is lost, but sometimes **gə ŋnu:i̪** ... M, (**ŋ**)**rū:i̪** ... **10Bq**, **ŋrū:i̪** ... **23C**; in emphatic pronunciation **gə ˈɡnu:i̪** ... **20Cq**. Cp. *cén ghnotha atá* ... **k̪ˈe: ŋū t̪ə** ... **892M2741** (speaker **892M** has common Cn-). The phrase *a chonách sin ort* is generally **xra:x f̪in̪ ort** but in response to query Máire has **hna:x f̪in̪ ort** Mq. The (optional) retention of **n** in these two set expressions may be related to their initial continuants, i.e. **ŋ** in *ngn*- and **x** in *ch(o)n*-. Speaker **889P** was noted with

regular **Cr-** in his recording, e.g. *gcnoic*, (*g*)*c(h)noc*, *gnás*, *mná*, *mhnaoi* 'griḱ', **krūk** **xrūk** **gṛūk**, **grā:s**, **mrā:**, **vṛi:** **889P**; except in *chnoic* **xnīḱ** [x2] **889P** (note initial **x-**). Speaker **21Pg** claims to use *cnoc* **kruk** but *muinntir na gcnoc* **mi:nṫ'ər' nə gnūk** / **gnuk** / **gruk**.

Words from a higher register tend to retain **n**, e.g. *leorghníomh* **894C2**, at least in initial clusters (possibly also in medial clusters but I have no clear evidence). In conversation Máire was noted with **n** in *gnás* only, a rather infrequently used word: *gnás*, *dhe ghnásannaí* **gnās**, **gə ɣnāsəni:** M. Similarly, speakers **11C** and **18J** have regular vernacular **r** except for **gṇās**. Speaker **35E** is the youngest speaker with **Cn-** in apparently traditional usage. He has regular **Cr-** but frequent *gnás* **gnās** (including *seanghnás* 'fæ:ɣnās) and also **Cn-** in *ina chnap meirge* **nə 'xnā'p 'm'ər'əg'ə** **35E8428** (note initial **x-**).

For the conservative use of **Cn-** outside of the vernacular, see 'Higher Register' (10.27). The obsolescent lenited root of the verb *déan* is *ghní* which is realised as **n'i:**, except for one speaker noted with **r'i:** (one token) which is most likely a later development from **n'i:**.

1.148 -mn-

Medial palatal -mn- > **mn'** ~ **mr'**:

géimneach: **g'e:m'n'əx** 46.25 (corresponding to *géimneach* (x2+) in **869P2**), **g'e:mr'əx** S, -**mr'**- appears to be the most common variant, at least in Maínis;

imní: *bhuail imní* **wuəl' i:mn'i:** ... (Smbb)**04B**; **i:mn'i:** **892M1265**, S, **i:mr'i:** SM;

léimneach: **L'e:mr'əxt** **26P** also **L'e:mn'əxt**;

Luimneach **li:mr'əx** **25S**, **li:mr'əx** **866Etn**, S, **li:mn'əx** **894Cs**, genitive *Luimnigh(e)* **li:m'n'ɪ** 46.365, **li:mn'i:** **869P**, **894Cs**.

For medial palatal -mhn-, e.g. *suaimhneas*, including minority *imní* > *imhní*, see 1.83 ff. Medial nonpalatal -mn- is retained, e.g. *formna* **forəmnə**.

Medial nonpalatal -mhn- is regularly retained, e.g. **gāvnəx** *gamhnach*, **L'āvnəxt** *leamhnacht*; so *tamhnach* **tā'vnəx** generally, but only speaker **20M** has **tā'vnəx** **tā'vřəx**.

nl ~ *rl* in *múnla* **mu:nlə** generally (also **mūnlə**), but **mu:rlə** **01P**.

Cp. > **n**, **r**, **l** in *chn* in proper names:

Cróchnaid **krə:xnəd'**, **krə:xrəd'**, **krə:xlət'**, **krə:xlən'**, **kruəxlən'**, **kno:xnət'**, **klo:xnət'**, *Cruachnait* Rob.71, 'Croghnett' (Freeman 1936: 61);

Cnocán Sheachnais **krukə:n hə:xnəf** SM, *Céibh Sheachnais* **k'e:v hə:xnəf** **10B**, in *Aill Sheachnais* **ən ə:l' hə:xrəf** **10B**, cp. *Aill Eachrais* **ə:l' æxrəf** **56Pe**.

rn ~ *rl* in FGB *bambairne* > **bə:mbərnə** SID.46 Vocab, (perhaps for **bə:mbərn'ə** (better still **bə:mbərn'ə**). In response to query regarding this entry an informant (probably **12S**) pronounced **bə:mbərl'ə**.

1.149 Other instances

Palatal *n* > **r'** in *ainm* **ə'n'əm'** >> **ə'r'əm'** (cp. *ainmneachaí*, *ainmnigh* with optional **ə'n'əm'r'**); in environment of *l* in *laidin* **lad'ən'** generally, but *laidir* in FFG. In possible assimilation:

Inis Bearchain **ĩn'əf b'ærəxən' 18J**, **ĩn'əf b'ærəxər' 11C**, **ĩn'əs b'ærəxər' 46C**, spelt 'Inisbarachain' in S. Ridge (1969: 82). Cp. *Seoigí Innis Bhearchain* **!21J**. This toponym is often derived from *Inis Bearcháin* (e.g. Rob.129), although reduction of unstressed *-án* is otherwise unattested in the dialect. A phonologically less problematic base would be *Bearrchain* (unhistorical genitive) < *Berrchon* (genitive of *Berrchú*; see Ó Riain 1985: 271). Cp. *Neachtain* **ń'æxtər'**, 'Inyshtrevane' *Innis Treamhair* (p. 322 n. 2).

In dissimilation:

baineann **bin'ən** generally, but **bir'ən 894Ct**, *buireann* **!894C9**, *buireannach* (rhyme) **894C9**, **bir'ən 66N** (mother from district of An Cheathrú Rua), **bir'ən 56Pe** (and generally in area of Aill na Brón according to **56Pe**), perhaps also **bor'ən 81A** (influenced by **f'er'ən fireann**);

Ó Neachtain **o: ń'æxtər'**;

Uaithín **wun'hi:n' wur'hi:n' won'hi:n' wer'hi:n'** and perhaps **wohi:n'** (1.28).

Nonpalatal *n* > **r** in *muna* **marə** (late by-form *mana* DIL s.v. *má*); *Donnchadh dunəxə* but also *Donnchadh Brún dorəxə brū:n 03C* perhaps influenced by *dorcha* (corresponds to *Donnchadha* [sic] *Brún* CABI §231(e) v. 3; cp. Co. Clare *Ó Donnchadha dōrəxu'*¹ Holmer 1962 §119).

Cp. nonpalatal *go ndéana Dia grásta orthabh* generally (**gə**) **ń'i:nə ...** but **ń'irə d'ia 'grə:st orhəb 11C**, similarly *beannacht Dé lena anam* generally ... **ŕ'e nənəm** but ... **ŕ'e' rənəm 05J**; palatal *má ghníonn mǝ* **ń'i:n** generally, but **mǝ r' in 896P**. For *nr* clusters, see 'Epenthetic Consonants' 1.372 ff.

1.150 *n(n)* > d

In the speech of a few speakers denasalisation of *n(n)* occurs, i.e. **n > d (nd)**, **ń' > d'**. This is found especially in particles and functors (i.e. initially under weak stress), particularly in sandhi position following *s*. Speaker **25M** in particular has more extensive use of denasalisation. Indeed, it is because of his frequent use of this denasalisation that it is described here rather than in Chapter 2 'Sandhi'.

n > nd */N_V:* *an leagAN a bheadh a'inne* **l'ægənd ə v'ex æ:n'ə 20C**;¹

n > d */s_:* *agus NUAIR a chas* **əgəs duər' ə xə:s 892M1100**;
agus NUAIR a rinne **əgəs do:ər' ə ri:n'ə 892M1537**;
goidéard é fíos NÁ fáth do thurais
gə d'e:rd e' f'is da fa: də horəf 04B;
anois NUAIR atá mná ... **ń'if duər' ə ta nə mǝā: ... 04Br**;
agus INA dhiaidh sin féin **gus də jiə fin' he:n' 21Pt**;
/r_: *ag cuir NA coise uaidh, ... a bheith ag cuir NA coise*
| ə kɪr də kofə wai^{əʔ} | ... ə v'e kɪr də kofə | 894Cs;
/l_: *ascaill NA mná* **æ:skəl də mǝ: 25M**;
/t, d_: *dho mo thuiscint INA dhiaidh sin*
gə mǝ hiʃk'ən' də jiə fin' 21Pt;
ʃa:xt du hoxt 66L *seacht NÓ a hocht* (by far the youngest

¹ Unless *do bheadh* (otherwise not found in IA vernacular) or a slip of the tongue.

- speaker noted with **n** > **d**);
 ... *a raibh muid* *INA gcónaí ann* *ə ro mu də gu:ni: a:n* 04Br;
 initially: *NUAIR a bhí mé ...* *dor' i: m'e ...* 21Pt often;
 "d *NUAIR a ...* | "dor' ə ... 43M;
 nd *nors, NA dochtúirí nors* | *ndə doxtu:r'i:* 21Pt;
bhí leai(d)- [retarted to *bhí na ...*] *NA 'Kellys' sin ...*
v'i l'æ: də k'el'i:s fin' ... 21Pt;
LENA athair l'e: | dæhər' | 25M.
 /V_: *bhí sí* *INA bád mhaith v'i f'i də 'bæd 'wā* 889P;
chuaidh sé seo UN oibre xuə fe fo d aibr'ə 11C;
ANONN ədu:n 20C.
 n' > d' /s_: regularly in 34M's speech in
bhí go maith agus ní raibh go dona
v'i: gə ma: ɔgəf d'i: ro gə dunə 34M; also in
agus NÍL sé i bhfad siar ... gus d'i:l' fe wa:d fjar ... 21Pt;
 /ch_: *ach ní raibh an mhóin ... ax d'i: ro n wu:n' ...* 899P;
ach ní raibh mé i ndan aon tae a ól
ax d'i: ro m'e: na:n e:n' fe: ol 21Pt;
 /cht_: *ag imeacht IN éineacht le ... IN éineacht leis na ...*
g'im'əx d'e:n'əx l'e ... | n'e:n'əx l'ef nə ... 21Pt.
 /V_: *go NDEACHAIGH sé gə d'æ:xə fe* 04B4;
marach go NDEACHAIGH ... marəx gə d'æ:xə ... 25M;
istigh IN Oileán Lachan ə'f'ɪ d' il'a:n la:xən 25M;
 initially: *NEAD, nead déanta aige | d'æ:d | n'æ:d d'i:nt eg'ə* 25M;
NÍL mórán ... d'i:l' mō:rən ... 25M.
 n' > ɖ initially: in a borrowing: 'N- [hesitation] NO' *ní bheadh a fhios*
 n' (l) ɖo: n' i v'ehəts | 20C.

Cp. *san airneán sə dæ:rd'a:n* 897P (perhaps in dissimilation). Note also in the *m* cluster in *Carna* *kær:nə* >> *kær:n'də* 11C.

For negative imperative particle *ná* as *dæ:*, see 8.16. For similar denasalisation of *m*, see 1.158; for delateralisation, see *l* (1.171).

n' > t' also occurs, in:

- /ch_: *dhá mbeadh NÍOS mó ann gə: m'ox t'i:s mu: a:n* 21Pt
 (for nasalisation here, see the brief discussion of 21Pt's usage in 1.300).

1.151 **n** > **nh**

Lenited *n* (rarely also unlenited *n*) becomes **nh** in many words, especially in words with an (original) fricative in the coda of the following syllable. These words are classified as members of the unhistorical (**nh**) variable class with variants <**nh**> and <**n**>, <**n'h**> and <**n'**> (a subset of (SONh) 1.394).

anadh > *ana* ING *anə anhə* S

bleánach *bl'ə:nhəx* SM

caileannógach, etc., FGB: *caidhl mo leanthóg* FFG, *kail'əwər ɣla:nɔ:g* 21J

canach *kənhəx* (~ *kənəx*) M, *canach* FFG

caonach *ki:nhəx* SM

céanna **k'ɛ:nə** generally but **k'ɛ:nhə** **899N** including *ag an am chéanna* **ɛg' ən a:m x'ɛ:nhə** **899N**
cionach FFG **k'unhəx** M, cp. *cointheach* **kin'həx** S
Con Fhaolaidh **kən'hi:lə** heard from a youth from An Aird, presumably a case of metathesis of more common **kə'ni:lhə**
críonach **kr'i:nhəx** M; *críonachán* **kr'i:nəxən** >> **kr'i:nhəxən** Mq
críonna **kr'i:nə** generally, but **kr'i:nhə** **74N**
cúnamh **ku:nhə** **61S**, **64Me** (cf. 1.153; generally **ku:nə**, e.g. only **ku:nə** recorded from Seán and Máire but **12S**perm and Máire commented *Déarthainn gur ku:nhə a' rud ceart*, cp. *arú arhu:* (1.190))
deannach **d'æ:nhəx** SM, cp. *deannachtach* **d'æ:nəxtəx** SM, cp. *bó:hər nə dr'æ:nhi:* P possibly from *Bóthar na Deannaí*
feadhach **f'æ:nəx** >> **f'æ:nhəx** SM
fóifíneach FGB, **fʊəf'i:nhəx**, cp. *fionnfadach*, etc., **f'i:nhəx**
lann > *lanna* **lanhə** most common in plural **lanəxi:** **lanhəxi:** **lanəxi:**, etc., but singular also **lanhəx** **01C6494**, **lanəx** **21Pg6495**, and **la'n** **56Bq**
meanadh **m'æ:nhə** S
mianach **m'i:nhəx**
míonach **m'un(h)əx**
míonacha (in FGB this is a variant of *míonachar*, also *míonbhach* FGB) **m'un(h)əxi:**, **m'unəxi:**, etc.,
sceanach **ʃk'æ:nhəx** M
sianáil **ʃi:ni:l'** generally, but **ʃi:nhi:l'** (Asdd)**13P**
sionnach **ʃunəx** and genitive / plural **ʃunə** generally (including S), but once recorded as **ʃunhə** S, also **ʃunhə** **05M**, **21Pt**, nominative **ʃunhəx** **05M**, **37M**, **74N**, **15Pr**, **20MI**, **27Cb** (perhaps **ʃinhəx**)
spríonach (cp. *splíonach*, *spíonach*, *spíonlach* FGB), **spr'i:nhəx**, genitive **spr'i:nhi:** S
spúnóg **spu:nə:g** generally, but **spu:nho:g** **03V**.

1.152 Palatal *n* > *n'h*

buinneach, normally **bin'əx**, genitive *buinnighe* **bin'i:**, but the transcription *buintheighe* **894C6** indicates ***bin'hi:**
coinín, generally **kin'i:n'**, but **kin'hi:n'** **20M** (Gabhla), **79MI** (Leitir Deiscirt)
geoineach **g'u:n'həx** SM, *giúnach* FFG
loinidh **lin'hə**, also **glin'hə** **23Bq**
sine **ʃin'hə** ~ **ʃin'ə** **43M** (**43M**'s parents, Seán and Máire, have **ʃin'ə** as their main, if not their only, variant), plural **ʃin'hiəxi:** **899D6487**, **01C6487**; **20Aq** has **ʃin'ə** > **ʃin'ho:xi:** **ʃin'he:əxi:**
(smaoiniú smi:n'u' verbal noun (Acs)**04B**, cp. *smaoineoinn smi:n'ho:n'* !(Ams)**04B**).

Also in unsynopated alternant *níor aithníos n'ir æ'hən'hi:s* **05M** from regular unsynopated *aithin æ'hən'* and synopated *aithníos æ'n'hi:s*, etc.

1.153 Lexical class (nh)

The class of words with (nh) is quite consistent in Iorras Aithneach but some lexemes, for example *cúnamh* and *sionnach*, have **nh** for only a minority of

speakers and families. *cúnamh kurnhə* was noted in Maínis from **12J** and **23B** and their children **61S** and **64Me**; *sionnach funhəx* was noted in Leitheadach from **20M1**, in Maoras from **15Pr**, in the adjacent townland An Aird Thiar from **27Cb** (perhaps *finhəx*) also in An Aird Thoir from **05M**, her son **37M**, his daughter **74N**, and his wife **44N** (Loch Con Aortha; **44N** may well have acquired this realisation since her marriage into An Aird Thoir). (We can mention here that the rare use of **h** in *colbha kolhu* is also heard in An Aird Thoir.) Recall *nch* > **n'h**, e.g. *inchinn in'hən'*, *Mainchín mæn'hi:n'*, *man'hi:n'*, etc. Cp. the surname *Uainín*, *Uaithnín win'hi:n'*, etc.

1.154 **ng**

ng normally = **ngg ngg'**, e.g. *cnang krā'ngg*, *eanga aṅgə*, *muing mingg'*, *loinge lingg'ə*. In eclipsis *ng* = **ṅ ṅ'**, e.g. *ngrá ṅra:*, *ngeinn ṅ'i:n'*.

Radical *ng* is sometimes **ṅ**, especially in clusters, including in sandhi clusters (2.34):

brionglóidí often **br'i:ṅlɔ:d'i:** **M**, **b'i:ṅlɔ:d'i:** **36P**;

daingnigh, pst **ṽæ:ṅn'ə** **26P**, VN **da:ṅn'w:**, pst **ṽæ:ṅn'ə**, vaj **ṽæ:ṅn'i:hə** **52J**,

VN **dæ:ṅn'w:**, **daṅgn'w:**, **daṅgn'w:** **M**, vadj **dæ:ṅn'i:hə** **06C**;

gling gleaing gl'ing' gl'æ:ṅ'(g') **S**, *gl'ing' gl'æ:ṅg'* **M**;

ionga, plural *ingneachaí* optionally **ṅn'əxi:**, **ṅn'əxi:** **56Bq**;

long, **luṅg m'e** **S**, **luṅ fe** **S**, **luṅgədər** **S**, verbal noun **luṅgə** **SM**, less often **luṅə** **SM**, (**lu:ṅgə** **Mperm**);

moing mingg', *moing mhara mingg' wa:rə* **S**, *moing bháite miṅ' wa:t'ə* **S**.

Note speaker **04B1**'s use in the following examples *i do loing leat mé ə də liṅ'* [x3] / **li:ṅ'** [x1] **l'æ:t m'e**, *loing agus l'ingg' ogəs*, *loingiseacha lingg'əfəxə*, with 4/4 tokens of **-ṅ'** before **l'** and 2/2 tokens of **ngg'** before vowels. A noncluster example occurs in *ionga* plural **nə hiṅəxi:** **P** (probably based on the cluster in the common plural alternate **ṅn'əxi:**).

Sometimes also **ṅ⁹** especially in clusters: *dhá gcanglóthá ga ga'ṅ⁹lahə* **20Cq**.

Rarest are examples of **ṅ** intervocalically, noted from speaker **892M**:

cheangal x'ā'ṅəl; *dhá theanga é ga hā'ṅ e*;

bhí teanga mhaith Bhéarla aige, ach thug sé an teanga i gceart ...

v'i 't'æ'ṅgə wā **v'eri** eg'ə | **ax** | **huk fe:** **n'** 't'æ'ṅə | ə **'g'æ:rt** ...

Also in the environment of another nasal in *daingean dæṅ'an* **872P** (cp. his *daingneofí dæṅn'of'i:* **872P**), *Béal an Daingin b'e:l ə dæ:ṅ'an* **13J**.

There are also examples of obsolescent **ṅ** in final position:

866E: *long*, ... *loing*, ... *loing*, **'lūṅ** | ... **'līṅ** | ... **'līṅ** |;

SID.46: *cumhang* ... **ku:ṅ** (or **kūṅg** or **ku:ṅg**) **46.881**.

Final *ng* preceded by an unstressed vowel > **n'** **n**, e.g. *aisling æ:f'l'ən'* **!(Aár)04B**, *fairsing farf'ən'*, *feoirling f'or:l'ən'*; *éalang e:lən*; (earlier *eascong* >) *eascann askən*, *falaing falən'*. Note *arrann* also *arraing* with two by-forms **arən**, **arən'**, now spelt *arann*, *arrainn* respectively. Verbal nouns are further developed with additional **-t**, e.g. *coimhling kaivl'ənt'*.

1.155 Exceptions

> **n'** in some clusters; preceded by **r** in *tairnge tar:n'ə*, cp. syncopated forms of *tarraing*, e.g. *tairngighthe tar'n'i:(hə)* corresponding to nonsyncopated

tarraing **tarən'**; preceded by *l* in *fuilngim* **fel'n'im'** corresponding to non-syncopated *fuiling* **fel'ən'**. Also in *congaibh* > **kin'ə**, VN *congháil* **kin'ail**, cp. *tógháil* > **to:g'ail**.

> **g** in: *manglam* FGB > *máglam* CAR (with *a* > *á* before *ngl* or subsequent *ng* > *g*);

seangán normally **fungga:n**, but note *sio'gán* 894C9 indicating ***fuga:n**; *tarrngaire* DIL, *tairngire*, *tarrngaire* IGT > *targair* **tar:əgər'** SM, FFG, the **-r(ə)g-** is old here with loss of *n* in clusters regular in Old Irish, cp. (from DIL) *tairgiriú* Wb 19c3, *tair[n]giri* LU 9834, *tairrgire* Gen xlv 5, see Thurneysen (1946: 112).

Cp. **n** in **lūnskā:n** 869P (14 *lūnscán*) perhaps a blend of *longadán* FGB and *luascán*.

dingthe > *dingníthe* has **gn'** ~ **gn'** in *daingean dingthe* **dæŋg'ən d'ign'i:hə** / **d'ign'i:hə** / **d'ign'i:hə** M, with variant in **g'** possibly influenced by more regular intervocalic **gg'** in *daingean*; note that medial **gn** is rare. This adjective, *dingthe*, is the only form of *ding* attested, the noun is *geinn* **g'i:n'**.

1.156 Medial *ng*

Medial *ng* is lost in *p(e)inginn* **p'i:n'** (presumably from syncopated inflected forms), genitive **p'i:n'ə**, plural **p'i:n'ə(xi)**.¹ *Vngn* > *Vghn* > *V'n*, or *Vngn* > *V'n* through direct loss of *ng* and compensatory lengthening: *cungnamh* **ku:nə**, *iongnadh* **i:nə** and by analogical re-formation *iongantas* **intəs** (although *iongantas* > **ioghantas* (through nasal dissimilation) > *íontas* is also a possibility). Eclipsed *ng* is often lost, perhaps through velar dissimilation, in *go ngnóthaighe Dia* ... **gə nui: d'ia yut'** M, **nui: d'ai ji:b'** M, least often **gə ŋnui:** ... M. It is implied by the spelling *droing dri:* (genitive *droinge* **dri:n'ə**) IAIM p. 76 §716 that *draoi* 'multitude' **dri:** can be derived from *droing* through loss of final *ng* (cp. *muing* **mī:** IAIM p. 348 §1587; SID1.54). It may, however, (in our dialect) be a form of *Draoi* (*Draí* **dri:** which is a by-form of *Traí* **tri:** (1.209).

ngc normally **ŋk ŋk'**, e.g. *splangc* **splaŋk**, *Cingcighis* **k'ŋk'i:f**. Exception: the borrowing *baincéar* > *bainicéar* in *bhí an bainicéar cliste* ... **v'i: ŋ ba:n'ək'e:r k'ift'** ... !(Abr)04B. If 'banker' was borrowed as **baŋk-**, this development might imply that **ŋk** clusters are interpreted phonemically as **nk**. Cp. *-icéar(a)*, *-itéara* (1.57).

1.157 *m*

m normally = **m m'**.

ms ~ *mhs* in *aimsigh*, *d'aimsigh* **dæ'vʃə** M, 12J, P, *aimsiú* **æv'mʃu** M; *pramsáil* (< 'prance') **pra'msa:l'** generally, but **prā'vsal'** 20C; see 1.92.

mr ~ *mhr* in *coimrí* < *comairghe* (c. *cáol leis iad*) IGT, **ki:mr'i:** 08B, SM, **kimr'i:** also *coimhrí* FGB **ki:vr'i:** ~ **ki:vr'i:** M.

mn ~ *mhn* in *mísceam(h)naí(the)* **m'i:,ʃk'ävni:hə** 04B, **m'i:,ʃk'ävni:** 35E7397,

¹ Speaker 63S tells me that he was given the example *luach na peinginne* **luəx nə p'i:n'ə**, in the phrase *ní fiú* ..., as an example of the peculiar pronunciation for which the Ó Dubháin brothers, my speakers 881J and 894Cs, were noted. These speakers had the short vowel in **p'i:n'ə** possibly from their mother whose people were native of the Sraith Salach area. See also *as cionn* (1.173).

but also *m'í:fg'avniə* *m'í:fg'amniə* FFG *mísceam(h)naíthe*, *mí-sceamnaithe* 875PCAR also s.v. *beirliún*; note Lhuyd (1707) *sgeamnnaighthi* s.v. 'lautus' perhaps from *geanmnaí*. The development might have been *geanmnaí* > *sceanmnaí*, with prefix **mí-sceanmnaíthe* > *mí-sceamnaíthe* > *mí-sceamhnaíthe*.

The intervocalic consonant in the root in *seama(i)r* (FGB, Dinn) and derived *seamróg* (FGB, also IWM) alternates between *m* and *w̥*; the cluster in the derived noun also has fudged alternants *mvr* and *nvr*. Examples:

sema(i)r DIL: *ʃæmər* SM, *seamhair* (Mhuire) FFG19, 20; *seamaire féir* *ʃæmər'ə f'ér'* S, also *ʃæməd'ə f'ér'*, *seamaire Mhuire ʃæmər'ə wir'ə* 21Jq;
seamhró(i)g *ʃāwro:g* 894Cs, *ʃæ'v̥ro:g* 05M, *ʃæ'mro:g* 27Mdq, *ʃæ'mvro:g* S, *ʃanvro:g* 21Jq.

For *-mn-* > *-mr-* > *mhr*, see 1.83 ff.

Cp. *forcamás* (in Con[nacht] *forcamhás*) Dinn: *forcamhás* CAR (also FFG20, 32, not known to Mq who has *forbhás* here).

(Cp. *moing migg'*, genitive *moinge migg'ə* (e.g. 11C), generally; but *v̥i:ŋ'g'*, *m'v̥i:ŋ'g'* 46Mp 54, *mh-* is frequent in SID1.54, these examples presumably have a preceding elided article.)

m > *n* (~ *m*) in *iomlacht u:mləxt* S, 21Pt but also *u:nləxt* 21Pt, *inləxt* M, spelt *úmhacht* ! CABI §242(g) v. 3, cp. *Aill na hIomlacht a:l nə hū:mləxt* 18J7803, -9. Cp. *nl* ~ *ml* in *ionlach* (1.140). Unstressed in the preposition *dochum* > *chun* ən. Also *Crom Dubh* > *ru:n dɪ* 25M, with *m* common before dental *d* and assimilated > *n* and *-ch* C- assimilated to *-ch* in, e.g. *Domhnach Crom Dubh*.

1.158 Denasalisation of *m*

Denasalisation of *n* > *d* is described in 1.150; there is rarer denasalisation of *m*, e.g.

gan meáchan gəm b'ā:xən 889P, *Féilim a Cúil f'el'əb' ə 'ku:l'* 11C,
fear misnighe f'ær b'ij'n'i 18J8828,
 cp. *blas na meala blais nə b'a:lə* 00Ttn.

There are rare instances of non-nasal labial release of *m* in clusters (1.375), e.g.

seomra fu:m^brə, and *anseo i mbliana ən'fo ə m^bl'ienə* 11C.

The stop seems to be partially oral in one token of *Maoras m^bi:rəs* 20C.

m > *b* in *méadail* > *béadail* >> *bléadail* (commonly lenited with article and possessive, e.g. *an / mo / do / a bhéadail*, with non-nasal *v'e:dəl'* (as is *mhéad v'e:d*), ambiguous regarding base initial), perhaps influenced by *b-* in *bolg*; in a by-form of *Moirne* (personal name): *mu:r'n'ə* 04Bl, *mo:r'n'ə* 11C, *bu:r'n'ə* 896P, cp. *na Boirne nə bo:r'n'ə* 00Ttn (kin who fought with *na Cumhail* 00T), perhaps influenced by place-name *Ceann Bóirne*; in the initial cluster in *Muircheartach* (perhaps > **Mricheartach*) > *Briartach*. Cf. 1.221.

1.159 Laterals

Nonpalatal *l*, lenited and unlenited = *l*, e.g. *lá la:*, *mo láimh mə la:v'*, *salann salən*, *balla balə*, *Béarla b'el:rlə*.

The phone *l* is phonemic in the speech of some of our oldest speakers. The dental / alveolar opposition can be heard clearly in the speech of 852S, 866E, 875P,

881J and **892M**. Speaker **892M** has a clearly ‘darker’ **L** in, for example, *balla ba:lə* ARN1578, *geall g’ɑ:l* ARN1594, *thimcheall humpəl* ARN1603, *ə lɑ:r i lár* ARN1562, *an lae sin ən le¹ jin’* ARN1617. In contrast, in lenited position **892M** has **l**, e.g. *a lá lɑ:* ARN2010, *dhe láannaí gə lɑ:əni:* ARN2063, *níor labhair mé n’i:r laur’ m’e* ARN2097. Also the minimal pair *ola olə* ARN1091 vs. *olla olə* ARN1336 (< *olna* genitive of *olann*). Speaker **852S**, in his short recording, has clearly dental **L** initially in *láidir* in contrast with postdental or alveolar **l** in *faoi láthair*. Further study of recordings is necessary to ascertain details for **892M**, and other speakers, but the opposition does not appear to be consistently present in **892M**’s speech. Speaker **869P** also has both sounds, which are distinctive medially, e.g. *culaidh kolhə* vs. *gcdlaí goli:*, although initially, he seems to have **l** often. A minority of speakers may retain an alveolar articulation of morphologically depalatalised **l** and so preserve a limited **l** vs. **L** opposition, e.g. verbs in *-áil -a:l* > future *-álfaidh -a:lə*.¹

Unlenited palatal *l* normally = **l’**, e.g. *léan l’e:n*, *leigheas l’ais*, *buille bil’ə*, *slighe jl’i:*, *comhairle kurl’ə*, *ceilt k’el’*, *coinnleach ki:nl’əx*. Note *ailliliú ~ aililiú* Dinn, *aililiú* FGB, *æ:l’ə l’u:* **l’ɑ:** !05M, *aililiúite-aa* **894C9** often (in *rann*). Unlenited palatal *l* before *s* > **l’**, e.g. *soillse sailfə*, *faithne ailse* ‘fa:n ‘a:lfə **04B** (glossed as *garla báis ga:rlə ba:f* **04B**).

Lenited palatal *l* = **l’**, e.g. *buile bil’ə*, *mo léan mə l’e:n*. Initial lenition, i.e. **l’** > **l’**, is, however, obsolescent.

> **l’** following **v’**, e.g. *coimhling kaivl’ənt’* M; *príbhleideach pr’i:vl’e:d’əx* M. It can sometimes be difficult to distinguish **l’** from **l’** here, and I retain the small number of my transcriptions with **l’**, e.g. *coimhling kaivl’ənt’*, sometimes *ki:vl’ənt’* P; cp. *sceimhle jg’i:vl’ə* FFG20. Also palatal *-rl-*, generally *-rl’-*, often sounds like *-rl’-* (particularly perhaps following a diphthong), e.g. *choirleach xaur’əx* **897P**, *choirlí xaur’i:* **11C**, *smugairle smugər’ə* **897P**.

EModIr *eiteal ~ eiteall* has genitive *luch eitill* **866EB17**; *faileach* (~ *fáilleach*, *fáuilleach* IGT) > plural *f’i:l’i:* 46.904 ‘February’ (but for the inaccuracy of the transcription of actual [l’] in SID, see 1.417).

1.160 Unlenited palatal / > l’

Speaker **19J** has not been systematically investigated but he shows signs of an exceptional merging of the opposition between lenited and unlenited laterals and nasals: his song recordings have many tokens of **l’** for general **l’**, e.g. *an líne ən l’i:n’ə* !19J, as well as weakened tokens of general **l’**. This is perhaps (one of the reasons) why his speech or song gives the impression of being weakly articulated; which Máire describes, in reference to **19J**, as ‘*caint bhog*’.

Unlenited palatal *l* > **l’** (in context of nonlow front vowels in particular) medially and finally in:

céillidhe k’e:l’i:, *céillithe* !894C9, *k’e:l’i:hə* | P, but *k’e:l’i:* >> *k’e:l’i:hə* Mq (contrast *díth-céillidhe* ‘d’i:k’e:l’i: related to *díth céille* d’i: k’e:l’ə), so also *éigcéill e:g’e:l’*;

¹ Suggested by S. Ó Murchú (1989: 80).

Eochaill **o:ɣəl'** generally, but I have transcribed **o:ɣəl'** from **19B**;
máillead **ma:l'e:d** **894Cs**, S, *máiléad* FFG20;
neamhthuileamaí FGB, 'N'æ.hil'əmi: **21Pt**, 'N'æ.hil'əmi: M84, 'N'æ.him'l'i:
 S84, *tuilleamaí* **tel'əm'i:** **27Mdq**; < *tuilleamh* (m)buidhe O'Rahilly
 (1928), cp. Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 122–3);
scillgeadh FGB **ʃk'il'əg'ə ~ ʃkl'ig'ə** Mq, also **ʃl'ig'ə** Mq, P, **ʃk'il'ə** **84P**,
 e.g. *ag sc(i)ligeadh bhréag* Mq, *ag sligeadh b(h)réag*; but *scillige*
852SbTS145.

Unlenited palatal *l* > *l'* optionally, frequently following *i*(:), medially in:

bille > plural **b'il'i:** **66N**, perhaps influenced by English, but generally
b'il'ə, **b'il'i:**

cailleach **ka:l'əx** **!19J**, *an chailligh bheag / mhór ə xal'ə v'og/wor* **29C**
 (in game), but generally **ka:l'əx**

faillighe, e.g. *ab fhaillighe əb æ'l'i:*, also *cion faillighe k'un fa:l'i* M, **k'in**
fa:l'i **36P**

failligh, see examples in 5.236

filltín **f'il'hin'i:** M, **f'il'hin'i:** **21Pt**, cp. *fíthín* FFG

tuilleadh **t'il'ə** **01C**, **16M**, **21Pg**, **t'il'ě** 46.Mp 39 and 46 s.v., **899D**, **18J**,
27Md (for *t* > *t'*, see 1.212). Also in SID.Mp 36: *l'* in points 48, 55–56,
l', point 61 (*l'* is intermediate between *l'* and *l'*). In contrast with Mp
 39, IEM has *-l'* only. ITM has *l'* as in Mp 36. ICF has *l'* only. This is
 in strong contrast with **t'il'ě** Mp 39 point 40, which possibly can be
 explained as a deliberately emphatic pronunciation by Wagner's infor-
 mant (also de Bhaldraithe's) of a recessant pronunciation not used by
 himself in conversation. All this would imply quite a substantial areal
 spread through (West) Galway and (West) Mayo for *l' ~ l'* variation in
tuilleadh. The verb *tuill*, although now anomalous with regard to vowel
 length (e.g. verbal adjective **t'il'ə ~ t'il'ə**), retains *l'* (thus VN **t'il'ə**
 typically contrasts with indefinite pronoun **t'il'ə**), except in a phrase
 recorded from **894C**: *go n-ólfadh sé a dtuilleadh sé | ə nollhəd ʃe | ə*
dil'həd ʃe |, which may be analysed as *a dtuilfeadh* 'as much as it
 would flood'. This phrase is spelt *d'ólhat* [sic *ól*] *sé* 'dtuillheat sé, a deir
 sé, lán a' bháid iumartha **!869P** CABI §436(a) v. 2 indicating a pronun-
 ciation ***dil'həd ʃe**.

uillinn ~ uillinn **il'hən'** S, **43M**, **60M**, **il'hən'** M, **18J**, **il'hən'** **892M**, SM,
34M, **il'm'** 46.443b; *l' ~ l'* here also in ICF §603; so also with identical
-illinn base and variation in:

scilling **ʃk'il'hən'** ~ **ʃk'il'hən'**, plural **ʃk'il'əxə** (**866E**, **11C**, **21Pt**) ~
ʃk'il'əxə; *l' ~ l'* here also in ICF §603 and SID.40.443b; see 1.168.

Cp. *caillfí thú* **ka:l'f'i:** **hu** **20Cq** in alveolarisation before palatal labial (common
 with **d'**, **t'** in sandhi, 2.23, 5.35); *scailleagánta* FGB *scailigthe* FFG; originally
 initial *l* in *bra lín* > **bra:l'in'** **11C**, M, **21Pt**, perhaps also **bra:l'in'**.

1.161 Initial position

Initially in:

leabhairse **l'aur'ʃə** S (interjection), presumably from vocative *a leabhairse* or *dar*
mo leabharsa (14 *leabhairse*);

leáise **l' a:fə** SM, **l' a:fə** M, **52J**;
leidhce **l' aik' ə** generally, but **l' aik' ə xi:** [plural] **76Nq**;
léine often **l' e:n' ə**, but **l' e:n' ə** **43M**, **66N**, **78C**;
leor in *go leor* **gə l' o:r** generally, but **gə l' o:r l' o:r** (male, born c. 1955, from Cill Chiaráin or environs) and **l' o:r** **36N**;
liag often (in nondative) **l' iæg** in *tuile liag* **til' ə l' iæg**, the historical lenition has been petrified following feminine *tuile*, perhaps also because of its common occurrence in the dative *ina thuile liag* **ənə hil' ə l' iæg**, and perhaps influenced by **l'** in *tuile*; also **til' ə l' iæg** (the *liag* element is no longer understood as an independent noun (by many speakers));
lig **l' ig'** [x3] 2sg imperative (Lam) **04B**;
sleaidhbear **fl' aib' ə r** **21Pg**1354 (cp. *sleadhb* **fl' aib** Mq < *leadhb*) influenced by English, e.g. 'sliver, slice', cf. *slaighbhear* LFRM.
 Cp. the Old English surname 'Lynch' > *Linseach*, e.g. *Linseach Bhearna* **l' i:nfəx v' a:rnə** **35E**; optionally in the borrowing *leibhéalta* **l' ev' e:ltə**, **l' iv' e:ltə** **899N**, but **l' iv' e:ltə** **20At** and **l' ev' a:lt' ə** **25Tt** perhaps influenced by the corresponding current borrowing 'level' **l' iv' əl'**, **l' ev' əl'**.

1.162 Morphology

Also examples of **l'** in morphological palatalisation of *ll*, e.g.
capaillín beag **ka:pəl' i:n' b' og** **892Mt** (I cannot, however, be fully certain of **l'** from the recording), in contrast with genitive *drioball an chapaill* **dr' ubəl ə xapəl'** M, plural **kapəl'**, etc.;
dícheall genitive **d' ihəl' d' ihəl'** **21Pt**;
spalla, *spallaíocht* **spaliəxt** generally, but **spæ'l' iəxt** **892M**5612,–7;
timcheall: *gaoth thimchill* **gi: hi:mpəl'** **27Mdq**, **gi:hə hi:mp' əl'** S, **21Ptq**, **gi:hə hi:mp' əl'** **21Ptq**, *timchillín* **t' i:mp' əl' i:n'** SM, **21Ptq**;
 contrast regular *tamaillín* **ta:məl' i:n'** **04Br**.
 The opposite process, **l'** in morphological palatalisation of *l*, occurs in *tuaitbhel* DIL, *tuathal* (*tuaifeal*) FGB **tuəf' əl**, genitive in *ina chí r thuaitbhil* **nə x' i:r' huəf' əl'** **25M**; cp. adverbial **tuəf' əl'** S85 (*tuafail n' ó deiseal tá na fataí seo ag goil?*, *Chuaigh sí tímpeall tuafail air* S85); *giobal* **g' ibəl** > plural **g' ibl' ə** **26Pcq**, by analogy with *caiple* **kapl' ə** and *drible* **dr' ibl' ə** (by-forms, also without juncture: **kapl' ə** and **dr' ibl' ə**); but also with retained **l'**, e.g. plural **g' ib' əl' ə xi** Pq; *cúthal* **ku:l**, comparative **ku:l' ə**, also **ku:l' ə** **01P**, derived *cúthaileacht* **ku:l' əxt**.

1.163 Lenited palatal / > l'

Lenited palatal / > **l'**, mostly following **i(:)**, in:
bileog **b' il' o:g** **18Pc**, SM by analogy with *d(u)illeog*
cíle FGB **k' i:l' ə**
faoile **fi:l' ə** and *faoileán* **fail' a:n**, retained in *an fhaoileann* **ən i:l' ən** **!11C**
 and *portán faoileann* **port'a:n fi:l' ən** **25M**
fuidhleach **fi:l' əx**, influenced by *fuidheall* **fi:l**
ré roithleagán FGB, *ruilleacán* FFG
reilig **ri:l' ək'**, but note *camreilig* **'k'a:m'ri:l' ək'** **894C**
spiléar (*spiléad*) FGB **sp' il' e:d** **899D**, **01C**, M;

optionally in:

buile **bi'l'ə** S, FFG, **bi'l'ə** M by analogy with *buille*

Cáilín **ka:l'i:n' 04B**, **ka:l'hi:n' S, 18J, 35E**

céile generally **k'e:l'ə** but *fear céile* **f'ar k'e:l'ə / k'e:l'ə 43M** perhaps by analogy with *céille* genitive of *ciall*, contrast *céillidhe* (1.160)

sciléad, *scilléad* FGB **ʃk'il'ed 06C, 18J**, also **ʃk'il'ed 29N**

siléar generally **ʃil'er**, but note *silléar* **!894C9**

uile *go léir* > **ə'l'ig' ə l'er'**, etc., yielding, through metanalysis, *uilig* **ə'l'ig', ə'l'ig', ə'l'ug, ə'l'ug**, where the unlenited **L'** variants have been taken over from *léir* **L'er'** (8.247).

Cp. *drithlín* and *driúillín* FGB, with IA *driúilíní* SM, FFG, also *driúilíní* *driongal* S, *driúillíní* *dreatha* / *drille* CAR.

Cp. *ascal(l)* (s.v. *ochsal*, *ascall* DIL) often *ascaill* **askəl'** but I have also transcribed **æskəl' 60M**. Cp. *Ceánn an Ascaill* / *Ascaill* **866E** Semr94, 98. It is noteworthy that **12S** and **27Md**, when queried as to the existence of *máchail* FGB in the dialect, both pronounced **mæ:xəl'** Sq, **27Mdq** (but neither speaker knows the word).

1.164 Younger speakers

Younger speaker **66N** has an example of **l' > l'** in *baile* **ba'l'ə >>> ba:l'ə 66N** (in *cearait* *baile iad* **k'æ:ɾəts ba:l' iəd 66N**) and examples of **l' > l** in possible assimilation to preceding velarised *n* and *l* in *bean eile* **b'æ:n elə 66N** (transcribed **t** in note), *balla eile* **ba:l elə 66N**. Similarly, younger speaker **84P** has **l' > l'** noted before low back vowel **ɑ:** in: *oileán* **il'ɑ:n 84P**, *teach phobail ann t'ax fobəl' ɑ:n 84P. For speaker **66N**'s common **n' > n'**, see 1.144.*

There are indications of **l' > l'** in some (younger) speakers, e.g. *Coillín* **kol'i:n' 52P**. The plural of *gualainn* has **-l'** for speaker **36Nq** and her daughter **74Nq** (x3) has *guaillí* **guəl'i:**; similarly *muinchille* **muhəl'ə 36Nq** (cf. 1.114). Younger speaker **81C** has many examples of **l' > l'**:

milleadh **m'i:l'u: 81C**, *filleadh* **f'i:l'u: 81C**, *ghoillean* **ɣol'ən 81Cq**;

but retained following a low vowel in *caill*:

cailleadh **ka:l'u: 81C**, *cailleadh* **ka:l'əx 81Cq**.

1.165 Nonpalatal / > r

Nonpalatal **l > r** in:

ardfhlaith is the semantically appropriate etymon in *dhe chlann ríte agus ardfhlaith ar an oileán* **gə xla:n ri:t'ə ogəs 'ɑ:rd'ra' her' ən' il'ɑ:n 00Ttn**, perhaps influenced by preceding *r* in *ríte* and possibly taken to be *ardrath* *beola*: note *bhí a beor ar dhath na gcaor* **!852S** perhaps assimilated to the *r* sounds in following *ar* and *caor*

Cluain Aidhle (Cloonisle) Rob.73 > **klū:n' ail' 06C**, **kru:n ail' 20M**

Con Fhaolaidh **kə'ni:l'hə** generally (also **kə'n'i:l'hə** heard from a youth from An Aird Thiar), but **kə'n'i:r'hə** (heard from an older female from Dumhaigh Ithir), perhaps through dissimilation with preceding *l* in common *Cloinn 'ac Con Fhaolaidh*; **l > r** may have been lexicalised (possibly in dissimilation with the *l* in *loch*) in the place-name now spelt *Loch Con Aortha* which can be derived from *Loch Mhac Con Fhaolaidh* **lɔx kə'n'i:r'hə**, **lɔx kə'n'i:r(h)**, also **lorə kə'n'i:r'hə 889P** with retention of *'ac*; English spelling:

‘Loughaconeera’; given as *Loch Uí Chonaire* in the Ordnance Survey ‘Name Books’ according to Robinson and Mac Con Iomaire (2002: 23–4); in local legend the place-name is explained as *loch con aoire* ‘lake of the hound of the herdsman’ (cp. Robinson 1990: 96);

fál buaile: generally **fə:l buəl(h)ə** but *fárr-buaile* **894C9**, **fə:r buəl’ə** **21Pt**, in dissimilation;

geall in phrase *geall le* ‘like’ **g’ə:r l’e** in dissimilation (perhaps reinterpreted or influenced by *gearr* ‘short’, cp. 1.230), obsolete **g’ə:l l’e** **894C**, *is geall anois é ... le ... əf’g’ə:l ə’n’ij’ e’ ... l’e’ ... **881J**, adverbial *geall leis* ‘almost’ does not change *l* to *r*: **g’ə:(l’) l’ef**; cp. *áil le* > *áin le* (1.235)*

Lochlann: *Lochrainn* ~ *Lochlainn* **875T1**, *Lochrannaigh* **875T1**, **loxrənī**: **875T**; **loxrən** **875T**, **04B**; **t’i:r loxrən’** **25M**, **loxrənəx** **25M**, with metathesis *a’ Locharnach* and *Tír Locharna(i)* **866EB17**

sceimheal **ʃk’iv’əl** ~ **ʃk’iv’ər** **S**

smalcadh **smalkə** **M**, **smarkə** >> **smalkə** **21Ptq**.

1.166 Palatal lenited / > r

Palatal lenited *l* > *r’* in:

bailicín FFG19, 20, *bairicín* FFG19, 20, cp. *bailcín* ~ *bailcimín* FGB

cabhailín **kaur’i:n’**, used calling cows, understood by Seán as meaning *cabhailín* **kaul’i:n’**, diminutive of *cabhail* (also *Cabhairín* LFRM)

cáiliúil **ka:l’u:l’** generally, but **-r’-** (in dissimilation) noted in one instance: ... *ar sheanfhear sách cáiliúil* **ka:r’u:l’** **!05M** (corresponding to *sách dóighiúil* CABI §178 v. 1)

caolsháile **ki:lə:r’ə** in dissimilation

Cuan an Cháilín **ku:n ə xə:r’hin’** **S**, understood by Seán as *Cuan an Cháilín* **xə:l’hin’** **S**; given as *Cuan an Chaithlín* Rob.87 (perhaps leg. *Cuan an Cháithlín*) where it is claimed to derive ‘from a sort of seaweed’, presumably *cáithlíneach* Clad251 or *cáithleach* Clad254 **ka:l’həx**

céireach: in the phrase *mo choinneal chéireach thú* **mə xi:n’əl x’e:l’əx hu:** **S**, understood by Seán as *coinneal chéireach* (possibly in assimilation)

eile **el’ə** generally, but one speaker noted with **er’ə** (6543, 6870) ~ **el’ə** (6772) **01CARN**

flichshneachta has initial element **fl’i-** as well as **fr’i-**, cp. prefix *fiod-* generally, but also *friod-* **866ESemr148**

goil (= *dul*) **gol’** but **gor’** **897P** only, cp. his *achuile* (ə’) **xir’ə** below

intleacht **i:ntl’əxt** **01J**, **i:nt’r’əxt** **M**, *intríocht* FFG

leithligh **er l’er’hi:** **Mq** (known but not understood by M), *go leithre* **894C9**

loilgheach **lo:l’iəx**, but (plural) **lor’həxi** **36P**

oibleagáid(each) **aibl’əgo:d’** **892M**, **M**, **aibl’əgo:d’** others, but **aibr’əgo:d’əx** **889P** (Coill Sáile), **20A** (Doire Iorrais) perhaps influenced by *oibre aibr’ə*, genitive of *obair*

scliúchas FGB **ʃkl’u:xəs** **05M**, **M**, **35E**, **ʃkl’u:xəs** ~ **ʃkr’u:xəs** **35E**, **ʃkl’u:xəs** ~ **ʃkl’u:səx** **M**, **ʃkl’u:səxt** **S**, **ʃkl’u:fəx** **M**, **ʃkl’u:fəxt** **SM**, **ʃl’u:səxt** ~ **ʃkr’u:xəs** **21Ptq**

slibreáil FGB **ʃl’i:bl’a:l’** **889P**, *slibléáilte* FFG, *slibreacht*

splé **spl’e:** **SM**, **spr’e:** **S**

splíonach cp. **spr’inhəx** **S** and *spíonlach*, *spíonach* FGB and Dinn and **spr’i:nləx**

889P (cp. Dinn s.v. *spíonlach* and *spreas*) and *spreallán spr'ulā:n*, *spríollach*, *spríúlán* FFG
splíota FFG, *spr'i:tə* S
teile generally *t'el'ə* but *t'er'ə* **29Cq**, cp. common *teile deiridh*
uile in *achuile* > (ə')*xir'ə* for **897P** his son **27J** (both from Loch Con Aortha)
 only, cp. *chuile fhear* 'xur 'æ:r **889P**, otherwise (ə')*xul'ə* **889P**.

1.167 Further / > r

Palatal unlenited *l* > *r* in *rámhailtí rā:vərt'i* **23C** (in assimilation, cp. *rámhaire* CAR), also *rā:wəlt'i*, etc. Palatal lenited *l* > *r* in *Lá Fhéil Pádraig la:r pa:rək'* **!869PZCP154** in assimilation to following *r*, but generally retained, e.g. *la'l* 'pa:rɪk', 46.804.

l > *r*, as well as being copied, in *eitleog* > *eltr'og*, perhaps in assimilation with preceding *r* in the phrase *ar eitleoig*, e.g. *er' eltr'og* **35E**, *er'el't'roig'* 46.140, also *eitreog* **864MLL72**, *ar eilteoig* **864MLL68**; cp. *éidreorach* > *éitreorach* *el't'orəx*, also *el't'urəx*.

l > *r* with possible (metathesis of palatalisation and) substitution of more familiar lexeme in *go meala tú* > *go *maile* > *go maire tú* (Tomás Ó Máille 1927b: 182). The preposition *dhe shiobhal* is generally *ə x'u:l*, *x'u:l*, but also recorded once as *x'u:n* **06C**, perhaps nasalised by following *oidhche*, with which it commonly occurs, as in the example *shiobhal oidhche x'u:n i:h̃ə* **06C**.

l is lost in *trangláilte* FGB *tra:ngə:l't'ə* S, **21Pt**, cp. *trangáilte* FFG20, *srangáilte* S; *siúil uait fu:l wet'* but often *fu: wet'* **11C**, SM, **18Pc**.

1.168 scilling and uillinn

As we have seen above, many lexemes, which have variation between *l'* and *l'* or change *l'* to *l'*, contain the stressed vowel *i(:)* (a few others contain *e(:)*). This high front vocalic environment is also presumably a factor in the variation in *scilling* (< *scilling*) and *uillinn*. The lenited *l* is in fact historical in *uile* ~ *uille*, *uillinn* ~ *uillinn* (s.v. *uilen* DIL). A main factor, however, involved in these two lexemes may be a dissimilation of lenition between the two palatal unlenited sonorants *ll* and *nn* in both words. There is similar dissimilation between two instances of (synchronic) lexical *n'* in *an Fhéinn* (2.57). This dissimilatory hypothesis can be partly tested, given that both *scillinn* and *uillinn* have forms without the final *-nn*, the apparent trigger for dissimilation, i.e. plural *scilleacha* and, in some dialects, older nominative *uille* (replaced mostly in the Southern Half of Ireland by dative *uillinn*).

Fortunately, SID question 319 'a shilling', Map 292 'shillings' and question 443b 'elbow' (also sometimes question 442) provide the data to test the hypothesis (Table 1.6). The most clearcut evidence is that of *uille* vs. *uillinn*: *uille*, in Connacht and Clare has *l'* only (points 23, 24, 31–33, 53–62; with no data for 61), whereas *uillinn* has an almost equal proportion of both lenited and unlenited *l* (*l'* (x8), *l'* (x2), *l'* (x7), *l'h* (x3)). (Recall that *l'* indicates a sound intermediate between *l'* and *l'* in SID.) There is very little evidence, if any, in the data collated from SIDI–III for a similar pattern in *scillinn* vs. *scilleacha*. The most common variant throughout Ireland in *scillinn* and *scilleacha* (and other plural forms) is *l'*. If *ll* is indeed the original sound here for all dialects, the dissimilation may have been more complete because of the earlier presence of the trigger *-nn*. Only points

42, 53 show a *scillinn* *l'* vs. *scilleacha* *l'*, *l'* contrast (similarly if one combines 43 and 43a; 61 and 62 have the contrast but in *nl/ln* clusters); in fact, point 26 shows almost the opposite pattern. Speaker **892M** in our dialect, however, has *ʃk'il'ən* [x2] vs. *ʃk'il'əxə* ARN1295–8; speaker **869P** (= SID.46) has genitive *ʃk'il'ən'ə* *scillinne*. Interestingly, although the plural is not mentioned in the historical phonology, IEM §§444–5, 505 (ii), 530 (i), has *scillinn(e)* *l'* (x3) vs. *scilleacha* *l'* (x1). ITM has *l'* only in both words (*scilling* is not listed among the exceptions in §484, but is given with *l'* §155) in contrast with point 51 with regard to *uillinn*, which has *l'*. The lenited *l* in the base form of *guala* with unlenited *ll* in the syncopated plural *gualll* might support such a contrast in the semantically related *uillinn*.

Table 1.6 presents the relevant data for Co. Clare and Connacht from SID. Point numbers are displayed in different fonts to indicate their status as follows: variation in the laterals within a particular lexeme = **bold** (i.e. point numbers in bold font have variation, for example, *l' ~ l'*, or *l' ~ l'* within one and the same word, either in *scilling* or *uillinn*); *l'* or *l'* in *scillinn* = underlined; *l'h* in *uillinn* = *italics*; *l'* in *uillinn* = Arial font.

Table 1.6 *scilling*, *uilli(nn)*; SID1–III q 319, Mp 292; q (442) 443b

	<i>scilling</i>	<i>scilleacha</i>	<i>uillinn</i>	<i>uillinneacha</i>
22	<i>l'ən'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'ən'</i> (x2)	
23	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>il'ə</i>	
24	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>il'ə</i> dat' <i>il'ən</i> (η ?)	
25	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i>	
26	<i>l'ən' l'ən'</i>	<i>l'</i>		
27				
28	<i>l'ən l'əη</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'həη</i>	
29	<i>l'ən</i>	<i>l'</i>		
30	<i>l'ən'</i>	<i>l'</i>		
31	<i>l'ən'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>il'ə</i>	
32		<i>l' (l'n')</i>	<i>el'ə</i>	
33	<i>n'il'</i>	<i>n'il' (l'n')</i>	<i>il'ə</i>	
34	<i>l'əη</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'hən</i>	
35	<i>l'IN' (η')</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'IN' ē</i> 442	
36	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'ən'</i> (x2)	
37	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i> gen <i>l'm'ē</i>	
38	<i>l'in'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm' l'm'</i>	
39		<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i> 442	
40	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm' l'm'</i>	<i>l'm'əxə</i>
41	<i>l'ig'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i> (x2)	
42	<i>l'in'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'IN' gen, l'IN'1</i>	<i>l'IN'əxi:</i>
43		<i>l'</i>	<i>l'hun'</i> 442	
43a	<i>l'm'</i>		<i>l'm'</i>	
43b	<i>l'in', l'm'</i>		<i>l'IN', l'hun'</i>	
44		<i>l'</i>	<i>l'in'</i>	
45	<i>l'm'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i>	
46	<i>l'in'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i>	
47	<i>l'əη</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i>	
48		<i>l'</i>		
49	<i>l'in'</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i>	
50		<i>l'</i>	<i>l'm'</i> 442	

	<i>scilling</i>	<i>scilleacha</i>	<i>uillinn</i>	<i>uillinneacha</i>
51	l'ín'	l'	eL'ín'	eL'ín'əxi
52	l'ən	l'		
53	l'in'	l'.	il'ə	
54	l'in'	l'	il':ə	il'ən'əxə
55	l'ən' l'íŋ'	l'	il':ə	il'əxi
56	l'ən'	l'	il':ə (x2)	
57	l'ən'	l'	il':ə	il'ənəxi
58	l'əŋ'	l'	il':ə	il'ɸ:xi
59	l'in'	l'	il':ə	
60	l'ən'	l'	il':ə (x2)	
(61)	l'in'.	l'n'		
(62)	l'in'	n'l'	il':ə	
63		n'l'		
64				
87				

1.169 / > lh, nonpalatal

Lenited *l*, rarely unlenited *l*, > **lh** in a large class of words.

baladh **ba'lhə**

ballasta **ba'lhəstə**, but **ba'ləstə** more often (perhaps)

caladh **ka'lhə**, also *caladhphoirt* (pl) **ka'lhəfərt'** !39D

Caolaigh Caolach **ki:lə(x)** S, P, *Uí Chaoltha'* ... *Chaola'* ... !894C9, *Bríd Ní Chaolaigh* **br'i:d' n'i: xi:lhə** 37M

colbha **kolu:** SM, P, etc., *faoi cholbha Chruaich na Caoile* **fi: xolhu' xruə nə ki:l'ə** (Acs)04B, **kolhu:** (!)37M and his daughter 74N (all three speakers with **lh** are near-neighbours from An Aird Thoir)

comhla **kū:lhə**

comhluadar generally **kū:lə:dər** but *na comhluadair* **nə kū:lho:dər'** 06C as well as **kū:lə:dər** 06C

Con Fhaolaidh **kə'ni:lhə** SM, *Con Fhaolach* **kə'ni:ləx** 27C1

créalach FFG **kr'e:lhəx** M, cp. *créalachán* **kr'iələxən** S

criolachaí **kr'ulhəxi:**, recorded in *bhí an gadhar ag iarraidh a ghoil i gcriolachaí gr'ul'həxi' an, taibhse i gcónaí* 01C6839 meaning 'to attack' (*criullachaí* ARNII Foclóirín, cp. perhaps *spríollachaí* FFG s.v. *spríollach*; speaker 27Mdq was uncertain of this word but offered **ə dr'ulhəxi:**)

culaidh **kolhə**

éalaigh, <lh>: pst **d'e:lhə** M, 43M, vadj **e:li:hə** M, VN **e:lu:** M, P, 01J;

<I>: impv **e:lə** M, pst **d'e:lə** 01J, S, *lá a d'éalaigh* /lɑ: d'e:lə/ FFG s.v. *éalaíonn* 3, ər' e:lə tu: S, VN **e:lu:** S

falach **fa:lhəx** P

falamh **fəlhə**

malach **malhəx** ~ **maləx** SM, similarly *maladóireacht* **malhədər'əxt** S

malairt **ma'lhət'** ⁽¹⁾ **si:əxən'** 04B1 *malairt suíocháin*; **ma'lhərət'** etc., (1.245)

talamh, etc., **talhə**, **talhu:nə**, but *talmhaidhe* is generally **taləvi:**, e.g. **tal:ləwi:** S, similarly *talmhaidheacht* **tal'əviəxt** [x2] 01P, compare, however, (plural) *talthawai* !894C9 [note = *talamhaíthe* by Séamas Mac Aonghusa]

séala **ʃe:lə** but the derived verb: *shéalaigh* **he:lhə** 27Mdq, *séaláilte* **ʃe:lha:lʔə** 18J7175.

1.170 Palatal /> ʃh, ʟʰh

ʃh *buaile* **buəlʔə** SM, P; *fál buaile* **fa:l buəlʔə** SM, 09S, **fa:l buəlʔə** SM, **fa:r buəlʔə** 21Pt

Cáilín **ka:lʰi:nʔ** S, **ka:lʰi:nʔ** 04B

cailís: *Cailís* [x3] ~ *Cailthís* [x2] 869P4

cp. *céileo(-)* **kʰe:lʰo:-** SM < 'Kyløe'

cuileach **kilʰhəx** SM

cuileog **kilʰo:g** generally, but **kilʰhə:g** 55A

cp. *fáil* (~ *fáilthí*) FGB, *fáilid* DIL, **fa:lʰhi:** (Asd)899N, *fáilthí* !869P

CABI §109(e) v. 3, *fáilthí*, *fáilthíocht* !894C9, but **fa:lʰi:** S often

failmhigh **fa:lʰhə**, verbal noun **fa:lʰhu:** S (related to *falamh* **falhə**)

loilgheach **lo:lʰiəx**, but *loilthéach* CABI §563(a) v. 6 (⇒ ***lo:lʰhe:(ə)x**, with unstressed lowering of **iə**), cp. (plural) **lorʰhəxi** 36P

mala **ma:lʰhə** S, **ma:lʰə** M

cp. 'mo *mhailthín*' (.i. *prionta ime*) 866ESc55.18

sáile **sa:lʰə** generally, but *eidir dhá sháilthe* !04B CABI §96 v. 4

an Sáilín **ə sa:lʰhi:nʔ** S, *i mBarr an tSáilín* **mə:r ə ta:lʰhi:nʔ** M

scáile **ska:lʰə** generally, but *do scáilthe* !894C9

scairíneach **ska:lʰhi:nʔəx** S, **ska:rʰhi:nʔəx** SM

sileadh (*seile*) **ʃilʰə** generally, but perhaps **ʃilʰhə** 51P

siliú: *Silthiú Fox ... agus géarr é* !894C9, **ssi:lʰu:** SM, **silʰu:** **ʃilʰu:** **ʃilʰhu:** S (*siliúir* FGB)

Doire Soileach **dorʰə solʰhəx** 36S

uillinn **ilʰhənʔ** S85, 43M88, **ilʰənʔ** M, **ilʰinʔ** 46.443b, SM.

Cp. <ʃ> only in *éiligh*, etc., VN **e:lʰu:** !M, 21Jq, cond 1sg *go n-éileoinnse* **gə nʰe:lʰo:nʃə** 21Jq (in contrast with <ʃ> <ʃh> ICF §644).

ʟʰh *taoille* generally **ti:lʰə**, but **ti:lʰhə** consistently for 24Mt, and note *taoille mór* **ti:lʰhə mör** S (rare for S).

The (**lh**) variable, a subvariable of the sonorant + **h** variable, denoted by (**SONh**), with both historic and unhistoric **h**, shows quite consistent class membership among many speakers. Speakers and networks, however, show variation of usage in the choice between <ʟ> and <lh> realisations. See (**SONh**) 1.394.

1.171 Palatal unlenited /> d

Delateralisation has been heard in the speech of a few individuals. In speaker 21Pt delateralisation, **ʟʰ > dʰ** (**dʰ**), was heard following -ch:

tá leisce orm, bheadh leisce orm ...

ta: ʟʰeʃkʰ orəm | vʰex dʰeʃkʰ orəm ... 21Pt;

bheadh leisce ort vʰex dʰeʃkʰ ort 21Pt.

In speaker 11C's usage it has been noted phrase initially:

An ligfidh tú isteach mé, a deir sí, (go) lige mé tharam an bháisteach?

| dʰikʰə tu ʃtʰəx mʰe dʰer ʃiʰ ʟʰigʰə mʰe ʰhærəm ə ʰwə:ʃtʰəx 11C;

Leic atá ó thuaidh dhen teach? | **dʰekʰ ə ta: o huə gənʰ ʰtʰəx** | 11C.

Similarly, the phonetic impression of *beaguaisle agus móruaisle* in **892M2039** is 'b'og,uəft'ə gəs 'mō:r,uəft'ə, the same phrase in **892M2061** has perhaps -ʃl'- (generally 'mō:r,uəʃl'ə **11C**). Also in *ag líonadh d'ínə a gcuid cléibh* **889P** and *truisle triʃt'ə* **889P**.

Cp. *straioilleachán* > *straoideachán* ! CABI §520(e) v. 3; similarly, denasalisation, also in **21Pt**'s speech, rare in **11C** (1.150).

1.172 Vowels preceding *nn* / *ll* / *ng*

Stressed vowels are lengthened or diphthongised before *ll*, *nn*, and *m* word-finally and often before mostly homorganic consonants, before *ng* less regularly. So also occasionally before *l* and *n* when followed by another consonant. Low and high vowels are lengthened whereas mid vowels are diphthongised. Raising of mid-vowels occurs regularly beside nasals, so that, for example, *ei* is raised to *i* and lengthened to *i:*, *o* to *u:*. The general developments in summary are:¹

(e)a	>	ɑ:	also	ɑ: ~ a	before final <i>m</i> and nasal clusters
ai	>	ɑ:	also	ɑ: ~ a	before nasal clusters
ei, oi	>	ai			
i(o)	>	i:	also	i: ~ i	before nasal clusters
ui	>	i:	also	i: ~ i	before nasal clusters
(i)u	>	u:	also	u: ~ u	before nasal clusters
o	>	au			

In the case of *ng*, generally only *oi* and *i* undergo lengthening.

The consonants and clusters involved are:

ll, llt, llr, lls, lch
nn, nt, nd, nl, nr, ns
m, mp, mb, ml, mn, mr, ms
ng, ngl, ngn, ngc

Other clusters are rarer and morphologically complex (where, in the morphological instance, a base form can influence a realisation in composition), i.e. *mgh*, *mt*, *nmh* in *iomghaoth u:mʲi:hə*, *camta kamtə kəmtə*, etc., and *greannmhar gr'ənwər*, etc. There is regular lengthening or diphthongisation before *ll*, *nn* and optional lengthening before *m* when followed by verbal *-fh* in the future stem, e.g. *goillfidh gail'hə*; cf. GEARR class (5.142 ff.). For similar lengthening and diphthongisation before *rr*, see 1.199.

¹ For theoretical discussions of vocoid lengthening before sonorants (and comparisons with epenthetic vowels and preaspiration) see, for example, Ó Dochartaigh (1978–81) and Ó Baoill (1979b; 1980). A more recent publication which discusses vocoid lengthening (Carnie 2002) is incomplete and in places both confused and unreliable. For example, none of the three relevant articles just cited are mentioned by Carnie. It is not true that '/r/ [...] /m/ and /m'/ only trigger lengthening' (Carnie 2002: 130–2); cf. *corr kaur*, southern *cam kaum*. He incorrectly claims that Ulster Irish typically has lengthening in words such as *gleann* and *ann* (Carnie 2002: 138–9); for 'Ulster Irish' one should presumably read 'Conamara Irish'. His transcriptions are inexact, e.g. for [fi:l'] and [fi:l] *fill* read [f'i:l'] (Carnie 2002: 130, 142). The following note is a further instance of his inaccuracy: 'I use this term Conamara here as a blanket term for all the dialects on the Conamara Peninsula [sic]. However, not all these dialects behave this way. For example, Cois Fhairrge as described by de Bhaldraithe (1945) has a distinction among the sonorants and does not (at least as far as I can tell from his description) have diphthongization.' (Carnie 2002: 146 n. 17); but see, for example, *poll pol* ~ *paul*. ICF §665, etc.

1.173 Exceptions

Some words, e.g. *cionn* and *poll*, may retain short vowels (generally before vowels or in position of weak phrasal stress; others have more conservative register connotations).

bonn in *láthair bonn* **la:hər' bun** M, P, may have been reinterpreted as *bun*, cp. regular *ar spota na mbonn* **er' spotə nə mū:n** 11C5668. Possibly a recent borrowing in the meaning 'coin', recorded in *bonn mór ann bun mór a'n* 11Ctn.

breill in *dúin do bhreill ar a chéile* **du:n də vr'el' er' ə x'e:l'ə**. So also *streill*.

caill the noun typically occurs before the preposition *ar*, e.g. *níl aon chaill ar ...* **n'i:l' e:ŋ xa:l' er' ...**. Reanalysed with final *-e*: *an chaille* **əŋ xa:l'ə** S perhaps influenced by *cailleadh*.

ceann rarely **k'an** S, and note *ar an gceann eile* **er' ə g'a:n el'ə** (MP, prose) 04B, *dhá cheann déag* **'yɑ: x'an 'd'e:əg** 46.142, *ceann nua* **k'a:n'u:** SID.46 Vocab s.v. *nuadh*. Cp. plural *cinn* in *tá trí cinn dhe bheithígh acub* **,tɑ: 't'r'i: k'in' gə 'v'ehi ɑ:kəb**, 46.32.

cill: *go raibh tú sa gcill seachtain ó inniu* **gə ro tu: sə g'il' ʃa:xtən' o: n'u S**, this lexeme is general only in more or less set phrases, unmarked 'graveyard' is *reilig* **ri:l'ək'**. Cp. *Cill Chiaráin* **k'il' / k'i:l' x'iə:rɑ:n'**.

cionn regularly **k'in**, e.g. *thar cionn hær'* **k'in**, *os cionn æs* **k'in**.

One speaker, 894Cs, has collocationally conditioned *os cionn as* **k'in** followed by dependent noun phrase, in contrast with phrase-final *os a chionn as* **ə x'in** 894Cs, i.e.

as cionn + NP > **æs k'un** vs. *as* + possessive pronoun + *cionn* > **æs ... k'in**.

Examples:

<i>as cionn a chéile</i> æs k'un ə x'e:l'ə	<i>as a chionn</i> æs ə x'in
<i>as cionn an dá</i> æs k'un ə dɑ:	<i>as a cionn</i> æs ə k'in
<i>as cionn leithchéad</i> æs k'in' 'l'ex'e:d	

The retention of the historically short vowel before noun phrases may be the result of its frequent prevocalic position (before *an* of the article and possessive *a*) where lengthening is not expected within words (as well as the relatively weaker stress of *cionn* in this position). Speaker 894Cs's brother has the general Iorras Aithneach *as cionn a chéile* **æs k'in ə x'e:l'ə** 881J. Note also *dár gcionn* generally **gɑ:r g'in** but **dər g'un** 51N.

balscóid (> *bulolscóid*) **ba:lskɔ:d' bɔ:lskɔ:d' bulskɔ:d' M, bɔ:lskɔ:d' 43M**.

Conn (?): when queried about the curse *Éirí Choinn faoi na gabhair chugad* (FFG s.v. *Conn* (?)), Máire repeated *Éirí Choinn (ch)ugad!* and pronounced **xin'/n'** as well as permitting **xi:n'/n'**. She preferred **xin'**, and explained it as *coin* (from *cú*), equivalent to *gadhair*. Cp. *éirí choíchin chugad!* S (14 éirí).

coill: in place-name *Cnoc Choill an Gháigín* **kruk xol' ə yɑ:g'i:n' 20M** (unless from genitive *Coille*).

cruinn **kri:n'** generally, but noted short in *cheanglaídís suas ar an bpáipéar seo an snáithe*, go *cruinn* **gə kri:n' | 06C**.

Floinn (surname) in a by-form of the place-name *To(i)nn* (> *Taobh*) *Uí Fhloinn* **ti:w i: lin' M**.

Inse Bhó Cinn **injə wə: k'in' 20A**, generally spelt *Inis Mhic Cion(n)aith*.

sceinn **ʃk'in', ʃk'in', ʃk'in**.

cp. *scioll* FGB (cf. *scil*³ FGB) **ʃkʷul**, e.g. *sciollfaí* **ʃkʷulfi**: **12J**.
searr **ʃar**; for other verbs in what is termed the GEARR class, see 5.142 ff.
slinn **ʃlʷi:n** generally, but *ceann slinn* **kʷa:n ʃlʷi:n** | **25Tt** for more common *ceann slinne* **kʷa:n ʃlʷi:n** ə.
srann has non-alternating **a**, e.g. fut **ʃra:nhə** **21Ptq**, cond **hra:nhət** **ʃə** M.
streill in *dúin do streill* **du:n də strʷel** **27Mdq**, also *streille* **strʷel** ə.
lann > *lanna* **lanhə** most common in plural **lanəxi**: **lanhəxi**: **lanəxi**:, etc., but singular (in back formation from the plural) also **la:n** **56Bq**, *lannach* Clad60.
poll: in *poll scaoilte / scaoileadh* **pol ski:lʷə / ski:lʷə** P, e.g. *tá poll scaoilte taobh thiar ar do thóin* **ta pol ski:lʷə ti: hiər er də ho:n** !Pt. In (*tóin*) *poill*: *bhí an hata rachtha go tóin poill ... gaibhte go tóin poill* **vʷi: ɲ hæ:tə, ra:fiə gə tʷm pɔ:lʷ ... gətʷə gə tʷm pɔ:lʷ ɛ** **04B**. In *poll(adh) péisteach* **paul ~ polə ~ pol** **pʷe:ʃtəx**.
teannta (noun) **tʷəntə** **894C**, *ina theannta sin* **ənə hæ:ntə ʃin** **11C**, *i dteannta* **ə dʷəntə** M.
tonn: *tonn bháite* **tun wətʷə** **49J**, whereas **tun wətʷə* was not acceptable to **49J**; similarly *tuntrəxi*: M, whereas Máire claimed she would not say **tuntrəxi*:. Avoidance of confusion with *tóin tun* is possible here, cp. *tonn* in *tonn bhrochóg* **tun vroxog** also **tum / tʷm vroxog** understood as *tom* (*bhrochóg*) S. Cp. *faoin toinn* **fʷi:n ti:n** ! (Atb)P.
In the place-name *an Rinn Mhó(i)r*, **ri:n wɔ:r** ~ **ri:n wɔ:r** often, but **rin wɔ:r** P, the short vowel corresponds to the actual pronunciation in An Rinn Mhóir, east of Galway city; cp. *Ceann Boirne* and *Corr na Móna* (1.201).
In the personal name from the Finn cycle of tales *Goll mac Morna* generally **gaul mak mo:rnə** P, etc., but **gol mak mo:rnə** **32J**. Secondary stress may be a factor in retention of the original short vowel in both *Rinn Mhó(i)r* and *Goll mac Morna*.
Note also *bonnbhualadh bunuələ*, etc.

1.174 *It*

It is treated (optionally) as *llt* in *faltanas* **fa:ltənəs** (run) **869P**, **fa:ltənəs** **20C**, *faltanach* **fa:ltənəx** **20C** (/a/ Ros Muc, /a/ An Cheathrú Rua, LFRM s.v. *faltanach*). The verbal adjective of *oil* is generally *oilte* **eltʷə** **04B** and so *oilte tóigthe* **eltʷə tɔ:kʷi:(hə)** (Amm) **39J** but also **ailtʷə tɔ:kʷi** (Amm) **19J**. Similarly in the genitive of the verbal noun of the verb *oil*, which occurs in the phrase *bean oilte* **ailtʷə** FFG s.v. *oilte*. In place-names **ailtʷə** may represent *ailte* (genitive of *ailt*, now not known in Iorras Aithneach) in *Carraig na hAilte* **ka:rəgʷ nə hailtʷə** **01J** (in Árainn), although *ai* > *ai* would be exceptional, or *eilte* (genitive of *eilít*) in *Inis Eilte* **inʷəʃ ailtʷə** (in Ros Muc) anglicised as 'Inisheltia'.
llt in *allta* has **a:** in *állta* ! CABI §510 v. 11, also **a**, perhaps influenced by *allaidh*, e.g. *beithíoch allta* **bʷehiəx a:lʷə** **04B**, *madradh allta* **madə ra:lʷə** (1.30).

1.175 Morphology

Inflections and derivatives often follow the base form.

(i) Long base, e.g.

cam and its nominal derivatives: *cam* **ka:m**, *cáimín* FFG, *caimiléara*(cht) **ka:mʷəlʷe:rə(xt)** >> **ka:mʷəlʷe:rə(xt)**, *camalóid* **kaməlo:d** SM >>

kə:mələdʲ S; short only in *camóg* **kəmə:g** SM, **14M**; raised in *camán* **kumə:n**.

The long vowel is permanent in *treall* **trʲa:l**, plural **trʲa:ləni**: S.

(ii) Short base, e.g.

meil **mʲilʲ**, verbal adjective *meilte* **mʲiltʲə**, always short;
mion **mʲin**, (verbal) adjective *mionta* **mʲintə**, always short;
muileann **milʲən**, plural *muilte* **miltʲə**, always short;
sail **sa:lʲ**, plural *saltrachaí* **saltrəxi: səl:trəxi:**;
scail **skalʲ**, plural *scaltrachaí* **skaltəxi:**;
scal **skal**, verbal adjective *scalta* **skə:ltə** Mq;
speal **spʲə:l**, plural *spʲə:ltə* **spʲə:lt(r)əxi:**, always short;
stail **sta:lʲ**, plural *stalt(r)achaí* **stalt(r)əxi:** >>> **stə:ltəxi:**;
tuile **tʲilʲə**, plural *tuilte* **tʲiltʲə tʲiltʲə**;
 cp. *oil* > *oilte* (1.174).

Cp. the various forms of *greannmhar* (1.98).

1.176 Further notes

In the following instances, serial or parallel effect seems to be the cause of **a:** in **fʲa:lədərʲ**, from the long base *feall* **fʲa:l**, as in the first example, in contrast with **fʲə:lədərʲ** in the second:

filleann an feall ar an bhfealladóir **fʲilʲən ə fʲa:l ərʲ ə vʲa:lədərʲ** M;
séard é féin fealladóir **fʲe:rd e hɛ:nʲ fʲə:lədərʲ** M.

See the important GEARR verb class for further extensions of long base forms and for other examples of the serial effect (5.143). The short vowel (i.e. absence of phonologically expected lengthening) is commonest in the syncopated form of syncopating verbs, although lengthening does occur in syncopation with some verbs, see *cuimil* and *imir* in the AGAIR class (5.164) and especially the AITHIN class (5.166) for *innis* ~ *innsigh* **inʲəf ~ inʲə**, etc.

With regard to speakers' attitudes to this variation, we can note that when asked to translate 'bramble bush', Seán commented *tom tum an rud ceart le rá ach deir cuid acub tum* S. Seán himself uses **tum** most frequently in conversation. On the other hand, of the two variants of *canda* **kə:ndə ~ kəndə** used by Máire, she takes her apparently more common variant **kə:ndə** as *an rud ceart*. The word *broim* is generally **brimʲ**, but Seán sometimes uses the short vowel jocosely in *Ar tú rinne an broim? ər tu: rinʲə m brimʲ* S.

Lengthening listed

The separate environments and specific lexemes involved in lengthening are given in the following sections under each vowel.

1.177 a, ea

(e)a

(e)a > **a:**, e.g. *cam* **kə:m**, *lann* **lən**, *rann* **rən**, *ball* **bəl**, *feall* **fʲa:l**, *mealltrachaí* **mʲə:ltəxi:**, *slinn* plural *sleanntrachaí* **slʲə:ntəxi:**, *ceann* **kʲən**, *dallraighthe* **dəl:ri:(hə)** (more common by-form **dəl:ri:(hə)**); also *deallradh* > **dʲə:rlə** !(Abfr)43Js, *deálra* !894C9, cp. *deállradh* !(Abfr) CABI §134(c) v. 3. Note *dealrachán* (variant *gealrachán*) Dinn **gʲə:lrəxən** 46.385. Before *ng*, **a** is gener-

ally retained, e.g. *angcaire* **aŋkər'ə**, similarly before unhistorical **ŋg** in *cnag kragg*. Exception *stancán* generally **stɑ:ŋkɑ:n**, **stæ:ŋkɑ:n**, but also **stɑ:ŋkɑ:n** [?] **35E**.

Exception: *balscóid* (> *bulolscóid*) **baulsko:d' bɔ:lsko:d' bulsko:d' M, bɔ:lsko:d' 43M**. Cp. *bollsaire* > *bollsaire* **baulskər'ə** generally, but transcribed as *búlsaire* in **866E**Semr96.

List of *a* > **a** ~ **ɑ**:

- l_m* *am*: generally **ɑ:m** but rarely short, e.g. *ag an am sin eg' ən am fin' 20S* (male speaker, born c. 1920).
dream: generally **dr'ɑ:m** but **d'r'am** SID.46 s.v.
 All other lexemes in final *-am* have **ɑ**: only.
- l_mpl/b* *ampla* **amplə 88IJ**, *ampladhach* **amplu:x << ɑ:mplu:x SM**
ampa **kɑ:mpə ~ kɑ'mpə**
clampa **kla:mpər M**
crampa **krapmə M**
damba **dɑ:mbə 01J, S, 60M, dɑ:mbə P**
gamba **gɑ'mbə**
geampa **g'æ:mpə M**
glamba **glɑ'mbə 27Md, glɑ:mbə 46.1096**, plural **glɑ:mbi: ~ gla'mbi: P**
lampa **lampə ~ la:mpə SM**
rampáil **ra:mpa:l' SM**
rampaire **rampər'ə ~ ra:mpər'ə S**
rampúch **ra:mpu:x SM**
sampla **sɑ:mplə 52Cr**, plural **sɑ'mpli: 35E7031** 'samples'; generally *sompla* **sumplə su:mplə**
stampa **stampə SM, stɑ:mpə M**, plural **stɑ:mpi:**
strampáil **stra:mpa:l' stræ:mpa:l' S**
teampall **t'ɑ:mpəl SM, t'æ:mpəl SM**
treampán **tr'æ:mpɑ:n 11C, M**.
- l_nd* *branda* **brɑ:ndə M, 20My, brɑ:ndə S, tá branda ó Chríost aige ta brɑ:nd ɔ: xɾ'i:st eg'ə S**
canda **kɑ:ndə >>? kandə M**
candáil **kanda:l' ~ kɑ:nda:l' M, 21Jc**
gandal **gɑ:ndəl S, 21Pt, gɑ:ndəl M**
planda **plandə ~ plɑ:ndə M**, plural **plɑ:ndi: M, plɑ:ndi: SM, P, plandóg**
plando:g ~ plɑ:ndo:g S.
- l_nt* *antráth* **ɑ:ntrɑ: S, antráthach** **ɑ:ntrɑ:x**
cantal **kɑ:ntəl SM, 52Cr, kɑ:ntəl SM**
cantalach **kɑ:ntələx SM, 43M, 52Cr, 68K, kɑ:ntələx SM, ɑ: >> ɑ: M, cantalóir**
kantələ:r' SM
ceantar **k'antər 51M, k'ɑ:ntər**
geinn in inflection, plural: *geanntreachaí* **g'antɾəxi: g'ɑ:ntɾəxi:**, and derived
geanntáil **g'ɑ:nta:l' g'anta:l'**
glantachán **glantəxɑ:n ~ gla:ntəxɑ:n** [?] S
mant(ach) **mant(əx)**
meantán **m'ɑ:ntɑ:n M**
neantóg **N'ɑ:nto:g >> N'ɑ:nto:g**
sanntach **santəx** most common (< *sainnt* **sænt'**), but also **sɑ:ntəx**
slinn in inflection, plural: *sleanntrachaí* **ʃl'ɑ:ntɾəxi: less often ʃl'antɾəxi:**
spig neanta **sp'ig' N'ɑ:ntə M, sp'ig' N'æ:ntə M, spr'ig' N'ɑ:ntə S**.
- l_nr* *anrait* (< *anairt*) **ɑ:nɾaɪt' 35E** (or perhaps **ɑ:**), **a'nɾaɪt' 18J, a'nhrəɪt' !21Jq**

anró **a:n̥t̪ r̥o: a:n̥t̪ r̥a:**

bannrach: bánthrach **869P2**, *Bannrach na Sceiche* **b̥a:n̥t̪ r̥əx̥ n̥ə ʃk̥ ehi: 24Nt**

(*e*)*anbhruithe* **a:n̥t̪ r̥ə**

scanraigh **sk̥a:n̥t̪ r̥ə 14M**, *M*, *scanraighthe* **sk̥a:n̥t̪ ri: 18Bm**.

/_ns *lannsa*, plural **l̥ānsi: >> l̥ā:nsi: 11C3081–95**, *lannsaíl* **l̥ānsa:í 11C**.

Contrast regular short *a* before *lt* (lenited *l* before *t*): *alt* **alt**, *altughadh* **altu:**.

1.178 *ai*

ai > **a:**, before *ll*, e.g. *aill* **a:l̥**; note *Gaill: stair: Fáil* **g̥a:l̥: sta:r̥: fa:l̥ 103V**, also *na Gáill* **103V CABI §403 v. 3**; before *ls* in *faithne ailse* **'fa:n̥ 'a:l̥ʃə 04B**; *a* is retained before *nt*, *ng* and *ms*, e.g. *baintreabhthach* **bantr̥ əx̥**, *Frain(g)c* **fraŋk̥**, *aimsir* **am̥ʃər̥**.

Exception: **ai** in *baill* **bail̥** (genitive of *ball*), *saill* **sail̥** (with genitive **se:l̥ə** implying *saill* > *soill* hence **sail̥**, genitive *soille*); and before *lch* in *sailchearnach* > *sailcheánach* **sail̥ h̥a:n̥əx̥**; obsolescent comparative of *salach*, *sailche* **sail̥(h)i:**; before *ngn* in *daingniú* **d̥æ:ŋn̥ u: 35E, 52J**, **d̥æ:ŋn̥ u: da:ŋn̥ u: da:ŋn̥ u:** **M**. Note also *caint*, generally **kant̥**, but **kaint̥ 25S** probably acquired east of Iorras Aithneach by **25S** (who was a schoolteacher in Innis Bearchain), cp. the strong off-glide in **k̥a:i:n̥ t̥** **Mp 110** (and in many other points in this map), **k̥a:i:n̥ t̥** **46 s.v. rí**, and the indication of diphthongisation in **k̥a:i:n̥ t̥** **46 Text VIII.6**, *chaintigh* **x̥a:i:n̥ t̥i 46.936**. Cp. the diphthong in *caidhl mo leanthóg* **FFG**, **k̥a:il̥ əw̥ər̥ ɣ̥l̥a:n̥ o:g̥ 21J**, perhaps related to the *l(-)m* cluster (= *caileannógach*, *cailimhineog* **FGB**, *cál leannógach* **Dinn**).

List of *ai* > *a ~ a:*

<i>/_mp</i>	<i>laimpín</i> l̥æmp̥ i:n̥ l̥æmp̥ i:n̥ , diminutive of <i>lampa</i> lamp̥ə l̥æmp̥ə <i>staimpín</i> st̥æmp̥ i:n̥ , diminutive of <i>stampa</i> stamp̥ə st̥æmp̥ə .
<i>/_nr</i>	<i>bainrtoghan</i> b̥ānr̥iən̥ b̥ānr̥iən̥ 11C , <i>bandriən̥</i> << b̥a:n̥d̥riən̥ (in South IA; the form bandriən̥ from recollection only).
<i>/_nd</i>	<i>laidéar</i> l̥a:nd̥ e:r̥ S , <i>land̥ e:r̥ 892M</i> .
<i>/_ns</i>	<i>ainsín</i> FGB , <i>ainnsín</i> 1869P CABI §38(b) v. 2 and (<i>e</i>) v. 3 , also <i>ainsin</i> (<i>d</i>) v. 4 (transcribed without length-mark; corresponds to <i>Neainsín</i> in (<i>c</i>) v. 4 ; implying *ænf̥i:n̥).

1.179 *ei*

ei > **i:** before nasals, e.g. *greim* **gr̥ i:m̥**, *teinn* **t̥ i:n̥**, *beinn* **b̥ i:n̥**; exception: **e ~ ei** in bimorphemic *bheinn* (of the verb *bí*) **v̥ en̥ >> v̥ ein̥**.

ei > **ai** before *ll*, e.g. *feill* **f̥ ail̥**, *geill* **g̥ ail̥**, *meill* **m̥ ail̥**. As a plural by-form of *meall*, the historical *meill m̥ ail̥* is now generally restricted in meaning ('swellings in throat', illness). The genitive form *meill* (of *meall*) is obsolescent, perhaps obsolete. It also occurs in the genitive of the place-name *an Meall Rua* with regular *an Mheill Rua* **ə v̥ ail̥ ruə ~ ə v̥ ail̥ ruə S**, but also **ə v̥ e:l̥ ruə ~ ə v̥ e:l̥ ruə P** (resembling *bhéil*, *bhéal*), perhaps some form of corruption owing to the obsolescence of *meill* and secondary stress. **e:** is also indicated in the spelling *Loch an Mhéill Mhóir* **Rob.94**. Cp. **i:** and **ai** in the first element of *Caol Sáile ~ Coill Sáile* (1.14). In fact, the spelling *meidhill* in the phrase variously transcribed in tale runs by folklore collectors and editors as, for example, in *i gcóngar a mheidhill agus a mhuiníl* **866ESc.46**, contains *meill*, genitive of *meall*. An

example with female reference (*cailleach*) implies the article can be understood in: *dhá bualadh i gcóngar an mheill agus an mhuiníl ga: buələ gũ:ŋgər ə v'ail' əgəs ə win'i:l' 889P*, also *866ESc59.25*. The possessive 3 feminine is also found: *i gcumhangar a géill, a meill, agus a muinéil. 875TLL181*.

List of *ei* > *i* ~ *i:*

- /_ns* *meinnseach* > *minseach* *m'infəx* (Asc) **04B**, *m'infəx* **19J**, (Asc) **19S**.
/_nt *teinte* *t'i(:)nt'ə*, etc., plural of *teine*
tinntén DIL ~ *teintédn*, *t'i:n't'ən* 46.543, *t'i:nt'ən* **04B**, **S**.

1.180 *i*

i > *i:* before *ll* and before final nasal, e.g. *fill* *f'i:l'*, *binn* *b'i:n'*, *suim* *si:m'*.

Exceptions: retained in *sinn* *f'in'* and 1 plural prepositional pronoun *linn* generally *f'in'*, also *f'u:n'* by analogy with *dúinn* (contrast the noun *linn* *l'i:n'*). Speaker **32P** (only) from Loch Con Aortha has *Dia linn agus Muire! d'ia f'i:n' ogəs mir'ə 32P* (common blessing). Cp. prepositional pronoun *i*, e.g. *innte* *int'ə* ~ *i:nt'ə*. Variation *i:* ~ *ai* in *lonsaí na hInse* *hi:nfə 45C6* vs. *hainfə* (presumably an extraneous form; heard from musician, Marcas Ó Ceannabháin, native of An Aird Mhóir).

Sometimes short in *im*, which is generally *i:m'*, but *im'* **23C**, cp. **23C**'s *u* ~ *u:* in *siúcra*.

List of *i* > *i* ~ *i:*

- /_ml* *gimléad* *g'iml'e:d*, but *g'im'əl'e:d* SM; no lengthened token noted
imleacán *i:ml'əkə:n* M
imleach *i:ml'əx* S
simléar *f'iml'e:r* ~ *f'im'əl'e:r* ~ *f'im'əl'e:rə*, no lengthened token noted.
/_mp/n/s *climseáil* *kl'imʃa:l'* SM, *kl'i:mʃa:l'* SM
imní *i:mr'i:* >> *imr'i:*
impí *i:mp'i:* SM, Pt, *d'impigh, an ... d'i:mp'i: | ən ... 04B*, *d'imp'ə 35E*
simplidhe *f'impl'i:* << *f'i:mp'l'i:*.
 Cp. *i* in *clismín* ~ *climsín* S.
timcheall > *timpeall*: As preposition **20MI** regularly has a long vowel, e.g. *timpeall an tí* *t'i:mpəl ə t'i:* **20MI**, but as adverb meaning 'approximately' he regularly has *tiompall* *is t'impəl əs*, e.g.
bhí sé tiompall is ordlach ar tiubhas v'i'je t'impəl əs aurləx er' t'is 20MI.
 Máire regularly uses *t'i:mpəl* as preposition and *t'i:mpəls* as adverb meaning 'approximately', however for the latter she (very) occasionally also uses *t'umpəls*.
 As a preposition, however, in a collocation such as *timpeall an tí* **t'umpəl ə t'i:*, the short vowel was not noted from her. So also in SID.46:
tá garraí thimpeall hi:m'p'əl na gealaí 46.899,
bhí bairillí púdar thart timpeall hart'impəl na cathrach [sic] 46.I,
 which contrasts with:
ar bhosca timpeall is 't'īm'p'əl s troigh ar airde 46.59.
 Similarly, *timpeall is t'umpəls ... 21Pg*, cp. both *tumpəl* and *tumpəls* 'approximately' (1.217, 8.221).
/_ns *binse* *b'infə 18Pc*, *b'i:nfə* S, *bínse 894C*, **03C**, *mínse* FFG
Glinisce *gl'infk'ə 14M*, *gl'i:nf'k'ə* S, **14M**, **21J**
inse plural *nə hi:nfi:* >> *nə hinfi:* S

- Baile na hInse* **bal'ə nə hɪnfə** 11C, 27Md, **bal'ə nə hɪnfə** M
Inse Ghainimh **i:ɲfə ɣa:n'ə** M, 21Pt, *Inse Bhó Cinn* **ɪnfə wə: k'ɪn'** 20A
inseacht **ɪnfəxt** 20Ml, often also **i:ɲfəxt**, (e.g. 11C), *insean* **i:ɲfən** 21C; *d'insigh*
d'ɪnfə 11C
Linseach Bhearna **l'ɪnfəx v'ɑ:rnə** 35E
pins **p'ɪnf** (Atb)P 'predicament'; *pinse* **p'ɪnfə ~ p'ɪnfə** S, P
rinse **ri:ɲfə** M
rinseáil **ri:ɲfə:l'** M
sinseáil **si:ɲfə:l'** M, **si:ɲfə:l'**
trinse **tr'ɪnfə** SM, **tr'ɪnfə** S.
/_nt *cinn*te (adjective) **k'ɪnt'ə << k'ɪnt'ə** in central IA
*cinn*te (verbal adjective of *cinn*) only **k'ɪnt'ə** noted in central IA
*incinn*te **əŋ'k'ɪnt'ə** S, 27J
cinteadhachaí **k'ɪnt'e:xi** 20Myq, **k'ɪnt'o:xi** 21J, etc., plural of *cineadh*
dintiúr FGB **d'ɪnd'ur** M
*inn*te **ɪnt'ə << i:nt'ə** in central IA
intinn **ɪnt'ən' >> ɪnt'ən'** S, *ardintinneach* **'ɑ:rd'ɪnt'ən'əx** 894Cs
intleacht **ɪnt'l'əxt** 01J, **ɪntr'əxt** M
printseach **pr'ɪnt'ɪfəx** S.
Cp. **p'ɪnt'ɪn'** M *pinntín* < *pionnta*.
/_nd *Innbhearán* **ɪndr'əɣa:n**; the only lengthened token noted is **ɪndr'u:wa:n** 76Mt
(Doire Iorrais).
/_ngc *cincín* **k'ɪŋk'ɪn'** SM, **k'ɪŋk'ɪn'** 21Jq, *cuincín* **kɪŋk'ɪn'** 21Jq, 35E, **kɪŋk'ɪn'**
18J, 21Jq
Cincís **k'ɪŋk'ɪ:f** 46.800, S
dinglis **d'ɪŋgl'əf** generally, but **d'ɪŋg'ɪf** 46.551
princeam **pr'ɪŋk'əm** 889Pt
rin(g)ce **riŋk'ə**; no lengthened token noted
suinceáil past **hɪŋk'ə:l' >> hɪŋk'ə:l'** (example of latter 32J)
tincéara **tiŋk'e:rə >> tiŋk'e:rə**.
/_ngn *dingníthe* with **ŋn' ~ gn'** in *daingean dingthe* **dæŋg'ən d'ɪgn'i:hə / d'ɪgn'i:hə**
/ d'ɪgn'i:hə M
ionga has a plural by-form *ingne* **i:ŋgn'ə**.

1.181 *io*

io initially, occurs almost exclusively before nasals, with the same development as *o*, i.e. *io* > **u ~ ʊ**, e.g. *iomchar* **umpər << u:mpər**, *ionnsaidhe* **unsi: u:nsi:**, *ionnlad* > genitive *únlaid* 866ESc319.61. Retained before intervocalic *ng*, e.g. *ionga* **uŋgə**, *driongal* in *driúilíní* *driongal* **dr'u:l'i:n'i: dr'ɪŋgəl** SM, *giongach* **g'uŋgəx**.

Exceptions: **u ~ i:** in *ionghabháil* transcribed as *íongúáil* !894C9; *ionlaoigh* **ɪnli:** 12S, **ɪnli:** 46.14, **unli:** 12S(perm); and generally in bimorphemic *ionnta* **untəb ɪ:ntəb**, the **u:** in **u:ntüb** SID.46 s.v. *ionnam* is exceptional (also **ɪ:ntüb** 46.I.14). Cp. *ionlach* **ē:nləx ē:nləx** 45C, **ɪ:ml'əx** S, also perhaps (unclear on the audio recording) **ɪ:mləx** 892Mg.

There is no lengthening before *lr*: *biolar* > *biolra* **b'olrə**, *iolar* > *iolrach* **olrəx ~ ulrəx**.

List of *io* > **u ~ ʊ**:

- /_mC* *iomghaoth* **u:myi:** S, **u:myi:hə** SM; no short token noted, ***u:myi:** Øperm SM
iomlacht **u:mləxt** S, 21Pt, also **u:nləxt** 21Pt, **ɪnləxt** M, *d'iomlaigh* **d'unlə** M

iomlán **uml̥a:n** S, *an t-iomlán* ə **t̪u:ml̥a:n** M
iomramh **u:mr̥ə** M, **umr̥ə** S, P, **umər̥ə**
iompaigh **ump-** ~ **u:mp-** SM, **umpu:** S (**ump-** 6/6 St3a), **u:mpu:** M
iomchair **u:mpər̪** SM, *iomchar* **umpər̪** << **u:mpər̪** in central IA.
l_nC *iondúil* **u:ndu:l̪** 01J, SM
ionsaigh **u:nsə** M, *ionnsaidhe* **unsi:** ~ **u:nsi:**
ionlacht **ū:nləxt** !894C, **u:nləxt** M, 21Pt, **inləxt** M
iontaigh **d̪u:ntə** f̪i: 11Ct, **u:nti:m̪** 14M.

io non-initially before *nn* > **i:**, e.g. *cionn* **k̪'i:n**, *fionn* **f̪'i:n**, *mionn*, e.g. (proverb) *léis na mionn is fearr na mr̥ə* 894C9.

io non-initially elsewhere > **i u i:**; retained before *ms*, e.g. *tionsaigheann tumsi:n*.

Exception, before *ll*, *m* > **u:** in:

drioll (FGB) in phrase *thit an drioll ar an dreall* **hit̪ ə dr̪'u:l̪ er̪ ə dr̪'al̪** P;
liom generally **l̪um** seldom **l̪u:m** (the latter more frequent in higher register).

Before *nn*, *ngc* > **u:** ~ **i:** in:

lionn dubh: regular in *líonn dú* !894C9, but **l̪'u:n** !19J;
stiongcán **st̪'ung̊k̊a:n** (also *striongcán* **st̪r̪'ung̊k̊a:n** **st̪r̪'i:ŋk̊a:n**), regular in *stíoncán* !894C9, **st̪'i:ŋk̊a:n** !19J, but *stíuncán* FFG, also **st̪'u:ŋk̊a:n** in song, perhaps higher register and the explanation for the pronunciation in FFG.

List of *io* > **i u ~ i:**

l_mp *príomhallán* **pr̪'i:mp̊əla:n** 10B, SM, also 46.808, cp. *príomplachán* **pr̪'impl̊əx̊a:n** 52Cr
 cp. *timcheall* **t̪'i:mp̊əl** >> **t̪'imp̊əl** **t̪'ump̊əl**; also **t̪'i:mp̊əl** >> **t̪'imp̊əl**
treampán > *triompán* **tr̪'ump̊a:n**, no long token noted.
l_nd *bionda* **b̪'ində** Sq, *do bhionda* **də v̪'undə** 01C6284, **b̪'ində** ~ **b̪'i:ndə** Mq,
m̪'ində Mq
glionda **gl̪'ində** SM, *gliondail* **gl̪'inda:l̪** SM
gliondar **gl̪'indər̪** S, 35E
prionda **pr̪'i:ndə** M, *priondail* **pr̪'i:nda:l̪** S, *priondóir* **pr̪'i:ndo:r̪** S.
l_nl *Mionlach* **m̪'i:nləx** ~ **m̪'unl̊əx** P.
l_ns *pionsúr* **p̪'insu:r̪** ~ **p̪'i:nsu:r̪** SM
prionsa **pr̪'i:nsə** S
prionsabáilte **pr̪'insəb̊a:l̪t̪ə** 35E
 (past tense) *thionscail* **hi:nsk̊əl̪** 18J.
l_nt *ciontaighe* **k̪'unti:** always short
fíontanach **f̪'i:nt̊ənəx** >> **f̪'int̊ənəx** SM
pionta **p̪'i:ntə** SM, P, 27Cl 47P, **p̪'untə** 01J, **p̪'intə** 889P, 52J, 52M.
 Cp. *cionsiocair* le 'k̪'in̪'f̪uk̊ər̪ l̪'e.
l_ngl/c *b(r)ionglán* < *beanglán* **br̪'i:ŋgl̊a:n** SM ~ **br̪'ung̊l̊a:n** 27Mdq (permitted SM),
b̪'ing̊l̊a:n 21Jq
bríonglóidí **br̪'i:ŋgl̊o:d̪'i:** >>? **br̪'ing̊l̊o:d̪'i:** SM, **b̪'i:ŋl̊o:d̪'i:** 84PAO, **b̪'i:ŋl̊o:d̪'i:**
 36PCS, **b̪'ung̊l̊o:d̪'i:** 899PLC, **b̪'ug̊l̊o:d̪'i:** 20ADO
plíoncadh **pl̪'ung̊k̊ə**
stríonc(áil) **st̪r̪'ung̊k̊ə**, **st̪r̪'ung̊k̊a:l̪** M, **st̪r̪'i:ŋk̊a:l̪** S, **st̪r̪'i:ŋk̊a:l̪** M, 21Jq;
stríoncán **st̪r̪'ung̊k̊a:n** **st̪r̪'i:ŋk̊a:n**.

1.182 o

o before *ll* > **au**, e.g. *coll kaul*, *poll paul*;

before final *nn* > **u:**, e.g. *bonn bu:n* (usually), *fonn fu:n*, exceptionally > **au** in *donn daun* (cp. regular genitive in song *Máire 'n Chúil Duinn* !869P (CABI §63 v. 4) ⇒ *doinn *di:n'*);

before final *m* > **u u:**, e.g. *lom lum lu:m*.

List of *o* > **u ~ u:**

- l_m* *com* **ku:m** (e.g. !(Acgf)43Js)
lom lum lu:m
tom tum >> **tu:m** S, **tum** M, *tom dhrise tu:m* 'Y' r' i fě 46.972
trom generally **tru:m** SM, P; very occasionally **trum**, e.g. *an bhfuil sé trom?*
wil' fe trum S, *bhíodh sé chomh trom leis an diabhal v'it fe xə trum*
l'ef ə d'aul P. Brothers 22J and 23C, however, were noted with frequent **trum**; also **ɬum** 51N.
- l_mplrl* *compás kumpa:s* 01C, 01J, **ku:mpa:s** M
comrádaí ku:mra:di; M, **kumra:di**:
compóirt ku:mpo:rt' S, **kumpo:rt'** 52P
domlas du:mləs SM, **du:mla:s**, **dumla:s** [?] S, **du:mləs** 46.1137
lompair lumpər' SM
rompa > *rompabh ru:mpəb* (3 plural of *roimh(e)*)
seomra < *seómra fu:mra* SM, **fumra** St, 25S, also **fuməra**
stomp(-) **strump(-)** S, 43M, **stru:mp(-)** SM.
- l_nr* *conra* < *comhra*: generally short **kunrə kuntrə**, etc., but **ku:n'ɹə** 35E9233,
 also long in higher register
lonnradh lunḍrə lu:nḍrə; *lonnraigh lunḍ'ɹə*, **lu:nḍ'ɹə**, ~ **lu:nḍ'ɹə**, etc., Mq,
 implies **u** >> **u:** for M.
- l_ns* *fonsa* plural **fu:nsi**: S
scomnsa sku:nsə SM, 60C, **skunsə** 894C, S, Pt.
- l_nd* *sonda su:ndə* S, plural **sundi**: , **sində** 20A, *sondail su:nda:l'* S.
- l_nt* *bronnatanas bru:ntənəs* S
contráil ku:ntra:l' S, so also *contráilte ku:ntra:l't'ə* SM, **kuntərə:l't'ə**
ku:ntra:l't'ə 20My, **kuntra:l't'ə**; *contrálaí ku:ntra:li*: S
contráth in *cochall contráth koxəl kuntra:* [x2] 852Sb, these two tokens are
 transcribed long in *culaith / cochall cúintra* [x4] 852Sb126–7
contúirt ku:ntu:rt' M, **kuntu:rt'**.
- l_nl* *Conla* (Conlaith) **ku:nlə**.
- l_ng/c* *comhghar* > *congar*, *i gcomhghar ə gu:ngər* 11C, **ə gungər** S; *comhgharach*
ku:ngərəx 18J, *míchomhgharach 'm'i:xungərəx* S
drong drū:ng !11C
long lū:ng 46.1093, *long mhór luchtmháir láidir lūng wə:r loxtwər lə:d'ər*
869PSgbf; **lū:ng** !(Abtm)11C
long, longadh, luŋ fe S, **lungə** SM, (**lu:ngə** Mperm but Máire claims **lungə** is
 her form)
moncaí munki: 47P, *do mhoncaí də wu:ŋki*: M, cf. 14
Mongá(i)n mu:ngə:n' 36T, **munğa:n** SM, (Máire claims not to use **u:** here)
sponc, spelt *spúnc* (E. Ó Neachtain Óc210)
toncáil tuŋka:l' generally, **tuŋka:l'** ~ **tū:ŋka:l'** 894C.
 Cp. *munğailt, mugailt mu:ğə'l't'* 46.34, **mugə'l't'** **smugə'l't'** M; **munğə'l't'** S.

1.183 oi

oi before *ll, ls, lch* > **ai**, e.g. *coill kail'*, *moill mail'*; *soillse sailfə*, *foilsighthe failfi:hə*, *boilsce bailfk'ə*; *coileach* has an obsolete diminutive *coilchín kail'hin'*.

Exception: the nominative **au** of *coll* 'hazel' is retained in the genitive *coill kaul'*, perhaps to differentiate it from *coill kail'* 'wood'. Cp. place-name *Doire Coill der'ə kail'*.

Raised to *ui* in adjective *toilteach* (< *toil til'*) in: *Mara bhfuil sibh tuillteach sásta ar a' gcás údán 's é fheiceáil réidh* !869P CABI §10(b) v. 7; also *toillfidh t'i:l'hə* (~ *f'i:l' - ~ f'i:l' -*).

oi before final nasals > **i**, e.g. *broinn bri:n'*, *roinn ri:n'*, *maide an troim mad'ə n trim'*.

Exceptions: **u ~ i ~ ó ~ u** in:

pointe, pointeáilte, pointiúil currently **pint' - ~ pi:nt' -** (e.g. *pointe pi:nt'ə* S, **pi:nt'ə** >>> **pint'ə** M, **pint'ə** only noted from Máire in the adverbial phrases *pointe ar bith pint'ə b'i* M and *ar na pointí er nə pint'i* M); however, Máire also remembers, although slightly unsure, a form *púintiúil* Mq;

Proinséas prinfe:s S, cp. *Phróinséis* !894C9;

(*dair mo*) *choinsias xunfjəs* 23Ms, *xunfe:s* 05M;

also borrowing *boimbéal* (< 'wind-beam', **bimb'e:l** de Bhaldraithe 1977–9c: 320; also **bimb'e:l** Ó Siadhail 1978: 3) plural **bi:mb'e:l'** S (long only), **buaimb'e:l'** 852Sb (cp. *buaicis* < 'wick').

Cp. Note *croimeasc krim'æsk*, **kru:m'æsk** M, **xru:n'a:sk** 46.532, *cróimeasc* FFG s.v. *crúimeasc*.

List of oi > i: ~ i

- l_mprls* *coimpléasc kimpl'eisk* SM, P >> **kīmpl'e:sk** 869P, *coimpléasc* 894C2;
coimpléascúil kimpl'esku:l' SM
coimrí < comairghe (c. *caol leis iad*) IGT, **kīmr'i:** 08B, SM, **kimr'i:** 05M,
 also *coimhrí* FGB **kivr'i:** ~ **kivr'i:** M
roimpe ri:mp'ə >> **rimp'ə** in central IA
troimse tri:mjə SM, FFG.
- l_nllts* *coinnle* (plural of *coinneal*) **kī:nl'ə**
coinnleach kī:nl'əx SM only
coinnleog kī:nl'ə:g S only
coinnleoir (< *coinneal*) **kī:nl'ə:r'** M only
coinnlín (diminutive of *coinneal*) **kī:nl'i:n'** 892M, 25M, **kī:nl'i:n'** 35E,
kī:nl'i:n' 892M, also **kīn'əl'i:n'** 892M
croinnte (plural of *crann*) **kri:nt'ə** only.
- l_ng* *loing li:ŋ* 04B, **l'ing** 11C, **li:ŋ** 04B, **l'ing**, but only the short vowel has
 been noted in the genitive *loinge l'ing'ə* and plural *loingiseacha*
ling'əfəxə
moing mīng >> **mī:ng**, note genitive *moinge mī:ng'ə* !894C.

1.184 u

u before *m* and before preconsonantal *n* > **u** *u:*. Before *l* > **au** in *Ultach aultəx* (presumably first lowered to *o*); cp. *balscóid baulsko:d'*, etc. Exception: *rungás runga:s* (e.g. 21Jq) but also **rī:nga:s** 892M, 21Jperm, plural *ríongáis* Clad1177,

ri:ŋga:si, **ruŋga:si** S, as if from **rióngás* (*rungás* ~ *ríóngás* CAR s.v. *íongás*) although lengthening is not regular before intervocalic *ng* (e.g. *runga ruŋgə* only); similarly, **i:ŋg** ~ **uŋg** in *ar íongás* **869PCAR**, *ungásach* **875PCAR** s.v. *íongás* (cp. *ungabhás*, *ungás* FFG24, 20).

List of *u* > *u* (~ *i* before *ns*) ~ *u*:

- /_m* *cum* **ku:m** **kum**.
/_mp *plump* **plump** only, and *plumpaíl* **plumpi:l'** only, *plumpannaí* **plumpəni:** only
pumpáil **pumpə:l'** generally, **pumpə:l'** >> **pʉ:mpə:l'** M, P
stumpa **stumpə** ~ **stu:mpə** S, **21J**, cp. *stuimpín* **stu:mp'i:n'** **21Jq**
stumpán **stumpə:n** M, P
trumpa **trumpə** ~ **tru:mpə** S, **tru:mpə** **21Jq**, cp. diminutive *truimpín* **tru:mp'i:n'** **21Jq**.
/_ndlt/s *bundún* **bundu:n** SM
buntsop **bu:ntop** 46.527, S, **buntop** S
cunnt/dae **kunde:** **ku:nde:**
cuntanós(ach) **ku:ntənəs(əx)**
cuntar **ku:ntər** **kuntər** S
cuntas **ku:ntəs** SM
drundáil **dru:nda:l'** Mq, note ***drunda:l'** MØperm
grundáil **gru:nda:l'** SM
lon dubh lun duw M, **lu:n dɪ |** (Suda)**04B**, *lún du* **875T1**
punt **punt** >> **pʉ:nt**, the latter is regressive, e.g.
866Et: *trí phunta dhéag -ū-* [x1] **-ū-** [x5], *luach céad punt -ū-* [x1],
deich gcéad (eile) punt -ū- [x3];
896P: *chuile phunt fū:nt dhen cheilp cupla punt pūnt airgid*
cheire phunt fūnt an tonna
suntas **suntəs** << **su:ntəs** S, *suntasach* **su:ntəsəx** SM
unsa **unsə** **insə** **u:nsə**.
/_ngc *ponc* **pʉŋk**
uncail **u:ŋkəl'**, plural **u:ŋkəl'əxi:** S, **u:ŋkəl'əxi:** St; **u:ŋkəl'**.

1.185 *ui*

ui before *ll* and final *nn*, *m* > *i:*, e.g. *thuill* **hi:l'**, *tuinn* **ti:n'**, *suim* **si:m'**.

ui before *ng* and nonfinal nasals > *i:*.

Diminutives can retain the long variant of their nonpalatal base: *truimpín* **tru:mp'i:n'** **21Jq** < *trumpa* **trumpə** **tru:mpə**; *stuimpín* **stu:mp'i:n'** **21Ptq**, more commonly **stimp'i:n'** < *stumpa* **stumpə** **stu:mpə**.

List of *ui* > *i* ~ *i*:

- /_mC* *cuimse* **ki:mʃə** generally in central IA, **kimʃə** **897PLC**
Luimneach **li:m'r'əx** **25S**, **li:m'r'əx** **866Etn**, S, **li:mn'əx** **894Cs**, genitive
Luimnigh(e) **li:m'n'ɪ** 46.365, **li:mn'i:** **869P**, **894Cs**
stuimpín **stimp'i:n'** SM, P, no long token noted except in **stu:mp'i:n'** **21Ptq**,
diminutive of *stumpa* **stumpə** **stu:mpə**.
/_nC *fuinnseog* **fi:nʃo:g** S, **finʃo:g**
muinntir **mi:nt'ər'** is more common in central IA than **mint'ər'**
puins **pī:nʃ** **872P** (tool)
puinsiún **pi:nʃu:n** **892M**
puint, genitive of *punt*, *os cionn an phuint* **əs k'i:n ə fint'** S, *dho réir an*
phuint **gə ʔe:r ə fint'** M, plural **pint'** >> **pī:nt'**
tuainte **ti:nt'ə**.

/_ng cuing **king** generally, but **ki:ŋg** 869P
 muing **ming** **mi:ŋg**; **vi:ŋg**, **m^w:ŋg** Mp 54.

1.186 R-Sounds

Initial (unlenited and lenited palatal and nonpalatal) *r* > **r**, e.g. *rath* **ra**, *rí* **ri**; *a rí* **ə ri**: (vocative), *reamhar* **rāvər**, *rug* **rug**. Similarly, in compounds, e.g. *banríoghan* **bānríən**. For the trilled allophone **ʀ**, see 1.194 ff.

Unlenited palatal *r* and both lenited and unlenited nonpalatal *r* (often *rr*) > **r**, e.g. *fear* **f'ar**, *fearr* **f'ar**, *beirt* **b'ert'**, *ceird* **k'aird'**, *fairrge* **farəg'ə**, *bearradh* **b'arə**. (Note the intrusive schwa in song in *gairdín* **gairəd'i:n** !894C.)

Lenited palatal non-initial *r* > **r'**, e.g. *aire* **ar'ə**, *caoirigh* **kir'ə**, *fir* **f'ir'**.

Initial palatal originally lenited *r* > **r'** in *dho réir* **gə r'e:r'** (and *dhá réir*, etc., also **r-**, **l'-**, **l'-**), *dhá ríribh* **ʔar'ir'ə**, *arís* **ə'r'i:f'**, *ariamh* **ə'r'iəw** < *riamh*; including in eclipsing positions: *riocht* in *mo riocht* **mə r'ox't**, but also *i riocht* **ə r'ox't**.

Initial nonpalatal originally lenited *r* > **r'** in *roghain*, *rogha*: *do roghain* **də r'aun'**, including in eclipsing position:

(3 pl poss) *a rogha rud* **ə r'au rud** 892M2285; *ach a rogha beithíoch eile a thabhairt leo* **ax ə r'au b'ehiəx əl'ə ho:r't l'ə:həb** 04B;

(1 pl poss) *bhí a roghain againn* **v'i: ə r'aun' æ:n** M;

but *roghain*, and *rogha* especially, also **r**, e.g. *mo roghain* **mə raun'** !05M, *do rogha rud* **də rau rud** (Sm)04B.

Palatal *r* > **r** beside palatal *s*, i.e. **sr rs fr rf**, e.g. *srian* **frim srin**, *fairsing* **farfən'**, *caisric* **kajrək'**, see (*sr*) 1.131 ff. Exception: the cluster **fr'** occurs in the rare by-form of *thar éis* **fr'e:f** recorded from speaker 869P only (1.192), who also has **ʃə'l'e:f**; and in the rare by-form of *chreidim* > **fr'edəm'** recorded from 18J only (1.193).

Nonpalatal **r** is often neutral, i.e. unvelarised. Initial nonpalatal *r* before front vowels is sometimes very difficult to distinguish from phonemically palatal *r*. In such cases I very rarely transcribe a palatal *r*, e.g. *rí-chorrcheann de* **r'i'xaur'x'ən d'i** | 21Pt. Both *r* phonemes can be very similar, particularly in initial position, especially when the flap may be reduced and friction heard in both palatal and nonpalatal versions. Speaker 29C has frequent initial **ɹ**, e.g. *róinte* **ɹu:n't'ə**.

1.187 Exceptions

rr > **r'** by analogy in inflected and derived forms, e.g. *barr* > *bairr* **bar'**, *carr* > *cairr* **kar'**, *cairín* **kar'i:n**.

-úir > *-úr*, e.g. *nádúir* **nədúr**, *doctúir* **doktúr**.

Palatal *rth* >

(i) **rh** generally, e.g. *uirthe* **orhə**, and regularly in verbal adjectives, e.g. *beirthe* **b'orhə**, *doirthe* **dorhə**, *speirthe* **sp'erhə sp'orhə**; verbal adjective and verbal noun genitive *fairthe* **farhə**.

(ii) **rh** ~ **r'h** in derived *speirtheach* **sp'or'həx** M, but also **sp'orhəx** S, **sp'orəx** 12S, 43M, 52J, *speirtheachaí* **sp'er'həxi** 23B, **sp'or'əxi** M, but also **sp'orhəxi**: 64Me.

In plurals in *-acha*, *-a*, *-í*: *srathair* > **sra'r'həxi**: 26P, **frarhəxi**: **frahər'əxi**: 37Jq; and in *seire* **fer'ə** ~ **fer'hə**, which has a plural by-form *seirtheachaí*

forhəxi; *púir* > **pu:rhə** 52Jq; contrast regular palatalising plural *bóthar* > **bo:r'hi**.

Also before nominal suffixes: *gáirthíl* **gə:rhil'** Mq, *gárthaíl* 866ESemr86, **gə:r'hi** P; *rua(i)thr(e)ach* **ruərhəx**, **ruərhux**, **ruə'r'hux**.

Cp. adjectival *-thúil*: *tír* > *tírthiúil* **t'ir'hul'**, *tóir* > *tóirthiúil* **to:r'hul'**.

(iii) **r'h** common in derivational morphology: before verbal noun and nominal suffix *-thiúch* ~ *-theach* (< *-feadhach*): *búirthiúch* **bu:r'hux** ~ **bu:r'həx**, *blaidhrthiúch* **blair'hux**; before adjectival *-thiúil* in *tírthiúil* **t'ir'hul'** 23B.

1.188 **r > l**

r > l, often in dissimilation.

Palatal

r > l'

briúéara **bl'ue:ra** 869P

creabhar **kl'aur**

cuireata **kil'əta** (Dinn s.v. *cuireat* attributes the variant *cuileata* to Connacht), cp. *muileata*

éiteorach (with copying of *l*) **el't'io:ra** 869P, also **el't'urəx** 21Ptq

feirm **f'el'am'**, perhaps through dissimilation with *r* in the derived noun *feirméar* **f'el'am'era**

oireamhain **fel'unt'**

sodair (plural of *sodar*) **sodər'** generally, but (although the recording is slightly indistinct) in the phrase *do mhadadh le do shodair* meaning 'your dog by your side as you ride on horseback', speaker 03V has **l'e də hodəl'**, also **l'e mə hodəl'**; where final *l* was perhaps influenced by preceding *le* and by the phrase *le do sháil*.

> **r' ~ l'** *ainnirín* **æn'ər'in'** (Ascen)11C, but **æn'əl'in'** (Ascen)04B

aréir **ə'rei'** generally, but Dónall, son of 25S, informs me that two speakers from An Aird, Máirtín Éinniú and Deara Sheáin Choilm, have **ə'rei'** (in song)

buairín, *buairchín* **buər'hi:n'** generally, but **buəl'hi:n'** 892M4191

briosclán SM ~ *bliosclán* FFG

caithrigh **kar'hu:** SM, **kal'hu:** S

ceirín(each) **k'er'hi:n'** SM, 14M, **k'el'hi:n'**(əx) S, etc., (1.253)

cnitéáil **kr'it'əl'** generally, but **kl'it'əl'** 21Pt

cófra generally **ko:rhə** but *cóilthín* [x1+] !894C9 < *cóifrin*

goirm scoile generally **gor'am' skol'ə**, but **gor'am' skol'ə ~ gol'am' skol'ə** S

mair generally **mar'** but sometimes **mal'**, *chúns mhair sí ar do láimh* **xu:ns wəl' fi: er' də lə:v'** !(Acl)21Pt

mire in *darta mhire* 894C, 875T, **dartə v'il'ə** SM

scairíneach **skə:r'hi:n'əx** SM, **skəl'hi:n'əx** S

sméirín **sm'er'in'** ~ **sm'el'in'** S, *sméirín* FFG

soirbhígh, go *soirbhíghidh Dia dhuit* **gə fer'əv'i: d'ia yit'** SM, (gə) **fel'əv'i: d'ia yut'** 10Bq, 21Pt, perhaps influenced by *seilbh*, *seirbhís*

speireadh sp'ēr'ə ~ sp'el'ə S85

suirghe generally sel'i: in *mac suirghe* but also (higher register)

suirghe Fionn ser'hi: f'un ... ~ ser'əji: f'in 04Bl.

> r' ~ l' ~ l' réir in *dho réir* (gə) r'er' / l'er' / l'er' / l'er'.

Nonpalatal

r > r ~ l *Ceann Boirne* k'an bō:r'n'ə generally, but k'an bō:lən'ə (Asc)10B

Garomna (< *garma* (?) Rob.122) galəmə 21Pt

píoráid FGB plural p'i:rō:d'əxə !(Asp)04B, *píolóideachaí* 869P4

sácráil ~ *sácláil* SM

treor-, VN *dhá threoraghadh* ga hr'ō:lu: S, ga' hr'u:rhu: 06C, pst

threoraigh sé hr'ō:lə fe M, vadj *treoraighthe* tr'ō:li: M, also

impv tr'ō:rə, tr'ō:rə.

Retained in *éirim* e:r'am', *prásán* pra:sən, cf. ICF §609(iii).

1.189 Further developments

Palatal *r* generally retained in *dréimire* dr'e:m'ər'ə, but > d' in *dr'e:m'əd'ə* 43Mp (Doire Iorrais). Cp. *-ide* ~ *-ire* in *seamaide féir* (1.57). Natives of Máinis frequently comment on the nonlocal pronunciation *dr'e:m'əd'ə* 19B (Doire an Locháin, East Cois Fharraige, cp. ICF §609(vii)).

r > n in *scairbh* > *scairbh* skā'n'əv', influenced by *gaineamh*, whence the place-name *Loch Scairbh* lox skā'n'əv'.

r > r ~ n ~ Ø in *léirscios* > l'e:r'fkr'is 06C, l'e:r'fkr'is 892M, l'e:r'fkr'is S, the last-cited form contains *léan*, cp. *léirscios* FFG20, 24.

r > r ~ n in the place-name *Cróchnaid* (*Cruachnait* Rob.71, 'Croghnett' (Freeman 1936: 61)) kro:xnəd', kro:xrəd', kro:xlət', kro:xlən', kruəxlən', kno:xnət' ~ klo:xnət' 20M's brother, with *kn-* < *kr-* through influence of the medial cluster as well as possible analogy with words which have regular *cn-* > *kr-*.

r > r ~ Ø in *cromadh romhat* krumə ru:tə SM, *cromarúta* CAR, kumə ru:tə 21J (perhaps in dissimilation in *ar do chromadh rúta*).

Lost in a variant of the verb *abair* (before palatal *s*): *a deir sé* ə d'e fe 23Ms, *deir siad* d'e f'iəd 23Ms. Cp. *mar sin* > *mar hin* > *ma hin* (6.81).

1.190 r > rh

Lenited *r*, rarely *rr*, > **rh** in a large class of words, the unhistoric (**rh**) variable class with variants <**r**> <**rh**> <**r'**> <**r'h**> (cf. 1.396). Lexemes with <**rh**> are:

abhra, *fabhra*, etc., DIL, FGB faurhə SM

adhrain: pres a:ri:m' ! 05M, pst da:rhə m'e Mq, vadj a:rhi:(h) am Mq, VN a:rhu: SM

anuraidh ə'norhə

árach a:rəx ~ a:rhəx

arú most often aru:, but also arhu:, e.g. *arthú amáireach* 894C2, 14M; although only aru: was heard from Máire in conversation, she considers arhu: to be the better form

barainn generally barən', but *drochbharthainn* 894C9

Céibh an Bhéaraigh k'e:v' ə v'erhə, also (through sandhi) k'e: v'erhə 60M

Béarra **b'ər̥hə** SM; *an Chailleach Bhéarrach* **xa'l'əx v'ər̥həx** **04B**, *na Caillí Béarra(igh)* **nə ka'l'i' b'ər̥hə** **04B**
bliúrach FFG **bl'ur̥həx** M, perhaps derived from or influenced by *blaidhr-(f)e(adh)ach* and *búir(f)e(adh)ach*; also adjective *bliúrach* **bl'ur̥həx** M
buarach **buər̥həx** M
cara 'weir' generally **karə**, similarly *Cruaich na Cara* **kruə nə karə** but this toponym is also transcribed *Crua na Cartha* **!894C9**, cp. *Bruach na Carrtha Léith* CABI §35 where *Carrtha* may represent *Cara* **karhə**
cearrbhach **k'ærhu:x** M, **21Pt**, perhaps through analogy with verbal noun ending **-hu:x**
ciaróg **k'iarhə:g** S
Ciarraí **k'iar̥i**: generally but **k'iar̥i**: ~ **k'iar̥hi**: **897S**
comhra(i)g **ku:rək'** **11C**, *cuaille cûr(h)aic* ~ *cuaille cûrhaic* **875T1**, also *cûmhrac* ~ *cûmhnaic* **894C9**, **kû:nrək** **00T**
cumhra **ku:rə ku:r̥hə**, cp. adjectival *-tha*, i.e. *cumhartha*
cúram **ku:rəm** S >> **ku:r̥həm** S
dúras **du:r̥həs** SM
dúrách **du:r̥hu:x** SM
gearail **g'ærhi:l'** **866E**
malairt **marhəl'** SM, for **marhlət'** **20C**, etc., see 'Metathesis' 1.245
méaróg **m'iar̥o:g** S, *méarthóg* **876JDT85**
piorra **p'ər̥hə** FFG
sáraigh **sər̥hə** and related forms
scaróid FGB, *scárthóid* FFG, **sk̥ari:d'** **852Sb**, *scáraoid* **894C**, *scáiréid* >> *scáiréad* **866ESemr**
sciorrach **ʃk'ur̥əx** generally, but **ʃk'ur̥həx** **894C**, cp. adjectival *-thach*
scorach **skor̥əx** SM, **skor̥həx** **20C**, **35E**
seabhrán **ʃaur̥hə:n** SM
stóraidhe **ʃiar̥i**: generally, but **ʃiar̥hi**: **!(FCúil)06C**
sméarógaí **sm'iar̥o:gi**: ~ **sm'iar̥o:gi**: S
sméaróid **sm'iar̥ho:d'** Mq
stíoróip: *stíorthóib* **!894C6**, **ʃt'iar̥ho:p'** S, **ʃt'iar̥ho:b'** M, **ʃt'iar̥o:b'** **889P**
suarach: **suər̥əx** generally, but *suarthach* **!894C9**, **!00M** CABI §448 v. 5, *duine suarach* **din'ə suər̥həx** M93, but when queried about this form Máire permitted only **suər̥əx**; *suarógín* **suər̥o:g'ín'** S, **suər̥ho:g'ín'** M
tiarach **t'iar̥həx**, genitive **t'iar̥hi**: SM
tórainn **to:r̥hən'**
tórramh **to:r̥hə**
treor:- *dhá threoraghadh* **ga hr'or̥hu**: S, **gar hr'ur̥hu**: **06C**, also **tr'or̥l**- SM, and **tr'or̥**- SM, **11Ct**, *treoraigheacht* **tr'or̥hiəxt** ~ **tr'or̥iəxt** S.
Cp. *Oileán Ura* **il'ən or̥ə** **27Md**, **il'ən or̥hə** **47Ps**.
Cp. *géarán* **g'iar̥hə:n**, Mq's initial pronunciation of a little used word which she subsequently pronounced and permitted only as **g'iar̥ə:n**.

1.191 *r* > *r'h*

airí FGB **ær'hi**: , as in *móin na hairí*, perhaps < *aithrighe*
buaírn, *buaírchín* (?), **buər'hi:n'** M, **43M**, cp. *buarach* **buər̥həx** M

cairín **ka:r'hi:n'** SM, P, *cáirín* FFG

ceirín(-) **k'er'hi:n'**, etc., cp. below (1.253)

comháireamh generally **ku:r'ə**, but *ghá chúirthe 'g mra* !894C9 (indicating (verbal noun) ***kū:r'hə**)

loilgheach **lɔl'iax**, but (plural) **lor'həxi** 36P

póirín **po:r'hi:n'** SM and related forms

púirín **pu:r'hi:n'** M, *púirín na háithe* **pu:r'in nə ha:hə** M, cp. M. Dillon (1971), de Bhaldraithe (1971–2: 279–80); cp. **pu:r'hi:n'i** (**po:rh-**) 46.637, where (**po:r'h-**) may indeed be the phonemic interpretation

scairíneach **ska:l'hi:n'əx** S, **ska:r'hi:n'əx** SM

seire **fer'ə** S, **fer'hə**, *seirín* **fer'hi:n'** S

suirghe generally **sel'i:**, but **ser'hi** 04Bl (cp. *r > l'*); cp. *suirghe Fionn* **ser'əji:f'in** 04Bl

an Tuairín ə tuər'i:n', *na tuairíní nə tuər'hi:n'i:* !ZCP154.

1.192 Other changes

Weakening of *r*

r' > j, e.g. *an dream ə d'ja:m* 55J often; *trim t'ej'am* 61Pt often. It is noteworthy that speaker 61Pt also sometimes has palatalisation of historically non-palatal **r**.

r > ɹ' (i.e. retroflex palatal approximant), e.g. *Pádraig pa:ɹ'ək* 61Pt (Coill Sáile) (also heard in Ros Muc from speakers born since c. 1960).

Other irregularities

r > d in *sonra* FGB = *sonda* **su:ndə** **sundə**. Cp. *carnán -rn-* >> **-rd-**, and *cearn* (1.140).

-idhr- (with preceding *ua*) > **d'** ~ **ɖ** in *buaidhreán* **baid'a:n** **baidə:n**; > **ɖ** in *Ruaidhrí* **ruəɖi:**.

Palatal **r** also becomes **ɖ** in *cléireach* **kl'e:ɖəx**, noted in proper names and as a noun in discussions of those names: *Cléireach Thomáis Phaitseach* **kl'e:ɖəx** **humə:f fa'fəx** M, P and **kl'e:ɖəx ə'mə:f fa'fəx** P, explained by P and understood by M as **kl'e:r'əx** **humə:f fa'fəx** P, **əŋ kl'e:r'əx** M, P; *Micil an Chléirigh* ... *cléireach a bhí ina athair m'ik'əl' ə xl'e:ɖə* ... **kl'e:ɖəx ə v'i: n æhər'** M. The **ɖ** here is not analysable as an allophone or variant of **r'**, speakers clearly recognise the phonetic distinction between **kl'e:r'əx** and **kl'e:ɖəx**.

meidhir > **-g** in *le meidheag di* !894C9; cp. *meidheagach* [x2] = 'lán spraoi' !894C < *meidhreach* (?); perhaps influenced by *meadhg m'aig*.

Depalatalised *thr-* > **ʃ**, **s**, and palatal *chl/thr-* > **ʃr'**, **ʃ**, in minor by-forms of prepositions *thrí* (> **hri:**) > **ʃi:**, **si:**; *thar éis* (> **hr'e:f**) > **ʃr'e:f**; and *chreidim* > **ʃr'ed'am**, **fem'**. This change can be attributed to the acoustic similarity between voiceless **r** and **s**.

r > n

comhrag: *cûmhrac* ~ *cûmhnac* 894C9 (*n* written over *r* in the manuscript), *bia*, *bia nó cûnac*, ... *an cûnac héin a bheas idir muid* 894C2 in the same tale. All other speakers recorded retain **r** in *cuaille comhraig*. Also **kū:nrək** 00T (1.235). It would be interesting to know whether 894C has **r** or **n** in the phrase *cuaille comhraig*.

There is a by-form of *Binn Éadair*, i.e. *Binn Éadain*, through lexical substitution, in: *Bínn Éadain* !894C9, *i mBeann Éadain* ə m'æn e:ðən' 11Ct. Also *marla* mæn:lə S; *ruainnín* generally ru:n'ín', but nu:n'ín' 66N.

1.193 *r* > Ø (~ *r*)

Many of the words which show loss of *r* contain another *r* or *l*.

Possessives *ar* and *bhar* > ə; *-r* is often lost in proclitic copula, preverbal particles, etc.; often lost in preposition *ar* in *ar bith* ə b'í, *ar chor ar bith* ə xor ə b'í, *ar chuma ar bith* ə xumə b'í.

Palatal initial *br-* ~ *b-* in:

an Bhreachlainn ən vr'æ:xlən', but ən v'æ:xlən' !04B3s; also ən vraxlən' S (early);

cp. *brionglán* >> *bionglán* SM, *bionglán* 21Jq (< *beanglán*);

brionglóidí generally, but in East Iorras Aithneach b'í:ŋlɔ:d'í: 36PCS, b'ugglɔ:d'í: 899PLC, b'up'ɫɔ:d'í: 20ADO, also younger speaker b'í:ŋlɔ:d'í: 84PAO (mother from LC);

for a younger speaker in the word *briosca*, perhaps influenced by English 'biscuit', recorded in plural b'iski: 69S (for other speakers' br'iski:).

Palatal initial *dr* ~ *d* in *dreitheáir* (< *dearbh-bhráthair*, 1.7), e.g. d'r'ēhær', ə j'r'ihær' 04B, mə jehær' 66N; becoming common in younger generations, and occurring in *deirbhshiúr*, e.g. mə jefur 64M, ə jo/ehær', ə jofur 79M; *caidréis* > *caidéis* (T. S. Ó Máille 1961–3: 12–4).

beirtreach retained by some speakers, e.g. *an Bheirtreach* ən v'ertr'əx !11C, !21Pt, *Cuan na Beirtrí Buí* ku:n nə b'ertr'í: bi: 892M1523, but also *beirteach*, e.g. *an Bheirtreach Bhuí* v'ert'əx wi:, genitive nə b'ert'í: bi: M, plural b'ort'əxi:, also a factory name b'ert'əx S. Also *na Beirtrí Buí ... sa mBeirtí Bhuí ...* (sic) 894C3.

ceathrar k'ahər.

r-dissimilation may be a factor in all three nouns *dreitheáir*, *beirtreach*, *ceathrar*, especially the last two.

chreidim, *creidim* 'I am of the opinion that':

894C has kr'ed'əm' ~ hr'ed'əm';

899D has hed'əm' ARN6759, hjed'əm' ARN6196, hem' ARN6659, em' ARN6717;

01C has hed'əm' ARN6821, hem' ARN6823;

04Br has Ó! tá creidim kr'ed'əm' go bhfuil., Ó! chreidim xr'ed'əm' nach bhfuil.;

05M has kr'ed'əm', xr'ed'əm', x'ed'əm', hjem';

11C has kr'ed'əm' ... kr'em' gə ... ARN1521; fem' gər ... 11Ct, for f-, see 1.192;

12S has xr'ed'əm' ~ hr'ed'əm' ~ hed'əm';

18J has xr'ed'əm' ~ hr'ed'əm' ~ hed'əm' ~ fr'ed'əm' ~ kr'em' ~ hrēm', also *chreidim shuldhá ... x-r'ed'əm' xəla: ...*;

35E has, among other forms, ed'əm'.

An example was noted of *chreidim* meaning 'I believe' (profession of faith in prayer):

05M: *Chreidim, a Dhia, go bhfuil tusa anseo láthaireach.*

ˈxʲeðʲə́mʲ ə ʲjʲə ɡə wʲul tʲus ə́nʲʲo ləːhə́rʲəx | !05M.

díchrás DIL, *díograis* (*díogras*) FGB > *díogras* S, dʲiːkəs >> dʲiːkrəs.

drochrath in curses 'drəːxra >> 'dəːxra SM.

fréamh frʲeːw prʲeːw prʲeːm, also fʲeːw **36Pq** including plural fʲeːwrəxiː **36Pq** which is perhaps the source of the dissimilation.

prócar prəkə SM.

tharla hərlə as conjunction also reduced həl, etc., (8.145).

treas is retained in compound *treasfhaobhar* 'trʲasʲiːwər (run)**11C** but speaker

00Tt has ... *teas* ... *i dteas na fola* meaning 'combat' where the more familiar word *teas* 'heat' seems to have replaced *treas*.

Inis Mhic an Trír (containing old genitive of *triúr*) corresponds to *Inse 'ac an Trí* iːnʲ ək ə 'trʲiː **03V**.

Note *iartharach* (< *iarthar* (also *iathar*))¹ DIL, FGB (var. *iarthrach* FGB) in place-names > *iarhəx*, i.e. *an tOileán Iarth(ar)ach* ə 'iːlʲəːn iərhəx.

Note *tálach* tələx only is heard, cp. *t(r)álach* ICF §609, *trálach* **19B** (Doire an Locháin). The derivation of *teintidhe* tʲiːnʲtʲiː from *teine* 'fire' seems to be unknown to speakers, although there is a vague connection made with *tintreach* (genitive tʲiːnʲtrʲiː *tintrí*). Cp. *teinnt(r)each* tʲiː(ː)nʲtrʲəx but also tʲiːnʲtʲəx 46.852 (1.424). The association is most clear in the spelling *lá na stoirme thintrí* SeolG30. When asked what tʲiːnʲtʲiː was in *stoirm theintidhe* sterʲə́mʲ hiːnʲtʲiː, Máire replied *teintidhe, teinntreach, níl a fhios a'm tʲiːnʲtʲiː, tʲiːnʲtrʲəx, nʲiːlʲ əs am M*. (Similarly, speaker **63S**.) She also replied that **stoirm thintrí* **sterʲə́mʲ hiːnʲtrʲiː* is not permitted. Speaker **49J** cited his father as using the phrase *cuthach tintrí kuhəx tʲiːnʲtrʲiː* **49J** but he agreed to my suggestion that his father may more likely have pronounced *cuthach tintí kuhəx tʲiːnʲtʲiː*. Cp. *an fiabhras teinte ortha!* Clad1154 (*an fiabhras tinte orthu!* Clad169).

1.194 Trilled r

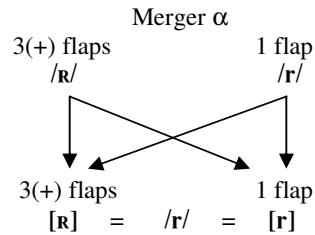
The trilled allophone **r**, historically a reflex of unlenited (nonpalatal) *rr*, is not common in the dialect as a whole. Nonetheless, the phone **r** occurs initially, intervocally and in many clusters, as well as unhistorically for lenited nonpalatal *r*, e.g. *amhrán* ərən **11C**, *cur* kur **04B**, including in initial lenited positions, e.g. *cearc fhraoigh* kʲaːrk riː 46.839, (and from *n* in) *i mbosca an tsnaoisín* ə muskə n tʲrʲiːʃiːnʲ **869P**. This unhistorical use has been observed in the speech of all speakers noted with **r**. It is heard quite frequently in the speech of three speakers: **869P**, **11C** and especially **14M**. Other older speakers who have **r**, but less frequently, include **04B** and **15W**. Speaker **27C** (*i m'Bray* ə mreː) and her daughter **72C** (*rud* | rud) and son **73P** (word-initially) also have **r**. Wife of speaker **27J** (born c. 1930) from Caladh Fhínse has **r** in tokens of *feicthear dom*, *abraíonn*, *dúradar*, *orainne*. Furthermore, four middle-aged or younger speakers (males) were noted with the sound: **60M** and **71J**, who use it particularly in more energetic or emotionally charged speech, and **53J** (*an rud* ə rud) and **77C**. Speaker **56B** was also noted with quotation-style *mhúrannaí* wuːrəniː **56B**. In contrast, many of the youngest speakers have **ɹ** as in English, e.g. *aer* eːɹ **52P**,

¹ Similar to *ceathrar* > *ceathar*.

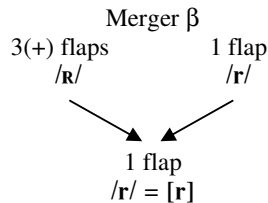
Carna **kɑ:ɲə 52P** (sometimes), *ag iarraidh orm ag' iəɹ ɔɹm 78E*. Epenthetic and transitional vowels are associated with more vigorous articulation of *r*.

There is very slight evidence to support the phonemic status of **ɹ** intervocalically. There may be some consistency in the facultative (historically correct) use of **ɹ** by **869P**, **11C** in the word *comhartha*, e.g. **kōhərə 11C**, plural **kōɹi**: 46 s.v. *comhartha*. Whether unstressed **-ərə** (which one would also regularly expect in *aicearra*, *iomartha* (genitive of *iomradh*)) could be defined allophonically or lexically is a moot point, i.e. **ɹ** would be restricted to unstressed position between two schwas. Judging from the evidence of point 46 of SID, it is possible that **ɹ** had limited contrastive status, i.e. near-merger, intervocalically in limited environments (following **a**, **o** and **i**; for discussion, see 'Individual Speakers' 1.195 ff.). The occurrence of **ɹ** is otherwise best taken as an allophone of /r/. Different speakers have different preferences and habits as to their facultative allophonic rules for **ɹ**. Taking the three speakers with frequent **ɹ** (**869P**, **11C**, **14M**) as a whole, however, we can state that **ɹ** is common in the environment of high vowels, perhaps less so beside short mid vowels; also in certain clusters: *rd*, *mr*, *br*, *dr*, *tr*, *lr*, *nr*, *cr*, *chr*, and, in **11C**'s speech, perhaps in sandhi when two *r* sounds come together.¹

Viewed historically the two phonemes **ɹ** (unlenited *rr*) and **r** (lenited *r*) have merged, with both phones encroaching on the other's previous distribution. If one takes, for the sake of simplicity, the original contrast to have been 3(+) flaps /ɹ/ vs. 1 flap /r/, one possible mode of merger can be viewed schematically as:

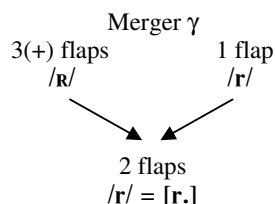


In obsolescent lects in our dialect, this is the type of process which has given rise to much of the occurrence of **ɹ**. Different lects follow different paths of merger (or arrows in the schema) to different degrees. In more progressive lects the complexity has been resolved, viewed schematically as (although the actual paths to this resolution may be far more complex):



¹ Regarding **ɹ** in *mr* of *iomradh* it is possible that genitive *iomartha* with **-ərə** may influence the **ɹ** in the nominative, as well as affecting surface epenthesis: *iomradh* **umərə**. Cp. *iomartha* **ɹmərə** SID q 1094, point 38 (1.364).

Another possibility is that the resulting merged sound might become intermittent between the two previously contrastive phonemes. In such a scenario the resulting consonant could be more vigorously articulated than historical lenited *r*:



This possibility, and other sources of complexity, must be borne in mind with regard to the merger of *r* and *rr*. Speaker 11C, for example, whose [r] is more vigorously flapped than that of his contemporaries, may have a reflection of Merger γ in his usage, rather than simply a continuation of older lenited *r*.

1.195 Individual speakers and the variable (r) → <R> <r>

Point 46 SIDI, III (transcribed from 869P and son 08C)

A sample was taken of tokens of nonpalatal (r) from SIDI, III, point 46, in order to obtain an idea of the conditioning and proportional use of **R** in this source.¹ The results presented in Table 1.7 show consistently high usage in only three medial clusters: *lr*, *nr*, *mr*. (In the table <R> tokens are underlined, **r** is classified as <R>.) In initial clusters usage is mainly confined to position preceding short nonlow vowels. It should be borne in mind that if all four vowels were calculated for each cluster, **R**-yield would be much lower; if long nonlow vowels were included, **R**-yield would be much lower still. In comparison with all other clusters (in most of which **R** is the second element, i.e. C**R**), and particularly given the preceding diphthong (**R** is not common following a long vowel), the usage of **R** in **-aird** is exceptional. I suspect the **R** here is a throwback to a (relatively recent) period before diphthongisation, or to a neighbouring dialect without diphthongisation, i.e. **-e/ord** (as is the usage in North Conamara, e.g. point 49).

Table 1.7 Trilled *r*, **R**, in clusters and word-initially in SID.46

R is	Map	SIDI, III	Total
Frequent (most tokens have R)			
-lr-		<i>galra</i> 86, <u>s.v.</u> , <u>s.v.</u> , <i>cam</i> , <i>gealrachán</i> 385, <i>iolrach</i> 833 (x2), <u>IV.1</u>	7/7
-n(h)r-	<i>conra</i> 193	<i>anraith</i> 327, ² <i>banríon</i> 332, <i>conraíochai</i> 711, <i>aonraic</i> 1001	5/5
-mr-		<i>lomradh</i> 90, <i>seomra</i> 517, <i>iomradh</i> 1094	2/3

¹ All occurrences of nonpalatal (r) were counted as far as question 232. From q 232 only occurrences of (r) between short vowels, initially, in clusters and historical *rr* were counted. From q 622 initial (r) and (r) in *rs* and *sr* clusters were not counted. From q 713 occurrences in *rt* and *rc* clusters were not counted. Only <R> tokens were noted from the texts and vocabulary.

² Contrast **nhr** with **ntr** in *anraith* 327.

R is	Map	SIDIII	Total
Less frequent (half or third of tokens have R)			
-XR-		<i>seachrán</i> 92, <i>tochras</i> <u>235</u> , <i>eocharach</i> <u>491</u> , <i>sochraid-</i> 704	2/5
-aird'	<i>ceird</i> <u>286</u>	<i>ceird</i> 1175, <i>airde</i> 59, 360, <u>869</u> , s.v.	3/6
tro/u-		59, 231, <u>231</u> , 362, 363, 796, 866, <u>1167</u> , <i>troda</i> s.v.	3/9
kro/i	<i>crotach</i> <u>214</u> , <i>cruimhe</i> <u>210</u> , 57, 184, 245	181, 644, <i>cnoic</i> <u>958</u> , <u>1078</u> , 1096, <i>crotach</i> s.v., <i>cruimh</i> s.v.,	6/12
bro/u/i-	99, 181, 284	43, 260, 266, 326, 570, 640, 642, <u>642</u> , <u>643</u> , 644, <u>894</u> , 1003, <u>1061</u> (x3)	7/19
Very rare (only R tokens are listed)			
dri(:)/a/u:-	<i>droim</i> <u>132</u>	<i>drama</i> 467, <i>druid</i> <u>841</u> (x2), <i>drú</i> (< <i>dorgha</i>) <u>1116</u>	
-dr-		<i>éadrom</i> <u>289</u>	
bruə-		<i>bruach</i> <u>556</u>	
b'ri(:)-		<i>bpriompallán</i> 'b'ri:mpəla:n <u>808</u> , <i>brisfidh</i> 'b'rifɪ <u>1061</u>	
ri(:)-		<i>reilig</i> <u>712</u> , <i>cearc fhraoigh</i> <u>839</u>	
ra:-	<i>ráithe</i> <u>233</u>	(vs. <i>ráithe</i> 905)	
-ort-		<i>portáin</i> , <i>portán glas</i> <u>1083</u>	

The only phonemically palatal, but phonetically depalatalised, tokens of **R** that occur are in initial 'b' **R**- in *bpriompallán* 808, *brisfidh* 1061.

Intervocally, **R** is generally rare (examples in Table 1.8). There may be some slight evidence for incomplete merger in its occurrence in *aicearra* and *comhartha* (but not *iomartha* 1094), and in the fact that **-ar-** occurs in only four lexemes, all of which have historical *rr*. Despite the large number of historical *-ar-* lexemes attested, there is no unhistorical **-ar-**. Nonetheless, *tarrainn* (x5) and *farraige* (x5) have **r** only. Following other vowels, i.e. **o**, **i** and even **a**, **ia**, there still appears a slight bias of **R** reflecting historical *rr*. Words frequent in SID such as *tabha(i)r* (*dh*)om, *orm*, *dorcha*, show **r** only. It may be indicative of incomplete merger that *rr* **R** is found in *gearrán* g'ĩra:n 170 in contrast with *r* **r** in *gearán* g'ĩra:n 370 or the historically correct reflexes may be coincidental.

Table 1.8 Trilled *r*, i.e. <R>, between vowels in SID.46

	Historical <i>-rr-</i>	Historical <i>-r-</i>
-ar-	<i>searraigh</i> (r.) Mp 53, <i>bearradh</i> (r.) 88, <i>garraí</i> 899, <i>carraig</i> 1061, <i>gearrann</i> s.v. <i>leamhain</i>	
-or-	<i>corrán</i> Mp 177, <i>corrógaí</i> Mp 133, <i>urú</i> (historical <i>rr</i> < <i>urdhubhadh</i>) 1058	<i>fothrach</i> 582, <i>torainn</i> (r.) 986, <i>curach</i> 1091 (x3), <i>steoraí</i> (r.) 258
-ir-	<i>giorria</i> Mp 213, <i>giorriachaí</i> 151, <i>girre</i> 872, <i>gearrán</i> 170	cp. <i>doraífe</i> < <i>dorgha</i> 1116
-a:R-	<i>b'fhearr</i> 'uit (r.) 885	
-iəR-	<i>iarraidh</i> (r.) 44	
-əR-	<i>aicearra</i> Mp 252 = 976, <i>comharthaí</i> s.v.	<i>miosarún</i> s.v. <i>gréasuidhe</i>

It is interesting that throughout Ireland *searraigh* has a higher occurrence of **R** and **r**. than *serrach* (both Mp 53). This can be explained as a result of the more favourable condition for **R** of the following high vowel in *searraigh*. The same

pattern, as well as perhaps syllabic length of the lexeme, is evident in ‘stirabout’ **ʃt̪ʰōrəbɔt** **ʃt̪ʰōrəbɔt** 46.258 but ‘stirry’ **ʃt̪ʰōr.i** 46.258. Nevertheless, the schwa of *searraigh* **ʃa:r.ə** in our point 46 shows no obvious reason of vocalic height for **r**. against *searrach* **ʃa:rəx**.

It is possible, then, that **r** is in near-merger with **r** in point 46. One can abstract from SID.46 the features of near-merger in this case:

1. <**r**> can replace <**r**> in every word and vice versa.
2. Speakers are not consciously aware of phonemic contrast, nor can they consciously control phonemic production.
3. Some speakers have lost the contrast.
4. In speech the contrast is facultative.

There may be some instances of serial effect, i.e. *reilig* **r-** 712 occurs directly following *conraíochaí* **-nr-** 711; the only two tokens of *rt* with **r** occur together in *portáin*, *portán glas* 1083; **r** is quite pervasive in *bruth* **br-**, *bruthannaí* **br-**, *tá bruth* **br-** *air an gcarraig* **-r-**, *brisfidh* **bʰr-** *sé ar an gcarraig* **-r-** 1061. It is possible that the second token of **r**, in the plural, in **dru:** ‘iəskəx, plural **dirí:** ‘ē **lā:** ‘ē 1116, is a result of serial effect following the initial cluster **dr-**, although other factors may be involved, e.g. **dirí-** may represent **dʰr-**, which might be interpreted as containing underlying **dr-**, i.e. an initial cluster. On the other hand, **dru:** might also reflect **doru:** (as in **doru:** point 48.1116), where **r** could be conditioned by the vocalic environment (cp. **-or-** in Table 1.8), and a singular **doru:** would support **r** in the plural, which similarly has favourable environment for **r** (cp. **-ir-** in Table 1.8).

It is obvious from the above that the loss of **r** occurred to a greater degree following long (and mostly low) vowels. This agrees with the general phonetic principles relating to the compromise between vocalic and consonantal length within the utterance.

1.196 Speaker 15W (daughter of 869P (SID.46))

The phone **r** is relatively rare, and weak, in the speech of **869P**’s daughters. It has been noted, especially in more emphatic speech, from **15W**, Winnie ‘ac Con Iomaire. Table 1.9 classifies her usage from my limited notes. In the third column the symbols indicate whether or not **r** is found in SID.46 (≈ **869P**) in the same environment: ✓ = found in SID.46; ✗ = not found in SID.46.

Table 1.9 Trilled **r**, **r**, in speaker 15W

Environment	Examples	SID.46
Initially /_o	<i>Ó! an raibh?</i> o: rɔ , <i>Déarfainn nar raibh.</i> dʰe:rən na: 'rɔ	✗
/_i:	<i>dhá rí</i> ʲa: rɪ:	✓
Initial cluster gri:-	‘Greene’ gri:nʰ , <i>gnáúil</i> gri:u:lʰ >> gri:u:lʰ	✗
bruə-	<i>bruach</i> bruəx	✓
Medial cluster -mr-	<i>iomraíochaí</i> umrɪəxiʰ	✓
Unstressed <i>-artha</i>	<i>bád iomartha</i> bə:d umərə	(✓)
Intervocally /i:_	<i>Maoras</i> mɪ:rəs	✗

1.197 04B and 11C

Speaker 04B

Speaker **04B**, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola, has **r** most commonly by far but **ɾ** and **ɹ** occur and have been noted in energetic pronunciation and in higher register:

cur **kur** **04B**, *nar chuir sé* **nar xur**. **ʃe: 04B**;

ar ráipéad na troda **ɛr r.ɔ:p'ɛ:d nə trodə 04B**;

nó gur éirigh roimhe ... nu: **'gəɾ air'ə rɪv'ə ...** (Smbb)**04B**;

go mbeannaíthe ar seisean a Fhinn mhac Cumhail, a Rí na bhFiann
go léir! **gə m'æ:ni:r ɪt' ɛr ʃɛʃən, ɪn' wə ku:l', ə rɪ: nə v'ien gə l'ɛ:r'**
04B.

Also noted in his speech is the fricative variant with a weakened tap, **ɾ**, e.g. *an rí* **ən rɪ: 04B**.

Speaker 11C

Speaker **11C**, Cóilín Ó Cúláin, has consistent use of voiceless trilled **r** in *malairt* > *malrait* **ma:lɾət'**, e.g. [x4] ARN1635–50.

1.198 Oversight in previous descriptions

Connacht Irish in general shows considerable evidence for phonetic but not phonemic **ɾ**. It has been inadequately described in the previously published monographs describing Connacht dialects. In these three studies — ICF, ITM and IEM — there is no mention of **ɾ**. This oversight is surprising given that **ɾ** had been earlier noted in dialects further south: for example, for Árainn (An tOileán Mór) by Pedersen (1897: 67; 1909: 142–3, occurring in clusters, in two variants: ‘a rolled **ɾ** before *d, t, n, l* [...] and a reduced **ɾ** before’ **ʃ**, p. 142); for Kerry, including, significantly, **ɾ** for historical lenited *r*, by Sarauw (1909: 60); also in IWM (non-initially §174); and IRW (word-finally §270). Given the general dialectal dispersion of the merger of unlenited sonorants from the South of Ireland, southern **ɾ** might imply the presence of **ɾ** in more northerly dialects. In fact, the allophonic use of **ɾ** in the English of Roscommon (reported in P. L. Henry 1957: 39–41, 45, and also heard by me in West Roscommon in the Ballinlough area)¹ and in many other Hiberno-English lects (P. L. Henry 1958 where **ɾ** seems most common in Connacht and West Munster, e.g. Sligo p. 123, Mayo pt 14 pp. 130, 143, Galway pts 15, 16 (17) pp. 119, 122, 137, Kilkenny pt 23 p. 130, Limerick pt 28 pp. 113, 138, etc., Cork pt 30 p. 113, Kerry pt 29 pp. 120, 138, etc.) might lead one to expect **ɾ** in Connacht Irish. Indeed, as comparison with the conditions set out above shows, the allophonic rules of Connacht Irish seem very similar to those given by Henry or to the conditions which may be implied from his examples. In contrast with the Connacht monographs, SID provides ample evidence of **ɾ**. One need refer only to the Connacht returns for *giorr-fhiadh* Map 213 where **ɾ** is in fact the norm; **r** is found in only three points (in Galway).

The specific error of two other authors, who analysed and transcribed the speech of Séamas Pádraig Ó Dufaigh from Cill Mobhí, East Mayo, can be contrasted with Wagner’s more accurate transcription (in this matter) of the same speaker at

¹ Its status is hardly phonemic in Roscommon English, but its use initially in some words, e.g. ‘rick’ **ɾɪk**, ‘real’ **re:ɾ**, contrasts with the more usual initial **r**, e.g. ‘reel’ **ri:l**, in P. L. Henry (1957: 41, 229–30).

point 62 of SID. Lavin (1956: 314), who had Ó Dufaigh as one of his informants, is quite clear in his statement: ‘unlenited *r* ... is unknown to me in this dialect’. Dillon transcribed a recording he and Ó Danachair had made of Ó Dufaigh in 1949: there is no use of **r**, although the transcription was published posthumously and was not perhaps meant to be final (M. Dillon 1973: 18, n. 10). A copy of this recording is held in the archives of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (tape ME 1). Although this recording is short, it has tokens of **r** in *riabhail* and *máthair* (*bhí sé chomh dona leis an riabhail, an cóta a rinne mo mháthair dhom*); showing **r** in *riabhail* in a fairly typical environment (preceding a high vowel). Wagner transcribed **r** from this speaker. His transcription of **r** in point 46 can also be verified from recordings of speaker **869P**. Trilled **r** can also be heard in the Irish speech of Iorras, Co. Mayo, not surprisingly in Acaill (IAIM §1560) and I have heard **r** in East Galway Irish and English. It is obvious that the evidence of SID is superior to that of the Connacht Irish monographs regarding this feature. A possible partial explanation for the oversight in the monographs is that the use of **r** is facultative (as well as affective) and can in all cases be replaced by **r**.

1.199 Vowels preceding *rr*, including before *rd*, *rl*, *rn*

Vowels in stressed position before *rr* (unless a vowel immediately follows) and before *rd*, *rl*, and *rn* (and exceptionally other *r*-clusters) are lengthened or diphthongised. The general developments are:

- (i) (e)*a*, *ai* > **a:** exceptionally *ai* > **ai**
- (ii) *ei* > **ai** exceptionally *ei* > **e:**
- (iii) *o*, *oi* > **au** including initial *or*- (~ *ur*-)
rare: *oi* > **o:**, **ai**
- (iv) *u*, *ui* > **u:**
- (v) *io* is retained in *sciorr* **fʲkʷr fʲkʷir**

(i) *a*, *ai*, *ea* > **a:**, e.g. *ard* **a:rd**, *Carn* > *Carna* **kʷarnə**, *carnán* **kʷarnən**, *fordorus* > *fardoras* **fʷa:rdorəs** (or perhaps influenced by *barr*-); *airndel* > *airdeall* **a:rdʲəl**, *airnéis* **a:rnʲe:ʃ** ‘fleas’, *bairneach* **bʷa:rnʲəx**, *cairde* **kʷa:rdʲə**, *gairdeach* **gʷa:rdʲəx**, *tairnge* **tʷa:rnʲə**; *bearna* **bʷa:rnə**, *ceardaí* **kʷa:rdi:**, *Uí Chearnaigh* **i: xʷa:rnə**, (*bradán*) *fearna* **fʷa:rnə**, *fearr* **fʷa:r**, *gearrfaidh* and *gearrtha* (< verb *gearr*) **gʷa:rhə**.

Note *deardan* **dʷa:rtən** S; before *rch* in the place-name *ar an bhFairche* **e:ʳ ə wʷa:rhə**; before *rs* in *arsaigheann* **a:ʃi:n** (contrast *arsa* **orsə**).

Exceptions with *ai* > (optional) **ai** in complex forms of *ard* and *gairid*:

aird (genitive of noun *ard*) > **a:rdʲ airdʲ**, e.g. *ceo ag dul chun aird* **kʷo: gʷolʲ ən a:rdʲ** (run)P;

aird, *airdeannaí* (plurals of noun *ard*) > **airdʲ**, **a:rdʲəni:**, younger speaker also **a:rdʲəni:** **69S**;

Aird noun in place-names **a:rdʲ**, genitive **a:rdʲə**;

airde as noun **a:rdʲə** in phrase *in airde*, but otherwise as comparative adjective and as noun **a:rdʲə**;

Airde genitive of adjective in place-name **a:rdʲə airdʲə**;

gairdeacht **gʷa:rdʲəxt**.

Cp. *feirdhris* ~ *foirdhris* FGB > **ai** in transcription *an fhaighirdris* **869P**.

a ~ **ɑ**: in *dara* ~ *darna* **darə** **darə** **darnə** **darnə**; *tairngthe* (verbal adjective of *tarraing*) generally **tarɴ'i:(hə)**, in some idioms **tarɴ'i:(hə)**.

1.200 (ii) *ei* — (iii) *o*, *oi*

(ii) *ei* > **ai**, e.g. *ceird* **k'aird'**, *sceirdiúil* **ʃk'aird'u:l'**, *Sceirde* **ʃk'aird'ə**; also surname *Beirn* > *Beighirne* ! CABI §498 v. 1 ⇒ ***b'airn'ə**. Exception: *Deirdre* **d'erd'r'ə** M.

The *ei* **ai** diphthong and long *ei* **e**: may indicate an original palatal *r* in these clusters in contrast to *oi* **au** and *ui* **u**:. It could be argued that this would imply that diphthongisation and lengthening of *ei* occurred before the loss of palatalisation of *r*. Perhaps the loss of palatalisation of *r* following back vowels *oi* and *ui* anteceded the loss following mid front vowel *ei*. Whatever the quality of *r* might have been, the palatal environment regularly affected *ei* only, resulting in the nonlow final morae of **ai** and **e**:. Similarly, **ai** indicates underlying mid vowel, and possibly a palatal *r*, in *aird* **aird'** (i.e. < ***e/ord'**) and related forms, *gairdeacht* **gaird'əxt**, *an fhoirdris* ***ən airdr'if**, *soir'neas* **sairn'æ:s**.

(iii) *o*, *oi* > **au**, e.g. *corr* **kaur**, *corn* > *corn* **kaurnə**, *dorn* > *dorna* **daurnə**, *ordlach* **aurləx**, *ordóg* **aurdɔ:g**; *coirleach* (~ *coirrleach* FGB, *corrlach* Dinn) **kaurl'əx**, *coirnéal* **kaurn'e:l**, *doirní* (plural of *dorna*) **daurn'i:**, *oird* **aurd'**, *scoirneach* **skaurn'əx**.

Initial EModIr *ur-* developed from OIr which had *air-*, *aur-*, *er-*, *ir-*, and *or-* (cf. Ó Maolalaigh 1997: 655–6; 2003b), the by-form in *or-* can be taken as the source of **au** in *urlár* **aurlə:r**, *urlabhra* **aurlaurə**,¹ *urláimh* **aurlā:v'**, *urnaighthe* **aurni:(hə)**. Northern dialects without diphthongisation generally have **o** (and **ɔ**) in *urlár*, e.g. SIDI.75; also, in Iorras Aithneach, **o** is retained in *urchar* > *orchar*, *urmhór* > *formhór*. Lowering of *u* before *r* is, nonetheless, also a possibility, i.e. *ur-* > *or-*. In other words, however, *ur-* is the base, yielding **u**: in *urbhéal* **u:r-v'e:l**. Cp. *urla* the source of the plural in the phrase in a narrative run *dhá urlaí ga wurli*: P (3m), *gá mhúrla* **866ESemr44** (3m), *dá múrla* **852SbLL93** (3pl), although now understood as *búrlaí* 'clothes' P, also spelt *dá úrla* is *dá mhailí* **864MLL152** (*mhailí* is perhaps the source of *mh-* in *mhúrla*; corresponding to *dhá shúile dhá úll agus dhá éadan ga*: 'hu:l'ə ga: 'u:l ogəs ga: 'e:dən **11C**, *urna* FFG20). Also *an Turlach* **ə turləx** place-name in Ros Muc (also pronounced **turləx** in Ros Muc). Cp. *for-* > *fuar-* (1.201). Note exceptional *airtheann* > *aorthann* FGB recorded as both **i:rhən** **27Mdq** and **iərhən** S, **49J**, perhaps from a variant in *irth-*. Short vowel retained in inflection in *foireann* > *foirne* **forɴ'ə** **18J**, as well as in the borrowings *coirnéal* 'colonel' **korn'e:l** **03C**, **35E**, **korən'e:l** **!03C**, and (place-name) *Foirnéis* **forɴ'e:f** **21Pt**.

1.201 Exceptions in (iii) *o*(*ɔ*)

bord **baurd** genitive *boird* generally **baurd'**, but note *a shuidhfheadh an* 'crowd' *a'ainn un búird* **894C9** (as in Munster); in unstressed position (in tale run) *ar aonbhard* **er'** **enwaurd** generally, but **er'** **enword** **898P**.

Ceann Boirne **k'ɑ:n bo:rɴ'ə** (< *Boireann*) place-name, also **k'ɑ:n bo:lən'ə** (Asc)**10B** ('Can boraine' on Baptista Boazio's Map of Ireland c. 1609). The

¹ This I recall as used by Seán in *gan aithne gan urlabhra* but I cannot find it in my notes.

form of *Boirne* with *o*; no doubt reflects the dialect of the actual place in Co. Clare (in Munster, where lengthening is regular in these positions).

Corr na Móna **kaur nə mu:nə** >> **korə nə mu:nə** S place-name (the latter by-form reflecting the dialect of the actual place of *Corr na Móna* (North Conamara where short historical vowels are generally retained); the schwa in **korə** may be an instance of phrasal epenthesis (with retention of short vowel before intervocalic *rr*) or represent a reanalysis as *Cora*).

for- **fuər-** (prefix) in: *forneimh* 'fuərn'iv' M, cp. *fornimhneach* FGB; *forfhocal* FGB, ING, 'fuər,okəl M, (also FFG20); it is difficult to know whether to interpret *forscéal* or *fuarscéal* in *go b'é an forscéal é siúd gə b'e: m 'fuər-ʃk'e:l e: ʃu:d* [x2] (Ascñ)11C (in other renditions) *ʃe:ɡər b'e: n 'tu:r-ʃk'e:l e: ʃu:d*, given that neither form is found in DIL, FGB, Dinn, also *nó ar miste libh an t-úrsceál a fháil no' ər m'ist'ə l'ib' ə 'tu:rʃk'e:l 'a:l'* (Ascñ)11C, as well as *urʃk'e:l* (Ascñ)19J (cp. *úrsceál* FGB).

Morna > *Moirne* (palatalisation through analogy with *Muirne*), typical in *Goll mac Moirne* **gaul ma'k mo:rn'ə / mu:rn'ə / bu:rn'ə**. In most of Ireland **o:rn / o:rn'** are the regular reflexes of *orn / oim* and *o:* was presumably adopted as such in this personal name common in both folk and literary traditions. The by-form **mu:rn'ə** can be derived from *Muirne*, or, less probably, from nasalised raising of *o:* from *Moirne*. Cp. 1.303, p. 319 n. 1.

scornach **sko:rnəx**.

soir and related forms have diphthongised by-forms in *soir'neas* **sairn'æ's**, *thoir'neas* **hairn'æ's**, *anoir'neas* **ə'nairn'æ's**.

Before *rt* in *doirt* **do:rt'**, *dortadh* **do:rtə**, contrast *goirt* **gort'**, *gort* **gort**. Cp. perhaps *orrtha* > **aurə** (obsolete for *artha* **arhə**), discussed below.

ortha* also *artha*, *orrtha*, *árrtha* IGT; *amhra

The form *artha* is the source of **arhə**, the current pronunciation. The by-form *orrtha* is presumably the source of obsolete **aurhə** which has been recorded in our dialect from speaker 852S only, transcribed as *oghra* to indicate ***aurə**, in *an oghra seo*, in an introduction to a charm, and in *An oghra chuir Críost i mbun a' chroínn*, in the text of another charm 852S5. (The lack of transcribed *h* may be significant here, perhaps indicating the influence of *amhra*.) The obsolescence of **aurhə**, being replaced by **arhə**, is also indicated for neighbouring Ros Muc in LFRM s.v. *ortha*. Cp. **aurə** FFG31 s.v. *artha*. Ó Cadhain (1976³: 127) has *an artha*, *agus an amhra* presumably for Cois Fharraige **arə ... aurə**, but with loss of nasalisation and *-th-* Cois Fharraige **aurə** could be derived from either *amhra* or *orrtha*. Cp. *abhra* s.v. *abra* (feminine) Dinn, *abhrán* < *amhrán*. A local reflex of *amhra* in Iorras Aithneach would be expected as ***ävrə**.

1.202 (iv) *u*, *ui* — (iv) *io*

(iv) *u*, *ui* > **u:**, e.g. *burla* **bu:rlə**, *murla* **mu:rlə** M, *diurnadh* **d'ú:rnə**; *duirling* **du:rl'ən'**, *muirín* **mu:rn'in'**, *muirnéiseach* **mu:rn'e:ʃəx** M, *Turlach* **tu:rləx** (place-name in Ros Muc), cp. *airbél* DIL also *urbél* **u:r-v'e:l**.

For *urlár* **aurlær**, etc., see *or-* 1.200 (iii) above and compare *tuirling* (past) **hu:rl'ən'** 11C, *haurl'in'* **ʃe:** 46 s.v.; *mu(i)r-* in *murdhúcha* **mu:ru:x** 46.1056 and *muirghalra* > *múrghalra* FFG also **'mo:ɹ,ɣa:rlə** M, FFG and *murluachair* (s.v. *muir* DIL 194.58) > *múrluachair* 894C2, *murlach* **mu:rləx**. In *aturnae* **ataurne:**

the diphthong is in unstressed position but was presumably stressed, or influenced by a stressed by-form, at an earlier stage. The historical second syllable is stressed in other dialects, e.g. ICF §35 (and note 2) *taurne*: ~ *æ:taurne*:, LFRM (s.v. *atornae*) *ataurne*: ~ *taurne*:, *turnae* DIL, FFG24.

(v) *io* is retained short in *sciorr f'k'ur f'k'ir*, *sciorrfaidh f'k'urhə f'k'irhə*.

1.203 Vowels preceding voiced stops followed by *r*, *l*

Vowels preceding clusters consisting of voiced stops followed by *r* or *l* are lengthened or diphthongised. The changes in question are:

- (i) *a, ai, ea* > *ɑ:* before *dr, gr, gl*; including some *-dar-*, *-dir-*
- (ii) *ai, oi* > *ai* before *br, bl*; and only *oi* before *gr*
- (iii) *i* > *i:* before *bl*
- (iv) (*ei* > *ai* before *gl*)

Note *súgradh saugrə* commonly, e.g. !05M, also ICF §402, also *sougrú* (for **saugru:*) (Abtm)03V CABI §34(b) v. 2, *au* vocalism also in *eidir shúgradh is d(h)áiriribh* (1.262). Historical *ú* in this word was perhaps interpreted as an instance of lengthening before *gr* and the diphthong was then introduced. There may be analogy with the interprovincial contrast between Munster *u:* (lengthened from *u(i)*, e.g. *urlár ur'lær*, *buid bu:rd'* IWM §406) and interstitial South Galway *au* (e.g. *urlár aurlær*, *boird baurd'*). Also *sugrə* 23Ms, 'Gus lúng ar an bhfarraige le haghaidh bheith ag súgradh v e su:grur dhúinn (Abtm)11C. Cp. *conra* (1.94).

Note also *scl* in *teisclim* ? > *téiscleam*, there is no example of a definite short vowel in DIL, and FGB has *-é-* only. If the current meaning of *creig na gcon* for *kraig' nə gun* 20M is etymological, one might postulate *Croig na gCon* (< *craig* ...) with diphthongisation before *gn* (cf. *Craidhig na gCon*, 12.27).

1.204 (i) *a, ai, ea*

(i) *a, ai, ea* before *dr, gr, gl* > *ɑ:*. Also in some instances before *-dar-*, *-dir-* (through either analogy with syncopated *-dr-* or epenthesis or both).

dr eadra *ɑ:drə*, *ɑ:d'rə* 894C;

an t-eadarascán *ən tɑ:druskɑ:n* 04Bl, *ɑ:drəskɑ:n* = FFG s.v. *eadrascán*, also retained short, e.g. *eadarascán* *æ:druskɑ:n* M, unsyncopated in *eadarascán* *'æ:dər'uskɑ:n* *eidir an cat agus an meascán* S;

madradh: *madradh uisce* *mɑ:dər i'f'k'ə* (brother of 897S), *mɑ:dr i'f'k'ə* P; *madradh allaidh* *mɑ:də rɑ:lə* 881J; short in *madradh allaidh* *mɑ:də rɑ:lə* Mq, plural *mɑ:dəri' rɑ:lə* Mq, *cnáimh an mhadradh allaidh* *kr̥ɑ:v' ə wad rɑ:lə* 04Bl;

nead *ŋ'æ:d* > plural *neadracháí* *ŋ'ɑ:drəxi* 869PZCP, *ŋ'ɑ:drəxi*: S, more often *ŋ'æ:drəxi*;

paidir: *pɑ:d'ər* P, 21J, 47P, *pɑ:d'ər* 04Br, SM, P, plural *pɑ:d'ər'əxi*: S, P, *pɑ:d'ər'əxi*: 27Mq, *pɑ:dr'əxi*: 04Br, 05M, S, P, 21J, 27Mq, *pɑ:dr'əxi*: !05M, M, 27Mq, derived *paidireacht* *pɑ:d'ər'əxt* S, *paidreáil* *pɑ:d'ər'ɑ:l'* 881J, *pɑ:dr'ɑ:l'* M, *paidreoireacht* *pɑ:dr'ər'əxt* M, *paidrín* *pɑ:d'ər'i:n'* 04Br, 11C, SM, *pɑ:dr'i:n'* M, *páidirínteacht* 11C;

smeadar sm'ɑ:ðər, also sm'æ:ðər 21Jq, 27Mdq, related to *smeadaráil* sm'æ:ðəɾɑ:l', *smeadrán* sm'æ:ðəɾɑ:n, *meadaráil* m'æ:ðəɾɑ:l'.

Short vowel phoneme only noted in:

eadrainn, *eadraibh*, *eadrabh* realised as atrən' æ:d(ə)rən' at(ə)rəb, etc.;

leadrán l'æ:ðɾɑ:n M, l'ɑ:ðɾɑ:n FFG, also l'æ:ðəɾɑ:n Mq;

smeadráil, *smeadrán*, *meadaráil*.

gr *freagra* fr'ɑ:grə fr'agrə >>> fr'agərə, ɑ: ~ a also in *leasfhreagra*, but a only noted in the verb *freagraigh*;

lagar pl *lagaracha(i)* lag(ə)rəxə/i: regularly, but *lágarchaí* 866ESemr166 (if transcribed accurately by LmC).

gl *eaglais* generally ɑ:gləʃ, but ən' agləʃ was also noted.

1.205 (ii) *ai*, *oi*; (iii) *i*; (iv) *ei*

(ii) *ai*, *oi* before *br*, *bl* > *ai*.

br *Aibreán* aibr'ɑ:n;

oibre (genitive of *obair*) generally aibr'ə, sometimes retained, e.g. *go leor oibre* gə l'ɔ:r ebr'ə 03C (Fínis), *ag oibriú* əg obr'u: 16P (Gabhla and Fínis); also plural *oibreachaí* aibr'əxi: aibr'iaxi:, etc.; derived verb *oibrigh* aibr'ə;

toibreachaí taibr'əxi: (plural of *tobar*).

bl *oibleagáid* aibl'əgɑ:d', aibl'əgɔ:d';

poibleacháí paibl'əxi: 899D6341 (plural of *pobal*); derived verb *poibligh* paibl'ə, e.g. *phoiblíodar* (phybl-) 869P2 (where y indicates *ai*).

gr *coigríoch* kaigr'iax !(Asd)899N (in assonance with *cladhaire* klair'ə).

Always short in *coigl*- *ki(η)gl* - syncopated root of the verb *coigil*.

(iii) *i* before *bl* > *i*.

bl *drible* dr'i:bl'ə 04F an obsolescent plural by-form of *drioball* (< *aireaball*), most often short, e.g. *d'r'ib'l'ə* 46.1.

(iv) For possible *-eigl-* compare *uinegra* DIL, *minéigle* FGB, m'i(n')n'aigl'ə S ~ v'i'n'aigl'ə SM. Cp. v'i'n'e:grə 27Mdq (whose form is perhaps *literate*).

Interchange of consonants and other changes

1.206 General

Many instances of interchange of initial consonants and prosthesis can be attributed to the complexities of initial mutations and related phenomena. In fact, these complexities give rise to slips of the tongue, which may yield insights into the process of initial consonant interchange.

There is an example of lenited *f* before a vowel being replaced by or prefixed with *t* of the article in:

Ø ~ *t* ~ *f*: *déarthadh sé chuile fhocal ach* AN T-FHOCAL ceart, ... *an focal ceart* d'ər'həʃ ʃe xul' okəl ax ə tokəl k'æ:rt, ... ə fokəl k'æ:rt M.

Further slips with prefixed *t*, of the article and possibly *t+s-*, are:

t ~ *d*: *Duine mí'úinte é an TAILTÍN, an dailtín* S;

t (~ *nV*): *istigh SA T-OILEÁN sin* ʃt'i sə t'il'ɑ:n ʃin' S;

Is dóichí gob in é AN SEAN-T-AINM a bhí air S.

The occurrence of both prosthetic *f* and *t* is evidenced below.

Initial eclipsed *f*- is sometimes confused in slips of the tongue with initial vowels:

- fág* *shul DHÁ N-FHÁGTHADH sí ... xola' na:kəʃ fí: ... 894Cs;*
féad *déarthainn GO N-FHÉADTHÁ é a rá d'e:rhə' gə n' e:tə e ra: M;*
gur, GO N-FHÉADTHADH sé gur tuairim's ...
gər | gə n' e:tə ʃfe gər tuər əm's ... 11C3224;¹
fiacail *druij NAOI N-FHIACAIL nī: n' iəkəl' agus druij, aon fhiacail déag 23Jt;*
focal *Gheofaidh tú SEACHT N-FHOCAL is ní hé an focal céanna i gcónaí e M;*
foghlaím *an áit A N-FHEOGHLAIMEOTHÁ n' o:ləm' ə'hə 32J;*
freagairt *Bhí sé GÁ N-FHREAGAIRT i mBéarla S.*
 Cf. *n-fhiathróidh* (5.311).

The importance of eclipsis for voicing interchange can be seen from the eclipsed base of an uncommon word, *cinniúint*, being reanalysed as, or confused with *ginniúint*:

- g ~ c: shárthaigh an fhoighid ar an gcinniúint ... céard í AN GHINNIÚINT ...*
sin í an chinniúint hə:rhə n aid' er ə g'in' u:nt' ... k' e:rd i' ŋ' j'in' u:nt' ...
jin' i: ŋ' x'in' u:nt' S.

Borrowings (in earlier times) were unfamiliar words par excellence and they have been particularly prone to these tendencies, e.g. *beaic* ~ *meaic* (< 'back').

1.207 Changes in voicing; Labials

Sonorants are dealt with above (**nh** 1.151 ff., **lh** 1.169 ff., **rh** 1.190 ff.) and sonorant clusters further below (**lhr**, **nh** 1.372 ff.) also (**SONh**) 1.394 ff.

Labials

b ~ p

- Initially *baicle* FGB but *paicle* CAR;
boc bok (Smds)04B also *poc*, but *pocaide* with *p*- only;
bocóideacha bacóideacha buko:d' əxə bako:d' əxə is common but
 also *puko:d' əxə pako:d' əxə 898Pt*, *pucóideacha pacóideacha*
866ESc313 (influenced by *paca*, cp. *pocóid* Dinn, FGB); also
bocánta bacánta buka:ntə baka:ntə 869P;
botún FGB *butu:n* SM and *putu:n* M (with semantic difference);
péacán (var *béacán*) FGB: in place-name *na Béacáin nə b'e:kə:n'*.
br- *bráca bra:kə* also *práca* FFG;
brocach brok(-əx) 'den', e.g. *Brocach Thomáis Cúig 20M*, as an
mbrocaigh / mbrocach ə's ə mrokə(x) | 869Pt, cp. *prokəx*
 46.149 (= **869P** or his son);
brochóg in *tonn bhrochóg tu:n vroxo:g*, cp. *bruthóg*² ~ *prochóg*
 FGB
 (note the medial voiceless sound in the above examples);
broimfhéar generally *brim'e:r*, but *prim'e:r* (Smds)04B genitive *ag*
caitheamh proimfhéir kahə prim'e:r' (Smds)04B.

¹ The verb *féad* is more often lenited (*d'fhéad*-, *ní fhéad*-) than it is unlenited (*f*-) and eclipsed (*bhf*-) combined. Cp. *go n-fhéadfa me* from Co. Clare (LSE144). My son Brian (aged 3.11) often had interrogative *an n-fhéadthadh*, e.g. *-D'fhéadthá ... BóC -An n-fhéadthadh? Brian Ó Curnáin*.

- Medially cp. *acabh* generally **akəb** *aku:*, rarely **apək** and (with ending replacement) **71D** has **apu:**;
filbín DIL *pilibín* FGB **f'el'əp'i:n'**, *Pilip* **f'el'əp'ə** also *go lá Philipín Cleite* **gə lə: f'el'əp'i:n' kl'et'ə** S;
píopa is now general; differentiated in some secondary sources meaning the musical instrument, e.g. *píobaí ceoil* **864M**DT26;
ráipéar, cp. **ra:b'ed**;
scrupall **skrupəl** S, **skrubəl** M;
sipiléaracht S, *sibiléaracht* FFG, cp. *sibiléireacht* FGB;
an slopáil is an *slapáil* DT90, *ag slubáil* is *ag slabáil* !46.III, !S;
teobar **t'ə:bər t'ə:pər** S.
- Finally *faidhb* **faip'** M, FFG, also **faib'**);
leadhb > **l'aib**, etc., but also **fl'aip'** Mq.
- óip/bl(mh) *Eúróib* **852S2**, **ju:ro:p' ju:ro:b', ju:rəp'**, also *ar fud na hEoróibe* **er' fud nə ho:ro:v'ə** [or -v'ə] **869Pt1** perhaps influenced by *an Róimh*;
stíorthóib **!894C6**, **ft'iarho:b'** M, **ft'iarho:p'** S.
- In clusters
bs/ps **plubsə:l' ~ plupsə:l'** S.
pt/bd *caiptín* (also *caipdén*) DIL **ka'pt'i:n'** (Smré)**04B**, **kə'pd'i:n'** **11C**, **kab'd'i:n'** 46.1161.
mp > mb *clampa* > *glamba* **glə'mbə**, **gləmbə**.
b+C > p *oipne* (*oibne*) DIL **ep'ən'ə** perhaps a result of devoicing of stops in clusters;
Cp. *apaigid*, *aipigid* DIL, and EModIr *abchaigheann*, *aibchigheann*, the last-cited yields (with devoicing) **ap'i:n**.

1.208 Velars

- c- > g* *cabáiste* generally **gubə:ft'ə**;
cad é gə d'e:, *cad chuige* **gə tig'ə**, etc., (1.74);
*carbhan*² (*garbhán*) FGB **ga'rəwə:n** Mq. The initial syllable of *cabáiste* can be weakly stressed (1.378). This may also have held for *carbhan* at some earlier stage and/or other lect;
cp. *clais*, *glais*, **gləfə** generally, also **gləf** **894Cs**, but **k-** heard in plural **klaskəni:** **26P** (contrast his sister, **29C**, **gl-**), consistent **kləfə klaskəni:** **20A** (Doire Iorrais, mother from Ros Muc), **60M** (Maínis, father from Doire an Locháin, East Cois Fharraige);
clampa > *glamba* **glə'mbə**, **gləmbə** (with both initial and medial voicing);
coisricim in the set phrase *goirim is coisricim thú* **gor'əm' əs garfəm'ək'** **hu** **18Bm**, *goirim péin 7 gaisrimic thú* **866E-Semr162**, because of the parallelism of *goirim* ... *g-* and the voice-neutralisation following *s* (cp. *cruadhán*);
Mac Craith **ə grə:**, plural *na Craitheannaí* **nə krani:**;
cruadhán **kru:wən** generally, including in the tale run, except in speaker **866E**'s version: *go ndéarna siad bogán gon chruadhán* (pr[onounced] *ghruadhán*) 7 *cruadhán* (pr[onoun-

- ced] *gruadhán*) *gon bhogán* **866E**Semr70, perhaps by the deaspiration of the initial consonant following *s* in *agus cruadhán*, and possibly in assimilation with *g* in *gon* (< *dhen*), *bogán*;
- cuairtfell*, etc., DIL (s.v. *cúairt* 572 lines 58–64) > *guairdeall guard'ál* 'due to the alliterative attraction of *gaoth*' (O'Rahilly 1950d: 378–9);
- cumhachta ku:xtə* but note (perhaps corrupt) *i gcranna cumhachta ə gra:nə guəxtə* **05Md**, with *g* presumably from *gcranna*.
- c- > *g* *acastóir ə:gəstɔ:r'* 46.200.
- c > *k* ~ *g* *sprioc spr'uk* ~ *spr'ug* Mq, e.g. *go dtí an sprioc gə d'i: ɲ spr'uk / spr'ug*.
- g*- > *k* *gor faoi iongain* FGB = *cor faoi iongain* FFG, where unfamiliar (in this meaning) *gor* is replaced by more familiar *cor*;
- (~ *g*) *grealach* FFG, *creatalach* M;
guin cp. *cuin*;
gúshnáithe FGB *ku:hnā:hə* M.
- g- > *g* ~ *k* *éagóir* generally *e:go:r'* but influenced by the base *cóir* in *e:kor'* **04B**l, similarly *éitreorach* below.
- (h)r- Cp. *díchras* DIL, *díograis* (*díogras*) FGB *d'i:kəs* >> *d'i:krəs*.
- agán > *buidheagán bi:kən* (*bɪ:kən* 46.155);
- acán *duibheagán: i bpoll duibheacán ə baul div'əkən* **04B**;
- (older *gealagán g'aləkən* (*g'aləkən* 46.156);
- suffix) *ré roithleagán* FGB: *ruilleacán* FFG.
 Cp. *-acan* ~ *-acán* (1.56).
- ng* ~ *ngc*, compare *cuing do mhuiníl* with *cuincín do mhuiníl* S and *cuinc muiníl* Clad157, 139 and *cuincín* ~ *cincín do mhuiníl* **21Jq**.

1.209 Dentals and alveo-palatals; Fricatives

- t* > *d* *táin* > (plural) *dáinte* S;
Traí generally *trɪ:*, e.g. 46I.1, but *fearabh na Draoi* **!852S**, *cogadh na dTraoi* **892M**2438 (possibly implying reinterpretation as personal name genitive plural); *Draoi* **!894C**9, *geataí 'n draoi* **!894C**9 (explained in one case as *draoi daoine* by **894C**, which implies some re- or mis-interpretation of the original place-name).
- In clusters -ct- *pictiúr* DIL *p'ekd'u:r*, also *p'ek'du:r* **42C** (Loch Con Aortha);
- pt- *caiptín* (also *caipdén*) DIL *ka'pt'i:n'* (Smré)**04B**, *kə'pd'i:n'* **11C**, *kab'd'i:n'* 46.1161.
- nt* > *nd* (~ *nt*) *cant-* > *canda*, *candáil*;
conntae ~ *conndae* > *ku(:)nde:*;
dintiúr FGB *d'i:nd'u:r* M;
grúntáil FGB, *grunda* FGB, DIL, *gru:nda:l'* SM;
prionta FGB, *pr'intə* M, *pr'i:ndə* M, *priontáil* *pr'i:nda:l'* S.

- t ~ d** *an t-adamh, dadamh* > generally **tadə** but *dada* **894C3** and *thóig mé i do ghaiscíoch mhaith thú is ní fiú dada thú ho:g' m'e də ɣaʃk' iəx wæ hu s n'i: f'u: dæ:də hu **892M**;
clabhta plural **klauti**: generally (including S85) ~ **klaudi**: [ʔ] S85;
eilit: *eilid* genitive *eilide* FFG, *eilid* **852SbTS153**, **!852S**, cp. **el'əg' | 869Pt** (perhaps **el'əd' 869Pt**, final consonant unclear, but **el'ig' (sic!) SID.46** s.v. *eilit* and consistently in **869PZCP**, note the possible influence of *seilg* **ʃel'ig'** implicated in: *Loch na Heilge* with gloss *Heilge* = *seilge* = *fiadh boineann* according to the Mayo storyteller in de hÍde 1936: 32 n. 1; cp. 10.36), cp. *eilit mhaol el'ər' [et'əl' ʔ] wi:l* (Lam, prose) **04B**, *eilit* ! CABI §510 v. 10, *eilit mhaol* **!894C6**;
Protastún FGB **prədəstun** often, but (plural) *teampall na bProtastúin* **t'əmpəl nə 'brə.təstun'** 46.775, **prə'təstun'** **11C3259**, **892M3340**, **prə'təstun:i** **06C**;
smúit DIL, *smúit* (*smúid*) FGB **smu:d' = smu:t' M**;
i dteannta ə d'ə:ntə, *ə d'æ:ntə* generally (7.114), reanalysed as **deannta* in: **nə jə:ntə 79Jg** *ina dheannta*;
trian through reanalysis of eclipsed old neuter *dhá dtrian* > **drian*: *dhá dhrian acabh ɣa: ɣr'ien akəb* **04B1**, cp. *trian le d'in' l'e* **04B**;
other speakers retain *trian* (1.24);
Note historically correct *níos éidreoraighe* **869P5.213** in transcription, generally replaced by *éitreorach* from base *treoir*, with copying of *l* in **e:l'ʔl'ə:rəx 869P**, also **e:tr'urəx 21Ptq**.*
- d > t** *deardan d'ərtən* S;
rod FGB **rot** SM, FFG s.v. *rotann*; devoicing from morphology, particularly verbal adjective *rodta* **roti**;
scrúdadh skru:də S (VN), but *mo scrúdadh thú mə skru:tə hu* **!39D**;
also past *scrúd skru:tə* **43M**; devoicing from morphology, particularly verbal adjective *scrúdta* **skru:ti**.

Fricatives

- v ~ f ~ f'** *Conndae Mhaighe Eo kunde*: **vi: 'o: 04B**, more commonly **ku(:)nde: fi: 'o:**, also **kunde: f' i: 'o: 892M**.
v' ~ f' *bláiféisc blə:f'e:ʃk' M ~ blə:v'e:ʃk' M*, FFG, cp. *gláiféisc (~ glaimhéisc* FGB), 1.222.
In clusters *-bht-* *sléibhte ʃl'e:v'tə ʃl'e:f'tə*.
-mhs- *claimhséara(cht) klə:f'f'e:rə klə:v'f'e:rə klə:v'f'e:rəxt M*.

Changes in palatality

For *rs* and *sr* containing *s ~ ʃ*, classifiable as various palatality, see 1.131.

1.210 Depalatalisation

Palatal *t* > **t** before *io*, realised as **u**, in *tiomsaigh tumsə*, *tiomáint tumə:nt'*, *tiomaint* > *tumaint* FFG s.v. *tomnaíonn* 2, and compare the borrowing *tionónta tunu:ntə* M, nonpalatal **t** also in *ticéad* FGB **tik'e:d 35E**. Cp. *tui-* > *ti-*, *dui-* > *di-* (1.212, 1.215).

Where unstressed *éa* (*éi*) becomes *á* there are examples of depalatalisation of *-n-* and *-sp-*: *cinéal* > *ciunál*, *cinéalta* > *ciunálta*, *taisbéanadh* > *taspánadh* **tuspa:nə**, and the verb *taispeín* > *taspáin* (**tu**)**spa:n'**, *muinéal* generally **min'ə:l** (rarer **min'e:l**) but also **muna:l** **01PDO**, **13JdLC**, *munál* **!894CGE6** and **9**. For nonpalatalisation before (synchronically) unstressed *á*, *ó*, e.g. *Nioclás* **nukla:s**, see 1.8. For verbal suffix *-áil* **-a:l** and **-a:l'**, and impersonal *-t(e)ar* **t(')ər**, *-fidhear* > **f'ər fər**, etc., *-fidhe* and *-faidhe*, as well as personal *-t(e)á* **t(')a:**, see 5.135, 5.39 ff. There are important depalatalised by-forms in *-abh* from *-ibh* of the historical dative plural and 3 plural prepositional pronouns. The phone *-ch* is generally not palatalised before diminutive *-ín*, e.g. *teacháin* **t'axi:n'**. Emphatic suffixes 1 and 2 singular with nouns are almost always *-sa* **-sə**; the 1 singular prepositional pronoun of *ó*, generally *uaim*, has a rare by-form **wom** by analogy with *dom*, etc. For the quality of proclitics, see 'Sandhi' (2.73 ff.). For depalatalisation in change in progress, see 1.410.

1.211 Other examples of lack of palatalisation

- Initial** *dhe* (preposition falls together with *dho*) > **gə** generally, via (**də** >) **ʋə** > **gə**
deoidh: *dheoidh* > *dhó* in *faoi dheire is faoi dhó* **894C9**, 3, perhaps a case of a more familiar word, *dó* 'two', replacing an obsolete one
féilt, *féiltíocht* FGB, also *faeilí* **fe:l'i**; **fail'i**: **FFG20**, cp. *faighlí* **fail'i**: **M**, *faighlíocht* **fail'ixt**
liúdramán FGB **lu:drəma:n** **SM**
peic, cp. *puic* **pik'** **SM**
streachail FGB **stra:xəl'** **M**, *streachaille* FGB **stra:xəl'ə** **P**, *strachaille* **FFG**
teastáil > *tastáil* and related forms
treaghdáin (*troighdeáin*) > *troigheadáin* **traida:n'** **S** (plural)
treaspás FGB, *Dinn* (Con[nacht]), *truspás* **LFRM**, **truspas** **11C**
thrí preposition > **hri**: less commonly **fri**:
trilseán **trailfə:n** **M**, **FFG**, **traifl'a:n** **SM**.
- Medial** *aidhbhirseoir* **a:wərfə:r'**
caismirt FGB **kasmərt'** **M**
fáiteall FGB, *fáiteallach* **LFRM** (*Leitir Móir*), *fátall(ach)* **SM**
faithne aílse **'fa:n 'a:lfə** **04B**
foifíneach FGB **'fuəf' i:nhəx** **S**, the latter element is equivalent to *fionnfadhach* **f' i:nhəx**
Innbhear **i:n'vər**, **i:nv'ər**, **i:n'u:r**, cf. *PIN Innbhearán* **indr'əxə:n** (1.356)
poilitidheacht *Dinn*, *polaitíocht* FGB **pol'ək'ixt** **11C**
Ó Raithbheartaigh **o: rafərtə** **ARN7359** (surname), cp. *Ó Robhartaigh* and English 'Rafferty'
seirbheáil FGB **ʃæ:rəwə:l'**
soicéad FGB, *socaed* **suke:d** **894Cs**
soineanta **sin'əntə**, but *sonanta* **866ESc307-1.5** and **sunəntə** (**Acb**) **04B**, perhaps influenced by *sona*
sraimleachán (variant of *sraimle*) FGB, cp. *a shamlacháin!* **852Sb2** as derivative term
stráice (*stráca*) FGB **strəkə**.
 Cp. *EModIr ar na bhárach* ~ *ar na bháireach* ~ *lá arna mháireach*, *amáireach*.
- Final** *léir* **l'ər**, e.g. *ní léir dhuit do lámh* **n'i: l'ər ut də lā:v'** **M**, through sandhi before *dom*, etc., cp. by-forms of *dho réir*; but *go léir* **gə l'ər'**
réir in *dho réir* (**gə**) **r'ər'** / **l'ər'** / **l'ər** / **l'ər**, nonpalatal variants probably through sandhi in frequent *dho réir mar*

síothcháin with replacement of ending > **fiəxɑ:n**, genitive **fiəxɑ:nʲ**.

Cp. *fo-rír DIL faraor FGB fare:r fari:r*.

1.212 Palatalisation

Nonpalatal initial *t* > **tʰ** (~ **t**) before *oi/ui* (i.e. preceding a palatal consonant in noncontiguous assimilation), realised as **i**.

tʰ in *tuitim tʰitʰəmʲ*, *tuilleadh tʰilʲə tʰilʲə*, *toillfidh tʰilʲhə* (~ **fi:lʲ** - ~ **fʰilʲ** - SM, cf. 5.325).

t ~ **tʰ** in *tuigim* generally **tʰigʲəmʲ** but **tigʲəmʲ** **19P**, **27J**, 2sg interr **ə digʲən tu 14J**, *tuill tʰilʲ* ~ **tʰilʲ**, e.g. verbal adjective *tuillte a'inne tʰilʲtʰ æ:nʲə 52P; *tuilleamaí* > *tilleamatocht* FFG (i.e. **tʰilʲəmiəxt**), **telʲəmʲi: 27Mdq**; cp. 'tilleamaí in Connacht and Donegal' < *tuilleamh (m)buidhe*, O'Rahilly (1928: 208). Cp. *teiscinn* FGB, *teisgin* Clad138, *teiscint* SeolG69, gen *na toiscine 852SbTS131* (if the last-cited is accurately transcribed).*

In adverbial construction *taobh* has minor by-forms in **tʰ**, i.e. **tʰi:w**, **tʰi:** and **tʰi**, e.g. *taobh amuigh tʰi: mu 899P*, perhaps either influenced by the generally adverbial *tigh tʰi(t)*, or through assimilation in the phrase *taobh (i)stigh*, or both. Cp. *taobh is-muigh do (de)* > *césmuite* (R. A. Breathnach 1952–4: 341–2; R. A. Breathnach 1980–1: 109–10), also *tésmuite*.

Nonpalatal initial *duil-* > *dil-*: *duileasc* > *dileasc*, *duilleabhar* > *dilliúr*, *duilleog* > *dilleog* SM.

Note also Middle Irish *tíacht* (etc., DIL), EModIr *toidheacht* (~ *tidheacht*) > **tʰiəxt**, cp. by-form *teacht tʰaxt*. Cp. borrowing *tarra* FGB > *teara*.

Nonpalatal *l* becomes palatalised in *anál* > *anáil* (oblique case), *clú* > *cliú*, *foláir* > *fleár*, *fulang* > *foilint*, *falmhughadh* > **fałʰhu:** sometimes **fałhu:**, *Iorras Fhlannáin orás lūnɑ:nʲ 11C*, but by-form *Iorras Fhlionnáin 894C2* (if accurately transcribed).

Simple prepositions are influenced by the 3m prepositional pronoun, e.g. *ag egʲ*, *thar har harʲ*, etc.; also *ar erʲ* (in turn perhaps yielding *dar* > *doir derʲ*); when not elided, the *r* in the adverb and indefinite adjective *ar bith* is seldom palatal: **ə bʲi(xʲ)** >> **ər bʲi(xʲ)** >> **erʲ bʲi(xʲ)**; an example of the least used variant is *ar chaoi ar bith er xi: erʲ bʲixʲ 11C*; cp. by-form of *pé ar bith kʰe:r-bʲi*; cp. palatalised *chor* in variant *ar chor ar bith er xorʲ ə bʲi(xʲ)* through influence of flanking *ar erʲ*.

1.213 Other examples of palatalisation; Initial

Initial *coimín* DIL, FGB **kʰimʲi:nʲ**

cp. *earball drʲibəl*

faicim > *feicim*, also *ficim* (cp. earlier *maic* > *meic* > *mic* (gen of *mac*))

foghlaím fʰo:ləmʲ perhaps through the influence of *eolas* (e.g. *aon eolas e:nʲ o:ləs*, *aon fhoghlaím e:nʲ o:ləmʲ*), and/or assimilation with final **mʲ** (especially perhaps in assimilation of **fʰo:-** with **-mʲo:-** in future stem: *foghlaimeoidh fʰo:ləmʲo:*), but some younger speakers are influenced by the spelling: **fʰo:ləmʲ 65T**, **66N**

gruáin FGB, cp. **grʰuɑ:nʲ** SM, **grʰuɑ:nʲ** S, *griúán* FFG (cp. palatal *g-* in *giúirlinn*, *giúrainn*)

Pionsa Píolóid 1869P6 (for standard *Pointias Píoláit* also *Píoláid*) through assimilation with initial in *Píolóid*, perhaps influenced by *prionsa* and even *pionós*, *pionsúr*

San in genitive of *Sain Seán*, e.g. *oidhche fhéil tSain Seáin i:l' t'in' fa:n'*, perhaps influenced by surrounding palatal consonants
saoilim fi:l' am'
soileastar ~ *seileastar* DIL *fel'astram*, etc.,
soir ser' generally but *fer' 80M* through analogy with *siar* (cp. *anoir*, 1.215)
soirbhig, go *soirbhigidh Dia dhuit ga fer' av'i: d'ia yit' SM*, (ga) *fel' av'i: d'ia yut' 10Bq, 21Pt*
spadhar FGB > *speidhear sp' air 869P*, *sp'aiar* Mq, verbal noun *sp'aiara* Mq, also palatal *r* in verbal noun *speidhreadh 894C9*, FFG, but *spadhar teintidhe spair t'i:nt'i: M*
stangaid DIL > *stang*, cp. verbal adjective *ft'unghi:hə M*
substaint > *siosmain* **894C2**, FFG, *fismant' M*, cp. *substainte 894C9*
suinnén DIL, *soinneán* FGB, *fin'an P*, *sionnán 04B*.

1.214 Medial; Final

- Medial *abaidh* > **ab'i:** (palatalisation regular in old syncopated forms of *abaidh*, e.g. nominative and accusative plural *aibche*, etc., also in by-form of derived verb), contrast *anabaidh* > **anəbi:**
acais > *aicis* perhaps the basis for dialect *aicís S*
blonaig blin'ək'
cladrán FGB > *claidreán 869PCAR*
coimrí ki(:)mr'i: < *coimrighe* (cp. *comairghe* IGT with the note *c[óir] cáol leis iad*, i.e. *coimrighe*)
congaibh > **kin'ə**, *congbháil kin'əl*
cosain > *coisinn*, VN *coisint*
crabadán FGB > *craibeadán S*
crobhaing > *croibhinn* 'hand' Mq, FFG, 'wall around island' **869PCAR**
dúsacht du:fəxt
Eanáir an'ər' S, **an'ər' M**
fafra LFRM and related adjective *fafrúil* (< *fabhar*) LFRM corresponding to *fáifriúil 869PCAR*
fiadhnaise f'i:n'əfə 896P, generally *f'i:n'əfi:* (for *-í*, cp. agentive *-í*);
lobhra has a variant *loibhre* (also spelt *laibhre* FGB, *luibhre* Dinn) which may be the base for *laivr'ə* in our dialect
Morna > *Moirne* (influenced by *Muirne*), typical in *Goll mac Moirne gaul ma:k mo:rn'ə / mu:rn'ə / bu:rn'ə*
obunn DIL > **tob'an** probably influenced by the palatal cluster in syncopated forms and **ep'an'ə** < *oipne* DIL
scliúchas FGB *fkl'u:xəs, fkl'u:səx, fkl'u:səxt, fl'u:səxt, fkr'u:xəs*, but also *-f-* in *fkl'u:fəx, fkl'u:fəxt*
spioraicín (variant *speiricín*) FGB in place-name (*an*) *Speiricín sp'er'ək'i:n' 20M* (explained as *speiric amach sp'er'ək' ə'ma:x 20M*), cp. *spirín, starraic* (following entry)
starraic (stoiric) FGB **stor'ək' M**
tarbha > *tairbhe tær'av'ə*
tógaibh to:g', tógbháil > **to:g'al to:g'al't'**, nontraditional **to:g'al't' 66L**; cp. *congbháil kin'al*.
 Cp. *duaibhseach, duasmánta, dúisminte* FGB with *dúismeánta* CAR.
 Final *comhrag* > **kūrək**, but *go raibh troid agus comhraic ... 866ESc92.15*, perhaps from common use in genitive *cuaille comhraig, a chulaithe ghaisce chrua-chóraic 852Sb6.70* (cf. 3.4)
crann- > *cráin-* in *cráinfhear, cráinbhean*.
 cp. *San* in genitive of *Sain Seán*, e.g. *oidhche fhéil tSain Seáin i:l' t'in' fa:n'*.

1.215 Words with alternating palatalisation; Initial

Cf. *tui-*, *dui-*, etc., (1.212)

anoir ə'ner' generally, but younger speakers 66L and her brother 72N have ə'N'er' (through analogy with *aniar* ə'N'iar and probably *soir* fer' (below)), cp. an older speaker's (possible slip of the tongue) *chruinnigh an Fhionn anoir agus aniar xrin' əN' in ə'N'er' ogəs ə'N'iar* 04Bl

anois ə'n'if, a few older speakers have ə'N'if (including brothers 894Cs and 881J (also ə'n'if 881J); youngest is 27M from Maoras), but also nonpalatal ə'nif 03C and in some of the younger generation who are perhaps influenced by the spelling, e.g. ə'nif 51N, 55J, 66N

beidh b'ei b'e (future of *bí*); innovative b'ai 64Me; nontraditional bai 72A (1.410), who also has b'ei b'e 72A

bís, *ar bís*, and *baois*, *ar baois* FFG s.v. *baois*; the evidence of FFG indicates that *bís* and *baois* are now synonyms meaning 'fervour'.

boinead > *binéad* S, *bān'ē:d* 881J

an Bhreachlainn ən vraxlən' S (early transcription; name of wave at sea, also as common noun); also ən vr'æxlən', *an Bhreachlainn* !894C, with loss of *r* in ən v'æxlən' (Abr)04B; cp. *breachlainn* Inishm[aan] Dinn, *breachlainn* ~ *brachlainn* FGB; if derived from *brach*, the initial may have been influenced by palatal *bris*, *breac*

brath (VN of *braith*) generally *brah*, but br'æh 06C, influenced by br'æhə (by-form of *breathnaigh*)

cp. *breac*- sometimes *broc*-

Breandán brundən (place-name *an Breandán* ə br'ændən 35E, *Breandán* Clad187, *na Brandáin* Clad169, I recall nə brandən' from 12S)

brioscar, cp. *bruscar*

buinneán bin'ən is the vernacular word for 'horn' but also *bonnán* būnən (Suda)04B; similarly *buinneán* M 'bunion', but also *bunán* 32PLC 'bunion' cp. *caincín*(each) FGB, *cuincín* S, 18J, 21Jq, 35E, *cincín* SM, 21Jq, FFG, *cincíneach* FFG

cé (interrogative) k'e:, also k'a, k'ə, rare kē, kə (8.50)

chaon (ə)xe:n < *gach aon* has an uncommon by-form x'e:n 897P, 20C, ə'x'e:n 11J, 20C, so also *gach aonduine* 'x'e:nin'ə 897P

cluiche klif'ə klof'ə, cp. *clifeáil*, *clifirt* 875PCAR

cneidh, singular common in *cneidh lorga(n)* generally kr'i lorəgə(n) but kru lorəgə 36P (plural *kruni: lorəgən* 36Pq), plural heard in tales and higher register kr'i/ə/ahəxi:

cruth in *i gcruth* ə gru S but *i gcruth leaghadh* ə gir'ə 'l'ə:v 17M

coimil kim'əl' generally, but x'im'əl' 52P (heard from 52P in past tense only; 52P's mother was from An Cheathrú Rua)

cuimhneach generally ki(ɪ)- (1.84) but k'in'əx̃ 872P in contrast with his *cuimhne*, *cuimhnigh* ki:ṽr'ə 872P

deacair diocair (docair) d'ækər' d'okər' d'ukər' generally, but note the three variants (if transcribed correctly) in 'd'okər' (or dokər' or d'akər') 46.880

'*d eile* (< *cad eile*) generally del'ə and dol'ə, but d'el'ə 12J

deir d'er' generally, but speaker 01P (Doire Iorrais) has nonpalatal d- in quotative use (in apparent assimilation with depalatalised stem-final *r*; depalatalised *r* being common in sandhi before third person pronouns in initial *f*):

a deir sé / sí / siadsan ə der fe, ə dor fe, ə derfe, ə dərʃi, ə der
ʃiədsən 01P only.

In his quotative use, he occasionally also has **d'** before nonpalatal **r**, e.g. *a deir sí* ə **d'er** ʃi' **01P**. He has regular **d'** before palatal **r'**, e.g.

a deir an sagart ə **d'er'** ə 'sa:gərt **01P**.

In nonquotative use he has **d'** regardless of the quality of **r**, e.g.

deir siad go ... d'er ʃiəd gə ... **01P**.

The weak stress of quotative use has probably induced this (assimilatory) depalatalisation and there may perhaps also be influence of the nonpalatal **d** in synonymous *dúirt* **du:rt'** (cp. also preposition *doir* **der'**). For speaker **27J**'s (Loch Con Aortha) more pervasive use of nonpalatal **d** in the verbal particle **d'**, e.g. *d'inseodh sé* **dinfo:d** fe **27J**, also *déarfadh* **de:rhəx** **27J**, see 1.408.

dhe has regular prepositional pronouns in **j-** but there are by-forms in **ɣ-**, influenced by the prepositional pronouns of *dho*, in 2pl *dhíbh* **ɣi:b'**, 3pl *dhíobh* **ɣi:b** and (especially in Loch Con Aortha) in the 1sg *dhíom* **ɣi:m** and 2sg *dhíot* **ɣi:t**

faobhar generally **fi:vər**, but **f'i:vər** **04B**, genitive *faobhair* **f'i:v'ər'** **04B**

faoi(n) **fi:(n)** generally, but *faoin* **f'ĩ:n** **76Mt**

fios **f'is**, in *cá bhfios* **kə: v'is**, **kə: wis**, **kə: wus** ('**kə** 'gus **05M** perhaps slip of the tongue)

fadhbach **fi:bəx** SM, *fiobach* FFG19, 20, *faobach* FFG20

Fódla **fo:lə** generally, but *Crích Fódla* **k'ri: f'jo:lə** !ZCP160 perhaps assimilated to the palatal initial of *Crích* or influenced by *feola* or both

foighdeán **faid'ən** M ~ **f'aid'ən** M88, S88

fothannán (etc.) DIL **fo:həna:n** **892M**, **15Pt**, more commonly **fo:həda:n** SM, also *feothan(n)* DIL **f'o:həna:n** 46.973; long **ó** and palatal **f** influenced by *feódh* 'wither' according to O'Rahilly (1927: 252–3 s.v. *foichnín*)

gamba, also *geampa*, e.g. *geampa mór dhe cháca* **g'æ:mpə mo:r gə xə:kə** M

gaotalach FGB, FFG20, **gi:t'ələx** SM (also LFRM), **g'i:t'əx**, **g'i:t'ələx** S, **g'i:t'u:l'** S

gleorach ~ *glórach* S

go leor **gə l'or** >>> **gə l'or**, but **g'ə l'or** **76Mt**, cp. *dho réir* **gə l'e:r** by-form **gl'e:r** S

Loinnir mac Leabhair, also *Loinnir mac Labhair* **852Sb**6.78 (character in tales)

lucharpán, see 1.217 below

luspairt **luspərt'** ~ **lispərt'** M, **l'ispərt'** S

Maigh in *Conndae Mhaighe Eo* **ku(:)nde: fi: 'o:** generally, **kunde: vi: 'o:** **04B**, also **kunde: f'i: 'o:** **892M**

Meallán in the place-name *Leitir Mealláin* **l'et'ər' m'ula:n'** generally, but **l'et'ər' m'ula:n'** **35E** as if *Leitir Mulláin*

meilsceánach FGB **m'ail'fəxə:n** FFG s.v. *meilseachán*, PIN *an Meilsceánach* ə **m'ailfə:nəx** **892M**, cp. *feamainn mheilseánach* **f'æ:mən' wailfə:nəx** Mq

mhíl in *bearna mhíl* > *bearna mhaoil* **b'ə:rnə wi:l'** SM, **21Jq**, **27Mdq**

moing mhear FGB 'Conium' **ming' wa:rə** SM >> **ming' v'ə:rə** Sq, Mq, with (switch of) palatalisation in **m'ig' wa:rə** **32J**. The element *mhara* is by

analogy with *mara* (gen sg of *muir*); ‘Conium’ grows by the sea.¹
píopa, etc., palatal **p’** in *píop’ Aindí Mhóir* !894C, **p’i:pə** 46.407, 434, 899D, 04Br, 11C, 15W, S, 35E, *píobaire* FFG, *píobán* FFG, *píoblach* **p’i:bləx** S, *pípín* **p’i:p’i:n’** 51P, *píopáil* **p’i:pə:l’** S, **p’i:p’ə:l’** SM
 nonpalatal **p** in **pi:pə** 01C, SM, 21Pg, **pi:bər’ə** S, **pi:bə:n** M, **pi:bləx** M
 cp. *planc* ~ *pleanc* FGB **pl’uŋk** S, *pleancadh* **pl’uŋkə** often, also *plancadh* **pləŋkə** 21Jq (*plancadh* is unknown to 27Mdq)
pisín FGB, *puisín* (*cait*) FGB **p’iʃi:n’** **kit’** (Smbb)04B, **p’iʃi:n’i:** (also **puʃi:n’** sg) 46.207, **puʃi:n’** S
scriúta FGB, *scrúta* (Mayo) al. *scriúta* Dinn: in our dialect *scriúta* **ʃkr’utə**
siomóid FGB > *siomóid* (14)
Sionnainn, generally palatal, e.g. *abhainn na Sionnainne* **aun’ nə ʃunən’ə**, also *bhí iasc na tSionnainn* [sic] *gul anuas* 852S2, but *ar chaon taobh dhen tSionnainn* **gən tūnən’** 892M
s(i)osúr: *siosúr* 852SbTS142, *siosúirín* !869P CABI §563(c) v. 2, !894C9, **ʃisur** 46.89, **ʃisur** 11C, M, 64M; also **sīsūr** 46.217, **sisur** 892M, S, P, 60M, cp. *soiscéal*, *éasúr* below
slibac DIL, *sleabhac*, etc., FGB, adjective **slauki:hə** S, noun *sleabhcán* **ʃl’auka:n** S
soir generally **ser’** but younger speakers **ʃer’** 72N, 80M through analogy with *siar*
soiscéal **ʃɪʃk’e:l** 46.791, **ʃɪʃk’e:l** S, **soʃk’e:l** SM; Seán claims that the last form is correct (*an rud ceart*)
sórt generally **sort** but *sé an sórt ... en fòrt ...* 894Cs (894Cs normally has **ʃe(:)n sort**); *chuile shórt xul’ə ho:rt* generally but 899N (Ros Dugáin) also has (less frequently) **xul’ə x’o:rt** 899N
spoch FGB **sp’ox**, *spiochann* FFG, but also *spochadh* FFG
 cp. *sprios* **sp’is** and *sprus* **sprus**; *spreas* **spr’æs** SM, *spras* S, 14M
taoille (< *taoide*) **ti:l’ə** generally, but **t’i:l’ə** 01P, 20Mlq
thaisceanta FFG, **t’æ:ʃk’əntə** ~ **hæ:ʃk’əntə** Mq
testaigid DIL (*teastaigh*) *teistigh* FGB (in phrase with *mionnaigh* **m’unə**) > **t’æsn-** and **tæsn-**, e.g. *tá sé mionnaighthe agus teasnaighthe nach ... ta ʃe m’uni: ogəs t’æ:sn:i:hə / tæ:sn:i:hə nax ...* Mq
tig, variant root of verb *t(e)agaim* (**t’ig’ tag t’ag t’ug**), occurs in *is tig leat əs/ʃ t’ig l’æ:t* Mq, *Is tig leat* FFG s.v. *tigeann*, but also **əs tig’ə l’æ:t** 895M (-ə perhaps in phrasal epenthesis or perhaps influenced by *tuige* < *cad chuige*)
timcheall minor by-form **tumpəl**, see 1.217 below
Tiobóid **t’ibo:d’** 21J, *na Tiobóideachaí* **nə t’ibo:d’əxi:** 892M, **tubo:d’** 34M
treo **tr’o:** but final conjunction *i dtreo is go dro:s gə ~ ro:s gə* 06C
tuile **ti:l’ə** generally including in *taoille tuile*, but *ar thaoille tuile* **er’ hi:l’ə t’il’ə** 06C, cf. his *trisle* below
tuisled DIL **triʃl’ə** generally, but **tr’iʃl’ə** 06C (x1) recorded in *gur hiomú trisle, agus treampán a bainfí as* 06C (perhaps influenced by initials of *treampán*).
 Cp. *in iúl* (14 *iúl*) which may be derived from *in umhail* through metathesis of palatality (**ə n’u:l** S, **ən u:l** M); also depalatalisation of -l is regular before *do* in *in umhail do*. Cp. R. A. Breatnach (1980–1: 100–5).

¹ Nicholas Williams, personal communication.

1.216 Medial (simple consonant)

amaide **aməd'ə** 43M, *aimide* !01S CABI §70(a) v. 7, *aimid*

baileach ~ *balach* (adjective derived from *bail*, older *bal*)

bailigh (verb derived from *bail*, older *bal*), e.g. past **wal'ə walə** (*nó gur bhalaigh sí* ! (NUath)11C, *bhalaigh sé* 21J), vadj *bailighthe leo* **ba'l'i: l'ə:həb** M regularly; *bailíthe* (x3). These examples seem to indicate that the nonpalatal variant is less common in the verbal adjective (but *choinneál balaíthe isteach* 11C). Nonpalatal instances were noted mostly in the sense 'depart, leave', where *balaigh le* might have dissimilatory effect.

bairille **barəl'ə** also **ba:r'əl'ə** Mq, **bar'əl'ə** 892M, 01P, **ba'r'ɪ'ə** 01P, **barəl'ə** 11C, **barəl'ə** 18J, 35E, **ba:r'ɪ'ə** 06C, 35E, plural **barəl'i:** 06C; syncopated variants would bring about depalatalisation of *r*, typical in the cluster **-rl'-**

bainfheis generally **banəf**, e.g. *banais* !894C9, perhaps attributable to base prefix *ban-fheis*; sometimes transcribed palatal in RBÉ, e.g. *baineis* 875T1

béaláiste SM, *béiléiste* 889P, M.

cafnach FGB > *caifearnach* M, *caifirneach* 875PCAR, 12S, *fiodchafarnach* FFG

(an) *C(h)roich Chéasta* with initial element: (ə) **x/korə**, **x/kri**, **x/kru** S, **kir'ə** 26P, **xor'ə** 36Nq, **xro** M, *cara* 864MDT50, genitive **nə xir'ə** 06C, also re-analysed as *comhartha kohərə* 29Cq

cóipeáil >> *cópáil* M

coipthe **kop'i:(hə)** M, **kopi:** ~ **kop'i:** 43M but ***kopi:(hə)** MØperm

coire: place-name *Poll an Choire* **paul ə xer'ə**, but *Rinne sí cora-guairdeall* !894C9 'she turned around quickly' perhaps influenced by either *cor* (*faoi gcuairt*) or *corraigh* or both

comailt coimilt IGT, the latter is the form in our dialect **kim'əl't'**, some younger speakers' nonpalatal *m* seems to be an innovation: VN *coimilt* **kuməl't'** 79S, impv **kuməl'** 84Pq, vadj **kum-l'i:hə** 84Pq (cp. 66L's *cuihn- ki:m-r'-*, 1.84, and cf. 9.9), cp. palatal initial (past) **x'im'əl'** 52P (mother from An Cheathrú Rua); cp. SIDi Map 60

Doire Iorrais **der' 'orəf**, **der'ə 'rof**, **dor' 'orəf**, **doɹ' 'orəf**, **dorə 'rof**

éineacht, in *éineacht* generally **ən' e:n'əxt** but also nonpalatal, e.g. in *éanacht* !894C9, **ən' e:nəxt** 894Cs, 05M, 11C, S, 35E, **ən' e:məxt** 49J, 64M (grandson of 05M)

féile **f'e:l'ə** generally with **l'**, including in *Lá 'il Muire na Féile Pádraig*, but nonpalatal **l** in **la:l' mir'ə nə f'e:lə pə:rək'** 872P (recorded once) perhaps influenced by **l** of *lá* in *Lá 'il Pádraig*

filún DIL, *fiolún* FGB **f'olu:n** S, **f'el'u:n** M

gála **ga:lə** plural **ga:l'i:**, but speaker 892Mg has **ga:l'i:** 'instalments (of debt)' in his recording (context: *Bhuel bhí na gálaí ga:l'i: ag rith suas ansin. Ar ball ansin thugadar leothub iad* 892Mg); perhaps influenced by *bille* plural *billí*

grabaid (FFG20) > *graibide* SM, FFG

grogaidín **grugəd'i:n'** S, cp. *gruigidín* FFG

leith (type of fish) **l'ehə**, less often **l'æhə** M, as if *leatha*; cp. *leitheog* (following entry)

leitheog **l'ehə:g** ~ (probably >>) **l'æhə:g**

mala **mɑ:lə** 46.424, but **mɑ:l'ə** (including **869P**'s daughters) **04Br**, **15W**, **M**, **43M**, **mɑ:l'hə** **S**, **43M**, the palatal base is a back-formation from plural *mailghe(achai)* **mɑ:l'i:(əxi)**, etc.,
mallmhuir **malu:r'** generally, but note **mɑ:l.ur'** (or **mɑ:l'uər'**) 46.1053 (1.418)
marbhaigh **marə** generally, but sometimes with **-r'**-, e.g. *dhá marbhódh ga'ma:r'ox* **M**
ollmhaireach, etc., **ulwa:r'əx** **ulwarəx** **amwarəx** **M**
píolóití **p'i:lɔ:t'i:**, **p'i:lɔ:t'i:**, **p'i:l'ɔ:t'i:**, **p'i:l'ɔ:t'i:**
ridire **red'ər'ə** **869P**, *rudaire* **852Sb**TS134, 154 (but in earlier, generally less accurate transcription, also *ruidire* **852Sb**6.78)
scaraoid **FGB** **skɑ:ri:d'** **852Sb**, *scáraoid* **894C2**, *scárthóid* **FFG**; but *scáiréid* >> *scáiréad* **866ESemr**, if accurate, cp. the mistranscription *scáiréid* **852Sb**-TS127 for actual **skɑ:ri:d'**
scubaide usually, but also *scuibide* **S**
séasúr generally **ʃe:surr** including 46.1169, **892Mg**, but **ʃe:ʃur** 46.11a, **46C**, *tús an tséisúr* **04B** CABI §125(b) v. 2, cp. *s(i)osúr*, *soiscéal* (1.215)
sibí ~ *siubaí* **FFG**, cp. 14 *tsiubaí*
suinnén **DIL**, *soinneán* **FGB**, **ʃi:n'an** **P**, *sionnán* **04B**
tinnabrad ~ *tinneabradh* **DIL** > *tionnúir* **t'unu:r** **SM**, spelt *tionnuar* **SNG292**, *tionúr* **FFG** and *tinniúr* **t'in'u:r** **M**, **FFG**
tosaigh, generally **tosə**, **VN** **tosu:**; has verbal noun *toisiú* in a pronunciation note for **852Sb**LL106, and was noted several times with medial **ʃ** some of which are apparent slips of the tongue; clear tokens of **ʃ**, not selfcorrected or hesitant, occur in *thosaigh sé hɔfə ʃe* [x2] **00T**, *thosaigh tú hɔfə tu:* **11C3653**
tuairgnín (*tuairgín*) **FGB** **tuər'əg'in'** generally, but **tuərək'in'** **20Pá** (only), cp. *tuairgint* 148 ... *tuairsgint* 149 ... *tuairgint* 160 **864MLL**
uathbhásach generally nonpalatal **u:(h)əsəx**, etc., but one speaker was noted with regular **-ʃ**:- **u:ə:ʃəx** **27Md**. This speaker has apparently variable *s*, e.g. *fós fɔs/ʃ* **27Md**, *feabhsú f'auʃu:* **27Md**, and sometimes intermediate between *s* and **ʃ**
uile in *gach uile* **ə'xil'ə** **xul'ə** generally (also **ə'xir'ə** **xir'ə** **897PLC** and son **27JLC**), but **ə'hulə** **hulə** **01PDO** only and consistently; perhaps originally depalatalised in the phrase *chuile dhuine* which often has **u** .. **u** vowel correlation, i.e. **xul'ə** **ɣun'ə** > **x/hulə** **ɣun'ə**. Speaker **01P**, in fact, has **hulə** **ɣün'ə** **01P**. Speaker **72NMN** has common **xul'ə** but also **xur'ə**, **xulə**.

1.217 Medial clusters

bricfeasta, where both the quality of the *f* and, to a lesser extent, the *c*, as well as the quantity of the unstressed *a* / *á* vary, has five attested by-forms (the most common cluster is **-k'f-**; the most common unstressed vowel is **a**, i.e. by-form (iii)):

- (i) **-k'f'a-** *bricfeasta* **br'ik'f'a(·)stə** **892M**, **11Cta**;
- (ii) **-k'f'ɑ:-** *bricféasta* **894C2**;
- (iii) **-k'fa-** *bricfasta* **b'r'ik'faʃtə** 46.299, **br'ik'fa(·)stə** **852Sb**, **869P**, **05M**, **M**;
- (iv) **-k'fɑ:-** *bricfásta* **br'ik'fɑ:stə** **49J**;
- (v) **-kfa-** *bricofasta* **br'ukfa:stə** **866EAM** (unclear), **21PtAM**.

- bruithneog* M, P, **brín'ho:g** 46.266, also *bruthnóg* FFG, S(?)
cabhnsailéara FFG, also **kaun'fál'e:rə** M
caifarnach FGB > *caifearnach* M, *caifirneach* **875PCAR**, **12S**, *fiódchafarnach* FFG
craplaíthe **krə'pli'** M, **krə:pl'i:(hə)** M, also *cruiplíthe* **kripl'i:hə** M
Deirdre d'éirdr'ə M, *Déadra* **!852S**, *ar Éadra* **894C6** also *'n Déad-Rí* **!894C6** (1.58)
dorn > *dorna* **daurnə** generally, but **daurn'ə** (brother of **21J**) a back-formation from plural variant **daurn'i:**, cp. *mala* (1.216), *ionga* below
Fraincis **fræŋk'əʃ** M, **fræŋk'i:ʃ**, also *Francais* **fræŋkəʃ** P (corresponding to Munster **fraŋkij**, cp. *Francach*)
cp. *Innbhear i:n'vər i:n'vər i:n'u:r* (1.356), and compare *timcheall* further below
ionga **uŋgə** generally, but a young speaker has singular **ing'ə** **76Nq** in a back-formation from plural **ingn'ə**, etc., cf. *mala* below
ionlach **ẽ:nləx ẽ:nləx 45C**, **i:ml'əx** S, also apparently **i:mləx** S 'spreading-ground' and perhaps (unclear on the audio recording) **i:mləx 892Mg** (influenced by *imleach*)
lucharpán **lɒprəxə:n** M, **lɒ'ep'r'əxə:n** S, **l'ip'r'əxə:n 892M2096**, **l'ip'r'əxə:n'** (plural) 46.823, **l'ip'rəxə:n** s.v. *gréasuidhe*, (cp. *leipreachán* FFG20, *loipreachán* ICF §636), cp. *clúrachán*, *cutharlán* FFG
macrall, *magarla* (~ *magairle*) DIL > sg *magairle* pl *magarlaí*, adj *magarlach*; cp. > (euphemistic and humorous) *machairí* **!894C9** (e.g. CABI §171(c) v. 4, §207 v. 2), FFG; cp. also *bachairle* **!894C9** (= *magairle* ?); some younger speakers claim to use this noun in the plural only (*magarlaí*), in query speaker **60M** produced sg **magərl** [x2]
marcaí **mārki:** M; *marcach* **mā'rkfəx̃ 11C**; verb *maircigh* **26P**; *marcaíocht* **mark'iaxt** M, **markr'iaxt 23C**, **mār'k'iaxt** 46.178 so also *deis mhaircíocht* **d'ej wār'k'iaxt 869P** but this is followed by **mārkiəxt 869P** in the same recording (also *maircíocht* FFG20, 24, **mark'ixt** ITM §403 (40), but **marki:xt** IEM §518)
peictiúr **p'ekd'u:r** generally, but **p'ek'du:r 42C** (Loch Con Aortha)
princeam **889P**, *prioncam* S, also *prioncadh* S, *prioncáil* S
smailc (*smalc*) FGB > *smailc* **875PCAR**, **sma:lk**, verbal noun **sma:lkə** Mq, **smælk'ə** M?perm
téiscilín FGB **t'e:ʃk'ləm' !894C**, **t'e:ʃk'ləm 21Pi**, also *tréismint* S, cp. *téismínteacht* FFG20
timcheall (cf. 1.180), as far as palatality is concerned, has two or possibly three separate realisations of the medial cluster:
(i) nonpalatal: **t'i:mpəl** SM, **himpəl 892M1603**;
(ii) palatal: **t'i:mp'əl** (e.g. **869P**, **875P**, **892M**, **!(Acdb)43Js**), **t'imp'əl 894Cs**, **hi:m'p'əl** 46.899, **himp'əl 889P**; also *gaoth thimpill* **gi:hə hi:mp'əl** S, *gaoth thimpeall* **gi:hə hi:mp'əl** M; *timpillín* **t'i:mp'əl'i:n** SM;
(iii) mixed (noted early in my work): **t'i(:)m'pəl**, **hi(:)m'pəl**, e.g. **him'pəl** M, **t'i:m'pəl 23Ms**;
cp. *-m féin* (*chéin*) in sandhi, e.g. *liom féin* **l'im' p'en' ~ l'um p'en'**.
There is also a minor by-form with initial depalatalisation **tumpəl** heard from a male speaker from Dumhaigh Ithir (born c. 1964) and **tumpəls 71D** as adverb.

-f(a)irt *confairt* **894C2**, *kunfært* SM, **20Aq**, **36P**; *kinfært* **869P**, **04B**; quality perhaps influenced by oblique *coin* from *cú*;
ualfartach (*ualfairt*) DIL, *ua(i)llf(e)artach* FGB *uəlfært* S; *uəlfært* SM; *uəlfært* **35E**; related to *uaill* *uəL*.

1.218 Final

barriall *bale:r* commonly, sg *bale:r* **56B**, sg *ba:lər* pl *ba:lərəxi*: **60Mq**
ar chor ar bith *xor ə b'i(x')* >> *xor ə b'i(x')*
cur ~ *cuir* (verbal) noun, with palatal form based on verb *cuir*
deamhan / *neoin* (*nóin*) > *diúin agus deireadh* LL71; *diúin agus deiriú* (typically as subject of *bí*); as predicate in *go ro' sé diúin agus deiriú a(n) lae* **852SBTS**122, 124, 139, etc.; also *ach ba diúin í an chupóig dá seasad sí leis* (run) **894C2**, 1 and *ba diúin í a' chupóig gá seasat sí leis* **894C2** (*diú(i)n < i ndiú(i)n < i neoin* (= *i nóin*) according to de Bhaldraithe 1986a, cp. *d' u'n' agəs d'er'u*: (Tuar Mhic Éadaigh, Mayo) S. de Búrca 1958–61: 92, n. 4; *niún duine ná deoraí* (< *dheamhan*; Coillte Mach, Mayo) de hÍde 1936: 8, n. 1; *'ndeamhan a dhá tic* (= *dheamhan*; Mac Amhlaigh 1986: 10))
domhain *daun* generally, also *daun*, but younger speaker *daun* **66N**
Garmain place-name, *ar an nGarmain* *er ə ɣa'rəmən* **20Mlt** (perhaps influenced by English pronunciation)
hob ~ *hoib* S, *ar thoib a bheith* Clad120
mion, in the phrase *go mion is go minic* *gə m'in' ş gə m'in'ək* M (not taken as sandhi here; through analogy with *minic*)
umhal: generally *u:l*, but *go ru siad úil sásta* **875T1**, *úil ar ...* **875T1**.
Many feminine nouns have acquired (optional) palatal finals, e.g. *bróg* ~ *bróig*. Personal names are sometimes remodelled on the (1 Declension) genitive and vocative case, e.g. *Fionn* ~ *Finn* **11C** (common case), *Ó Crochúir* > *a' Crochúireach* **894C9** (surname).

1.219 Metathesis of palatal quality

an- (intensifying prefix) is regularly palatalised before historical front vowels (2.78). When itself preposed by *n* in *bhí sé ina an-iomróir ... ina n-an-iomróirí* *v'i jɛ 'N'æn'u:mro:r' ... nə 'N'æn'u:mro:r'i*: **17Mp**, it seems the palatalising effect of the noun *iomróir* is transferred, or metathesised, to the initial preposed *n*. Contrast more regular *nə 'næ'n'iascər'i*: Mq *ina n-an-iascáirí*.
Cp. the possible mixture of *blaidhr(f)e(adh)ach* and *búir(f)e(adh)ach* in *bliúrach* FFG *bl'urhəx* M.
cafarnach FGB > *caifearnach*, *caifirneach*, *fiodchafarnach*, but also *ceáfarnach*, *ceáfráil* M.
caismír, cp. *ceasamar* FFG, *ceasmar* M.
cionthach ~ *cointheach* S.
Cp. *fleár* < **foileár* < *foláir*.
Cp. *go meala tú* > *go maire tú*.
Cp. *moing mhear* *miŋg' wa:rə* SM, *miŋg' v'ærə* Sq, Mq, *m'ig' wa:rə* **32J**, cp. *mara* (gen sg of *muir*).
leadán *l'ida:n*, *loideán* *lid'a:n*.
muisiriún FGB, *miosarún* FFG, *m'isəru:n* 46 s.v. *gréasuidhe*.

prioslach CAR > (semantically differentiated) *pruisleach* **prɪʃl̪ˠəx** SM, cp. palatal *sl* in *pislín* (corresponding to FGB *prislín* < *priosla*).

proimpeallán > *priompallán*.

scrog DIL, *scroig* FGB, *scruig* **866E**Semr82, *scriog* SM.

scuchaid also *scuichid* DIL **ʃk̪ˠəx**.

In the following selfcorrected slip of the tongue, although the consonants are metathesised the position of the palatalisation is retained:

iascach áirthid é iascach an spiléad **iəskəx ə sp̪ˠid̪ˠe:l sp̪ˠil̪ˠe:d** **11C**.

There is also the possibility that genitive *spiléid* was (initially) intended.

1.220 Initial changes through lenition and delenition

Lenition

p > *f* *prae* **pre:** **10B**, *fre:* **S**;

prop > *frapa*;

cp. 'potato' > *fata*.

Cp. *filbín* DIL *pilibín* FGB **f̪ˠel̪ˠəp̪ˠi:n̪ˠ**, and *Pilip* > *Feilipe*, also *go lá Philipín Cleite* **gə lə: f̪ˠel̪ˠəp̪ˠi:n̪ˠ kl̪ˠet̪ˠə** **S**.

p > *p ~ f* *pasóid* > *fasóg*, *pasóg*, *fasóid(in)*, *fasóigin* **S**.

h < *p ~ f* *halmadóir* (related to *falmaire*, *palmaire* DIL, Scottish Gaelic *falmadair*) perhaps influenced by English 'helm' and / or Old Norse 'hjalmr' or related germanic forms (cp. de Bhaldraithe 1999: 77–8).

For rare *f ~ Ø*, see 1.112. Cp. *s- ~ t-* below.

Delenition

f > *p* *feirc* FGB **p̪ˠerk̪ˠ** **S**;

feircín FGB **p̪ˠerk̪ˠi:n̪ˠ**, *Garraí an Pheircín* **gari: f̪ˠerk̪ˠi:n̪ˠ** **31M**;

fáiméad only has been noted.

f > *f ~ p* *fréamh* **fr̪ˠe:w pr̪ˠe:w pr̪ˠe:m**, also **f̪ˠe:w** **36Pq**.

Y > g

dho (and *dhe*) **ʏə** > **gə**, similarly *dhá* (*dho* / *dhe* + *a*, and to a lesser extent *dhá* 'if') generally **gə:**. For other initial and non-initial examples, see *gh* (1.102), both *ch* and *gh* (1.404).

For non-initial palatal cluster *bhn* > **ʋn̪ˠ**, see 1.142. Cp. vowels before *nt*, *nnt*, and *lt*, *llt* (1.172 ff.).

1.221 Other initial changes: *b ~ m (~ bh)*, *f ~ bh*

b > **m** (~ **b**):

beach > **m̪ˠəx̪ˠ**;

bin **b̪ˠi:n̪ˠ** in comparative *binne* **b̪ˠi:n̪ˠə**, but > *minne* in two recorded instances:

ar binne libh **ər m̪ˠi:n̪ˠə l̪ˠib̪ˠ** (Asc) **04B** (corresponds to *mithid m̪ˠihəd̪ˠ* (Asc) **19J**); also *chuala sé an ceol ba minne agus ba bhreácha 'ár chuala aon fhear* **866E**Semr46;

buinín a mhiotail FFG s.v. *buinín*, *miotail*; *muinín a mhiotail* **06C**, cp. *bionda ~ mionda* immediately below.

In the borrowings:

bionda FGB **b̪ˠində** Sq, **b̪ˠində ~ b̪ˠi:ndə** Mq, **m̪ˠində** Mq;

burla **bu:rlə** M and **mu:rlə** M, **47P**;

beaic ~ *meaic* (of fireplace);

binse ~ *minse* (of fireplace; *mínse* FFG); both *meaic* and *minse* can apparently be attributed to common collocations with eclipsis, i.e. *ar an mbeaic* and *ar an mbinse*; cp. *minseach* ~ *binseach* FGB;

moghlaeir FGB **maul'e:r**, also **baul'e:r** **23C** and **baul'e:d**.

Cp. *bhí daoíní uaisle na m(b)arúntacht ma'ru:ntəxt ag tíocht ina* 'jaunting car', **!(NUath)11C**;

tá 'waterguards' *na mbarúntacht ar an bhFaithche Mhóir* ! CABI §87(b) v. 3.

Perhaps *barúntacht* > *marúntacht* (if here in the genitive singular, rather than genitive plural) from common use of *sa mbarúntacht* (e.g. CABI §307(a) v. 1).

m > *b* *méadail, Moirne, Muirheartach* (1.158).

m > *m* ~ *b* *meirilliún* DIL (< French 'émerillon') and English 'merlin' > *meirliún* **869PCAR**, *beirliún* **875PCAR**.

m > *m* ~ *b* *maig* FGB, *maing* S (also FFG20), *baing* CAR 'crookedness', ~ *v* *vaing* FFG;

miodach **m'idəx** ~ **b'idəx** SM, **v'idəx** M.

m > *n* ~ *m* *móiméad* > *núiméad* generally, but also **mu:m'e:d** **11C**.

f > *f* ~ *v* (~ *b*) *fordoras* **fə:rdorəs**, *várdoras* FFG19, 20 (ICF §623 **wa:rdorəs**), 31, *bárdoras* FFG32, thus showing *f* ~ *v* ~ *b* in Conamara.

1.222 *bl* ~ *gl* in *blao(igh)*, *glaoigh*

Although it is my impression that *glaoigh* is generally prevalent (and on the increase), *blaoigh* is nevertheless quite frequent and with some people and networks is the more common variant. E.g.

blaoch soir ar Mhaidhcilín, bhlaodar soir air bli:x ser' er' waik'al'in', vli:dər ser' er' 16B (in context of telephone call);

cén uair atá sé blaoite isteach? k'en uər' ə tɑ: ʃe bli:t' ə ʃt'æ:x 52J (called in to hospital).

blaoigh is the most common form in clann Mhacaí of An Coillín (**869P** has *blaoigh*; SID.46 was noted with *blaoigh* [x4] in Mp 17, 46.46, 46.47, Vocab, *glaoch* [x1] in Vocab s.v. *glaothach*; this speaker's brother, **875T**, has *blaoch* LL45, but *glaoth ná fead 'gli: nā: 'f'æ:d* !**875T**). This verb is all the more conspicuous in the speech of a member of this extended family, **04Br**, who uses *bl/glaoigh X ar* (*blaoigh* in her case) meaning 'call (by name)' for more common *tabhair X ar*. E.g.

dhá mblaoitheá Bríd ga mli:ha br'i:d' 04Br,

na hainmneachaí a mbídís ag blaoch ar na garrantaí

nə hæ:n'əmr'əxi: m'i:d'i:ʃ ə bli:x er' nə ga:rənti: 04Br.

Speakers Seán and Máire both use *glaoigh* most often but regularly have *blaoth chluaise*, sometimes *glaoth chluaise*. The by-forms *glaoch* and *blaoch* are recognised as synonymous by Máire. Seán also has *blaoth na gcoileach bli: nə gəl'əx* regularly. Seán furthermore uses *blaoigh*, VN *blaoch*, regularly for 'to call a round of drink'. E.g.

bhlaodar neart deochannaí vli:dər n'æ:rt d'əxəni: S,

ag blaoch deochannaí ə bli:x d'əxəni: S, leatsa blaoch f'æ:tsə bli:x S.

Cp. the place-name *Carraig na Blaoithe* **karəg' nə bli:hə** in Máinis, with *Bl-* only. From SID Map 17 it is clear that *blaoch* is strongest in West Connacht. Cp. *blao chluaise*, *blaoch ola* (no *gl-* token) in BBeo.131, 139, 135. Compare the similar semantics and variation in *bláiféisc*, *gláiféisc* and *bliúrach*, *gliúrach* and compare *blúscam* and *brúscla*, *brúslacht*, *brúscán* with *gliúram gleáram*, FGB *blosc(arnach)*, *bliúrascnach* ~ *gliúrascnach* ~ *glúscán* etc.

1.223 *br* ~ *gr*; *fr* ~ *gr*

br ~ **gr** *brágaíl* S, *grágaíl* SM and generally (Máire does not accept the by-form *brágaíl*);
bróigín, *gróigín na láí* S;
gnóthaigh > *grú(tha)igh* > *brúigh* 'win' **66N** (only) and past **γruə vru: 79J** (both younger speakers influenced by *buach*).

For the continued basis for *br-* ~ *gr-* alternation one can compare **20Mlt**, recorded using *gró* for the less familiar *bró*.

Palatal *fr-* ~ *ngr-* ~ *gr-* ~ **g-*:

variation occurs in *freastal* in obsolescent collocation with *díol* and *riar* and possessive pronouns, e.g. *díol do fhreastail*. Lenited **r'astəl'** was optionally reinterpreted as **jr'astəl'** and **jastəl'**, which yielded bases **gr'astəl'** and ***g/d'astəl'** respectively. (The initials of *díol* and *riar* may have had some influence on the process through assimilation or dissimilation.) The eclipsed form of **gr'astəl'** was optionally lexicalised further yielding aberrant base **gr'astəl'**. See 9.134.

ng- > *n-* in the place-name in *Gob Sciathán na nGeabhróg ... geabhrógaí gob f'k'ihə:n nə n'uro:g ... g'u:ro:gi: 892M4278-9*, perhaps in assimilation with preceding *-n n-* (note also velar final *-g*); cp. *Scothach na nGiúróg* Rob.91.

1.224 Palatal stops *d*, *g*, *c*, *t*; Nonpalatal *d*

Palatal *d-* > **g'** (~ **d'**): *díoscadh* > *gíoscadh*, *díoscán* > *gíoscán*.

In forms of the verb *dlig* (*amuigh ag ... ar ...*), **gl'** - is most common:

dlighte gl'it'ə S, *glite* FFG s.v. *glíonn*, *dligheachtáil gl'i:xta:l'* M, lenited *dhligheadh sé γl'i:həʃ fe* M;

dlighte dl'it'ə S, *dl'i:xta:l'*, also in one token of the inflected verb, future **dl'i:hə 27Mdq**, perhaps reconstructed from *dligheadh dl'i:w*, etc., by both S and **27Mdq**.

A few speakers also have **gl'** - in the noun *dligheadh gl'i:v 27Js, 43J, gl'i: 66N* (daughter of **27Js**), plural **gl'i:vəni: 43J** (all three speakers from An Aird Mhóir). (There is a recorded instance in conversation where speaker **66N** said **gl'i:** and speaker **30M** (An Bhánrach Ard) asked if she meant **dl'i:w**.) The reason why **gl'** is more common in the verb may be that reanalysis of lenited *d-* is more likely to occur from verbal forms; furthermore verbal adjective *dlite* might be a source of place dissimilation between *d-* and *-t-*.

stéigeachaí >> *scéideachaí*, in metathesis, e.g. **f'k'e:d'əxi' 21Jq, 24Mrq, 29Nq, 37Mq, f'k'e:dr'əxə f'k'e:drəxə 36Nq**; also > *stéid* (combination of *stéig* and *scéid*) in **f't'e:d' 36P**, plural **f't'e:drəxi 36P**. Speaker **36P** (Coill Sáile) does

not generally alternate **g' ~ d'** as part of the 'lingual shift' of consonants (1.407) although some of his neighbours do.

tuaifisc(each) FGB **stuəf' iʃ(əx)** S, *tuaifis(c)each* FGB > *tuaifisteach* CAR.

Cp. palatal **d' ~ k'** in *dreas maith* **dr'æs ma** >> **kr'æs ma** S (the latter from *cneas*), also *screas* CAR.

Palatal *d-* > *g, s* in: *dealrachán* (Connacht) variant *gealrachán* Dinn **g'a:lɾəxɑ:n** 46.385, *seálrachán* CAR, cp. *deálracháin* FFG20, *deárlach(aín)* FFG20.

Palatal *-t-* > **t' ~ k'** in borrowing *pailitéara ~ pailicéara*.

Palatal *c-* > **k' ~ t'** in *céard ~ téard*, etc., (8.55).

Palatal *g-* > **d'**:

geis 869P2, *geasa* **g'æ:si:** 04B, **g'æ:sə** 11C, but *deasaí* 866ESemr probably a false delention of the frequent phrases *dhe l faoi gheasa(ibh)*;

gíománach (díománach) FGB **d'i:mɑ:nəx** (Sdás)04B;

griog FGB **dr'ug**;

gribracán DIL is compared with *griúraic* FGB in ING (> *driúraic* FGB) > *diúlac* in Iorras Aithneach;

spig neanta, the first element is **sp'ig'** M, 21Ptq, **spr'ig'** S (plural **spr'ugəni:** S), **sm'ig'** 12Jq, 19P, 20Cq, 20Myq, **sp'id'** 37Mq, **spr'id'** 23Bq, **sp'ir'əg'** 43Mpq, cp. plural **sp'i n'æ:ntə:gəxi:** 76Nq; also: (s)m'ig' n'æ:ntə 51Pq and metathesised **m'ig' f'n'æ:ntəxi:** 51Pq.

Nonpalatal *d-* > **d ~ g**:

daideog = *gaideog* S;

gliogarnach Dinn, *gliúradh gleáradh gliodarnach* S, cp. *gligearach, gligearnach* FFG, *gliúdarnach*;

gusta(i) (borrowing) **d/gustə d/gisti:** M, often in *gusta(i) gaoithe*;

grainc 875PCAR but I have heard only *strainc* (< *drainc*);

cp. *dhá* 'two' in eclipsis > *ngá*; *dhá* > *gá*; *dho l dhe* > *gho, go*.

The two nouns *dos* and *gas* may have fallen together in *das* (f.) M 'stalk, stem, head (of cabbage)'.

d > **n** in *i ndán* reanalysed as *i nán* giving the noun *nán* 'fate', thus differentiated from *dán* 'poem'.

1.225 s

s- > *t-* (~ *s-*):

siocair **fukər'** ~ *tiocair* **t'ukər'** 05M, S, 35E, the latter is a back-formation from *an tsiocair* and perhaps also *ciontsiocair*;

sonc, soncáil FGB, **tʊŋk** M, **tʊŋkɑ:l'** M;

Sionnainn, generally *s-* is retained, e.g. *abhainn na Sionnainne* **aun' nə funə'n ə**, but from *t* of the article in *bhí iasc na tSionnainn gul anuas* 852S2; note *dhen tSionnainn* **gən tūnə'n** 892M;

sochraide > *sochraíd(e)* generally, but (from *t* of the article) > *tochraide* 64M, 66L, *trochraide* 66N, *tochraíd* 79S;

sornóg > **taurno:g tornóg** (from *t* of the article); perhaps influenced by the initial *t* of an alternative term for 'limekiln': *tine aoil* = *tornóg aoil* (cf. Map 263, SIDI).

t- > *s-* in *tarathar* **s/frahər**. Cp. *toirchim suain* > (in tale run) *soirm suain* 866ESc128.25 with assimilation of initial consonants, corresponding to *solam sámh* IEM text 647. Cp. 1.227.

stu- ~ *sci-* in *stoipéad* **stip'e:d** M, *scipéad* **875PCAR**.
sp- > *sm-* in *spól* > *smól* **smo:l**.

Initial consonant addition and deletion

1.226 Prosthetic *f*

Prosthetic *f* occurs in *fadaigh*, *fainic*, *faidhb*, *fáinne*, *fan* (but historical VN *anadh* > *ana* ING **anhə** S), *fás*, *féidir*, *fuair*, *fuacht*, *fuinnseog*, *furmhór*, *foireasa*, *fathach*, *easair* > *fasair*, *eathaid* > *feithid(e)*; *oir* > *feil* **f'eI'**; *furasta* **frustə**, *uaigh* 'sew' > *fuaigh* **fuə** similarly *uaighéil* > *fuaigheáil* **fuə:l'**. Less well-known or less common words are:

abhra, *fabhra*, etc., (cp. *forbrú* DIL) **faurhə**;

oscail heard only once with **f-**, in: *An bhfuil sé oscailte?* **wil' je foskəɫ'ə** M; also *foscailte* **852SbLL114**, *ná foscail* **864MDT20**, *bhí a bhéal foscailthe* *chomh mór* **866ESc103.36**, *foscloídh mé* **Sc216.12**, *foscailt* **869PDT41**;

uaigh (~ *fuaigh* ~ *uaimh*) FGB: (cp. *ua* ~ *ó* above, 1.27) **fuə** is our general dialect form: *fua'* (grave) **894C2**, **fuə** **11C**, *as a' bhfuagh* **!894C9**, **æs ə wuə** **11C**; (in) *sa bhfuaigh* (ə)n **sə wuə** [x2] **04Bl**, genitive *béal na fuaighe* **b'e:l nə fuəi** S; **uə** is also permitted by S, **uə** (or **fuə**) plural **uəni** 46.712, plural **uəni**: **44P**, *ar an uaigh* **er' ən uə** **60M** may be from **60M**'s father's lect (East Cois Fharraige), but also *ar an uaigh* **er' ən uə** **64M**; **uə** in some younger speakers from the spelling (11.126); **fuə** also means 'cave, cove' and is the same etymon as *Fuaigh* 'cove' in place-names (spelt *Fó*, e.g. Rob.91; 1.27);¹ *an Fhuaigh Chaol* **n uə xi:l** **32J** was explained as *uaigh* **uə** by **32J**; semantically related *ua(i)mh* survives as *uamhain* **u:n'**.

Only **uəskə:n** is permitted by Máire (also **uəskə:n** 46.84), contrast **fuəskə:n** FFG20 s.v. *uascán*. In my notes only *dh'fhoireasa*, eclipsed *dhá bhfoireasa*, occurs. In response to query a noun *oireasa*, e.g. *oireasa céille*, is recognised as local by **27Mdq**. The *ph f* in *an phlá* is optionally copied in the phrase *an phlá libíneach* P, *an phlá phlibíneach* M, *an phlá phluibíneach* Sq, *an phlá phleibíneach* FFG s.v. *pleibíneach*.

1.227 Prosthetic *t*, *d*

Prosthetic *t* occurs (optionally) in: *áis* **ɑ:f** ~ **tɑ:f** S (in creel), *táis* FFG 'convenience'; *arc* Mp 34, *tarc* FFG, S; *obunn* DIL **teb'an**.

Also in forms of an *tAonmhac*, in the following mutating environments:

- (eclipsing) *céad glóire leis an tAonmhac*, **ɽ'ej ə 't'ē:n.wā'k** | (Abf) **03C**;
- (leniting) *Gus a mhaighdean chumhachtach a' tÉanmhic*, **!894C9**;
- (aspirating) *í ag iúmpar a t-éin-Mhic (sic)* **894C2**.

Contrast (aspirating) *Míle buíochas leis an Maighdean is lena hAonmhac!* **ɽ'ē:nə 'hē:n.wā'k** **05M** and (leniting vocative) *A Aonmhic Muire* **'e:n.v'ik' mir'ə** **!(Abtm)11C**.

¹ Cf. T. S. Ó Máille (1952–4: 28–30) where *Fuaigh* is attested in Galway place-names in contrast to *Uaigh* in Mayo and further north. In SIDIII q 712 'grave' *fuaigh* is found in the majority of points 43–8 (West Conamara), although *sa bhfuaigh* FFG27 is reported for Mionlach (near SID point 38), north of Galway city.

The phrase *ghá déan-Rí* !894C ‘to their God’, may be based on *dtréan-rí* with loss of *r* in dissimilation; or an uneclipsed *déan-rí* equivalent to *dian-rí*; or perhaps more probably prosthetic *tAon-Rí* being eclipsed.

Cp. 1.225, 1.229. Prosthetic *d* in *earball* > *drioball*.

1.228 Prosthetic *s*

Prosthetic *s* occurs (optionally) in:

bícead Mperm, *spícead* M;

bogán also *spogán* **sbuga:n** FFG19, 20 with specialised meaning;

breo DIL **spr’o:** S;

briollach **br’uləx** >> **spr’uləx** S, as noun *spríollach* CAR;

brúán > *sprúán*, *mionsprúán* ‘m’in’spru:a:n 11C, plural *mion-sprúdhánaigh* 876JDT98;

clab has many corresponding forms with *s*:- *sclabaíocht*, *sclabaireacht*, *sclabairt*, *sclaib*, *sclaibeáil*, *sclaibireacht*, *sclaibéara*, etc., S;

(s)clogaide S;

creachán > *screachán* **ʃkr’uxa:n** generally, but *creachán* **kr’uxa:n** also known Sq;

cneas maith ~ *dreas maith* **kr’æs ma** << **dr’æs ma** S, also *screas* CAR, cp. *spreas* ‘interval’;

crománach M, *scrománach* Mperm;

geit **g’et’**, cp. **ʃk’et’** 18J8781 ‘sudden noise’;

giobal >> *sciobal* M;

glamh: *sclamh*, **sklā’fər** M, **sklāfri:nf’əxt** M, **sklā’fərt’** M, *sclamhaire*, *sclamhail*, *sclamhairt*, *sclam* (pl *sclamanna* 864MDT88); also *glamthar*, etc., (1.92);

gliob- > *scliob*, *scliobach* S; also *glib*, *glibeach*, *gliobach*;

(s)glugaire;

gluta has derived *slutaíthe* S (connected to *gluta* by Seán), **skluti:** M;

gríisc **gr’if’əʃk’** ~ **ʃkr’if’əʃk’** SM;

leadhb **l’aib**, etc., *sleadhb*, *sleaidhbear*, *sleaidhp* **ʃl’aib** **ʃl’aib’ər** **ʃl’aip’** Mq;

leamhán > *crann* ... *sleamháin* LL4, influenced by *sleamhain*;

liobar >> *sliobar*;

maise > *smais*;

meadráil << *smeadráil*;

mion > *smionagar* 27Mdq, cp. *min-ecor* ‘minute work, ornamentation’ DIL s.v. *min*¹; *mionn-agar*, *mion-eagrú* CFNG ‘to minutely ornament’;

mugailt **mugəlt’** ~ **smugəlt’** M;

pleabhta SM, *spleabhta* S; *pleota*, *spleota* FFG, *spleotáil* FFG, Mq; cp. *splíota* FFG, **spr’i:tə** S, *spliotáil*;

preab > *spreab* meaning ‘sod size of spade’, cp. *spreabadh* FFG;

tuaifisc(each) FGB **stuəf’iʃ(əx)** S, *tuaifis(c)each* FGB > *tuaifisteach* CAR;

cp. *sceach* ‘ruin’ with *creach*;

cp. *sciotáin* (plural) **ʃg’əta:n’** 46.637 perhaps from *giota* + *-án*.

The form *mairtíneach* only is known to Máire, contrast (s)*mairtíneach* ICF §625.

Cp. *spairt* FGB, DIL < *pairt*, from which the form *spairteach* in our dialect is derived; *aighneas*, *saighneas*.

1.229 Other prosthetic consonants, initial deletion, changes

- (p)l- *leib* << *pleib*;
leidhce with different meaning from *pleidhce*;
leota with different meaning from *pleota* **pl' o:tə** 72C and **pl' o:t** SM;
leadhb >> *pleadhb*.
- p > Ø *isín* **if'i:n'** Mq, understood by Mq as derived from *pisín* **p'if'i:n'** Mq, it may well be derived from, or influenced by, *oisín* 'fawn', cp. Scottish Gaelic *isean* 'chicken'.
- h ~ ph Personal name *Heictar* **hek'dər** M (also as noun Mq, FFG20), but initial **f'** in *aimsir Heictair agus Véinis* **æ'mfər' f'ek'dər' əgəs v'e:nəʃ** [sic] (Abf)03C, perhaps influenced by the initial fricative in *Véineas* or by *P(h)áras* or by both.
- b(h) ~ Ø *brochóg* (*bruthóg*² ~ *prochóg* FGB) generally retains initial *b(h)*-, e.g. *tom brochóg* FFG s.v. *brochóg*, **tum vroho:g** S, **tun vroxo:gi:** 21Pt, but *tom ruthóg* 866ESc127.16.
- d ~ Ø *Dothala* **dohələ** generally (place-name, perhaps < *Dubhthulaigh*, cp. Rob.88), but a younger speaker has **ohələ** 80L (more narrowly transcribed [**oχələ**]), from use with the preposition *i nDothala* reanalysed as *in Othala*;
treo **tr' o:** but final conjunction *i dtreo is go* **dro:s gə ~ ro:s gə** 06C. We can compare the by-form in initial **r-** with other final conjunctions in **r-**: *i riocht is go* **ros / rus gə** also **rus gə**; the last variant can be derived from *ar nós go* (**er'**) **no:u:s gə** (and cp. GCF §386 comparative *ar nós mar er' u:s mar*).
- n ~ Ø In most instances through metanalysis of the feminine article:
nathair in *nathair nimhe* (feminine, also *athair*² DIL, Dinn, FGB) > *athair-nimhe* (Abr)04B CABI §509(a) v. 11 (transcribed by 35E), *gsg na hathrach* **nə harhəx** !ZCP165;
núis FGB (feminine) **u:f** S;
uallach 'proud' > *nuallgach* !894C (perhaps from intensifier *an-*);
eochair (feminine) **oxər'** is general, but > *neochair* 66L, 78S, 84P (< *an eochair*); in a plural query session, speaker 66L's mother-in-law and close neighbour, 10Bq, offered **n'oxrəxi** and selfcorrected to **oxrəxi eochrachái**.
- t ~ Ø *eirigéis*, *teirigéis*.
tancard FFG, *ancard*, etc., (*t-* reanalysed as masculine article *an t-*).
Cp. *tlú tlu:* >> **tolu:**, also *ní raibh breac an (t)olú agam* **n'i ro br'æk ən olu: am** 35Et.
- c > Ø *Crom Dubh* > **ru:n dɪ** 25M, perhaps through metanalysis in sandhi in *Domhnach Crom Dubh*.
- gr ~ r *gratamas* 875PCAR, *ratamas* SM, also *ratasach* S; also *graitiméar-acht* CAR;
- gl ~ l *loinidh* **lin'hə**, also **glin'hə** 23Bq.
- h ~ Ø *eidir* (preposition) **ed'ər'** generally, but **hed'ər'** 872P (1/2, Maínis) and consistently 01P (Doire Iorrais). The latter speaker has occasional loss of initial **h**, e.g. *thall* | **al** 01P, as well as consistent *shula* **or a:**. His use of unhistorical **h** in *eidir* may be based on analogy with such **h** ~ Ø alternation. Cp. 1.405.

sr ~ r The place-name *Sraith Salach* is generally **sru** / **sra** / **srə saləx** (first element also **fru/a**). Some speakers, however, have initial **r** -: **ru** / **ra saləx** **00C**, **ra saləx** **09P**, perhaps in dissimilation. This is possibly related to the English version 'Recess' pronounced **rə'ses**; perhaps < *Shraith Salach* with loss of **h**-, or with loss of **s** through metanalysis of *as Sraith Salach*.

scl ~ sl *scliúchas* FGB **ʃkl'uxəs**, **ʃkl'usəx(t)**, **ʃkr'uxəs**, **ʃkl'ufəx(t)**, also **ʃl'usəxt** **21Ptq**.

scl ~ sl ~ sc in *scilligeadh* FGB **ʃk'il'əg'ə**, **ʃkl'ig'ə**, **ʃl'ig'ə**, **ʃk'il'ə**; *scillige* **852SbTS145**.

scr ~ sr ~ sc sometimes in *scríobh*, e.g. *scríobhadh* **ʃkr'i:vur** ~ **ʃr'i:vur** **11C**; younger speaker *scríobh* **ʃk'i:v** **84P**.

Note also *camóg ara* > *camóg bheara*; *rua* > *brua* in assimilation in *gan báll brua ná loiscíthe* **875T1** (cp. *brú*), also *báall rua* ... **869P**; (*Mí*) *lúil u:l* Sq, Mq but **m'i: 'lɹ:l** 46.904 (perhaps through analogy with the following calendar month *Mí Lughnasa(dh)* **m'i: 'lū:nəs** 46.904).

Non-initial addition and deletion

1.230 Intrusive *r*

Intrusive *r* is added in a few words.

-anach ~ -arnach (~ *-ánach*):

ceithearnach **k'ehərnəx** ~ **k'er'hə:nəx** M, in a form of *r* migration;

luifearnach **lif'ərnəx** SM, **lifr'ərnəx** S;

suifeanach (< *soicheallach* ?) **sif'ərnəx** SM, **sifr'ərnəx** M.

Cp. *fiontarnach* FGB, **f'i:ntənəx** SM; *sailedánach*, *sailchearnach* FGB **sail'hə:nəx** SM, **01J**.

-a(r)lach: *cuigealach* **kig'ərləx** M, *cuigearlach* FFG, cp. *cuigealach* FFG20, 24.

-alach only noted in *gríúdealach* **gru:d'ələx** SM; *muicealach* **mik'ələx** S.

alaiscreach FFG19, 20, *alaisceach* FFG20, FGB.

Cp. *íolacan*, *íolacán*, *iarlacan* (medial intrusive *r*, 1.231).

Other examples of intrusive *r* (many in the environment of *l*, less so another *r*) are listed here.

Initially

– pal *c* *cuachma* **kuəxmə** generally, but (plural) **kruəxmi:** **16P**, perhaps influenced by *cruach* or *ruacan*;

g *gogaide* **gugəd'ə**, *gogaidín* **gugəd'i:n'** S, **grugəd'i:n'** S, cp. *gruigidín* FFG;

d *Déardaoín* innovative **d'er'dri:n'** **60M**, **66N**, **d'er'dui:n'** **51N** (one parent of all three speakers is from east of IA);

cp. **bə:hər nə dr'ə:nhi:** P possibly from *Bóthar na Deannaí*

t *sochraide* > *sochraíd(e)*, rare innovative *trochraide* **66N**; *tuisled* DIL **trifl'ə**;

+ pal *b* *beithir* > *breithir* **866E** (e.g. Semr96, Sc307-1.4), cp. *bleidhb* **04B** (9.99);

- cp. ‘bumble(r)’ > *príompallán* **pr’i:mpələ:n**, de Bhaldraithe (1996: 52–4);
- d* *deascán* **dr’iskɑ:n** S, cp. **l’iskɑ:n** S;
- sc* *mísceamhnaighthe* ‘**m’i:ʃk’ævni:(hə)** generally, but ‘**m’i:ʃkr’æwi: 21Jq** (cp. *screamh*);
- sceachóir* **ʃk’oxo:r’ 21Pt**, *Garraí na Sceachóirí* **ga’ri: nə ʃkr’oho:r’i: 21Jq** (*sceachóir(i)* is obsolescent);
- scíth* generally **ʃk’i:(hə)** for example Mp 158 but **ʃkr’i: 25M**;
- cp. *sceach* and *creach*;
- sp* *spig neanta*, the first element is **sp’ig’, spr’ig’, sm’ig’, sp’id’, spr’id’, sp’ir’əg’**, also **sp’i, m’ig’**; with some variants influenced by *sp(i)rid*;
- spíonlach* (cp. *spíonach*) FGB and Dinn **spr’i:nləx 889P**, perhaps influenced by *spreas* (cp. Dinn s.v. *spíonlach* and *spreas*), cp. also **spr’i:nhəx** S and *splíonach* FGB;
- st* *steall* FGB **ʃtr’ɑ:l** S, *strealladh* FFG, cp. *sna stealladh dártha* FFG s.v. *stealladh* (an idiom not known to Mq);
- strengcán* ~ *stringcán* DIL, *steanc(áil)*, *streanc* FGB, **ʃt(r)’uŋkɑ:n, ʃtr’uŋk str’uŋkɑ:l’**, etc., M;
- stiall* FGB **ʃt’iəl**, verb **ʃt’iəltə**, derived **ʃt’iələx, ʃt’iələxɑ:n**, also **ʃtr’iəl**, verb **ʃtr’iəltə**, etc., Mq.

1.231 Medial intrusive *r*; Finally

- pal *b(r)* *Banbha* **banəbə** generally, also **banəbrə / bambə !869P-ZCP160**;
- c(r)* *socamlacht* DIL *sócúlacht* FGB **soku:ləxt** M; adj **siku:ləx 892M, sokru:ləx 21Ptq**;
- (*r*)g cp. *bagúin* **bagu:n** generally, but there is a slight retroflex quality in **ba’gʊn 66N**;
- (*r*)l *comhla* **ku:lhə** generally, but **ku:rlhə 26P**;
- iodhlacan, íolacan* FFG, **iələkən 03V, iələkə’n 11C, iarlacan !** and saying **894C9**;
- mh(r)* *rámha* **rā:və >> rā’və** but also **rā’vrə 23C** (perhaps influenced by *reamhra* plural of *reamhar*);
- (*r*)sl *masla* **maslə** generally, but **marslə 36Nq**;
- + pal *d(r)* *fáideog* **fɑ:d’o:g ~ fɑ:dr’o:g** S in query sessions and discussions;
- (*r*)ll *cuaille comhraig* **kuəl’ə kū:rək’** (etc.) generally, but (perhaps through assimilation) in the (slightly corrupt) run **kuərɪ’ə kū:rək’ 05Md**; cp. corresponding *comhartha comhraic* (Maigh Cuilinn: P. Breathnach 1986: 151);
- múille* **mu:l’ə** generally, but **mu:rɪ’ə 21Pt**;
- s(r)* *pisceog* > *pisreog*;
- t(r)* cp. *teinnt(r)each* **t’i(:)ntr’əx** but also **t’i:n’ɪ’əx 46.852 (1.424)**.

Finally

- pal (*r*)g Cp. *meadhg* **m’aig** generally, but Seán, questioned about *meadhg*, pronounced **m’airg** adding *fada an lá nach gcuala me an focal* S.

- + pal (r)c *buaic* **buək'** generally, but **buərk'** 06C in *ag iomradh ar buaic* (note the two preceding *r* sounds in this common phrase);
- vowel ə(r) *ballasta* **bal(h)əstə** generally, but **baləstər** 60M, cp. *balastar* FFG24 'large chunk';
bunáite **bunə:t'**ə generally, but **bunə:t'ər** 15Pn (as adverb);
le chuile chleasa luath ... l'e xul'ə xl'æsər luə ... (Smbb)04B, generally *cleasa lúith kl'æsə lu:*;
móide **mu:d'**ə generally, but with final *r* in *ach ní móide go dtiúrhaidh ax n'i: mu:d'ər' gə d'w:rhə* 11C1638, presumably modelled on *féidir*;
- u:(r) *colbha* generally **kolu:** but note *ar cholbhar na leapa* SeolG36; perhaps also in *is lú leat > is luar leat* although there are other possibilities (through reanalysis in *ní luar liom < ní lú orm* de Bhaldraithe 1971–2: 279–80);
- au(r) Intrusive *r* and *l* in *fogha (ná) easpa* FGB > *foghal ná easpa, foghar-easpail* 894C9.

From these examples in medial and final position, it appears that postvocalic intrusive *r* is more common following long vocoids and *a* (which is itself often long phonetically). The only examples following a short vowel are the unstressed *r* in the rare by-forms such as those of *ballasta* and *cleasa luath*. See also examples of copied *r* (1.248).

1.232 Intrusive t(h)

Intrusive *t* in initial *sr ~ str*

Intrusive *t* is optional in *sraoill fri:l' S, an tsraoill !01S, sraoilleach fri:l'əx S, sri:l'əx M, stri:l' 21Jq, 27Mdq*, cp. *straoilleachán > straoideachán* ! CABI §520(e) v. 3; *srannadh* generally *sranə f'ranə*, but *stranə* 60M.

Intrusive -th-

Cadhan generally **kain** but note *Maidhcil Cadhan, mhuinntir Cadhain, Cadhain, na Cadhain maik'əl kain, wi:nt'ər' kaiin', kaii'n', nə kaihi:n' 20Mlt*; *déidín* FGB **d'e:d'i:n', d'e:hi:n' SM, d'e:həd'i:n' S**; *tuathal* FFG, **tuəhəl 11C** < *tual* DIL, FGB; cp. *brí* and *bíthin* > *bríthin* 894C. Quite common at certain morpheme boundaries, e.g. *croidheamhail kri:hu:l', 3f lé l'e(ə)hə*, and rare *3f di d'i(ə)hə*. For intrusive **h** beside, or devoicing of, *n*, *l* and *r*, see **nh** (1.151 ff.), **lh** (1.169 ff.), **rh** (1.190 ff.).

Other medial alternations

1.233 Medial *n ~ Ø, t* in *breathnaigh, brostaigh, ceistigh*

Three verbs have medial cluster alternance with *n* which can be analysed historically as a derivational stem extension. One verb *breathnaigh* has *thn ~ th*, another *brosnaigh* has *sn ~ st*, the third *ceistigh* has *stn ~ sn ~ st*.

***breathnaigh ~ brostaigh* DIL**

- 852S** *bhreatha, breathú* **852S4**, *breathnú* **852S1**; in his recording: **br̥̊ æ̊h̊ů** [x2], **br̥̊ æ̊h̊iːn**, **vr̥̊ æ̊nh̊iː**;
- SID.46** **b̥̊raːnuː**, **b̥̊rahuː** Mp 126 corresponding to **v̥̊raːnə ... b̥̊raːnuː** (or **b̥̊rahuː**) 46.408; **v̥̊raːnə m̥̊e** (pret.), *bhí sé ag breathnú óg v̥̊iː fe b̥̊rahuː* (or **b̥̊raːnhuː**) **oːg**, *nuair a bhreathnó siar nuir̥̊ ə v̥̊raːnhəː f̥̊iːə* Vocab s.v. *breathnuigh*;
- 869P** VN *breathnú* 2 (probably his most common form), *breathú* 2;
- 875T** (**869P**'s brother): *bhreathnai* **875T1**;
- 04Br**, **15W** (**869P**'s daughters) have regular **br̥̊ æ̊h̊-**, **br̥̊ æ̊h̊-**;
- 01C** **br̥̊ æ̊huː** **01C6501**;
- 04B** **br̥̊ æ̊nh̊-**, **br̥̊ æ̊h̊-**;
- 11C** **br̥̊ æ̊h̊-** >>> **br̥̊ æ̊nh̊-**; examples of **br̥̊ æ̊nh̊-**: *bhreathnaigh sé air; a bhfuil mé ag breathnú air; ba cheart duit breathnú, a deir sé, agus féachaint, a deir sé, céard a d'éirigh dhon choiséara.*;
- 12S** **vr̥̊ æ̊hiːdər br̥̊ æ̊nhuː br̥̊ æ̊huː br̥̊ æ̊huː**;
- 43M** **br̥̊ æ̊hiː**;
- 64M** **br̥̊ æ̊h̊-** only noted.

The examples from speaker **852S** and **SID.46** suggest that **-n-** may be more commonly present in finite forms in contrast with the verbal noun. Speaker **11C**'s relatively rare use of **-n-**, however, was noted with two tokens in the verbal noun in contrast with one in the finite form (past). The adjective *fadbhreathnaíoch* 'fad, vr̥̊ æ̊nh̊iəx, was recorded with **nh** only. The lexeme *breath(n)aigh* is characteristic of Co. Galway (also found in West Mayo), as is clear from **SID.126**. The stem **br̥̊ ah̊ə** is found in a limited area (following monographs and **SID**): from western Cois Fharraige, where, according to ICF §643, it is the usual form (concurring with point 43 **b̥̊raːhuː** Mp 126), including Ros Muc (**b̥̊raːh̊ə** Tomás Ó Máille 1927a: 73), and west to Iorras Aithneach. Both variants are commonly used by many speakers in Iorras Aithneach. Loss of intervocalic **h** in the area east of this zone may have been a deterrent to the use of the by-form **br̥̊ ah̊ə**. With *breathnaigh* we can compare *ceal nach n-aithníonn sibh mé?* **k̥̊ æ̊l nax næ̊hiːn̥̊ f̥̊ib̥̊ m̥̊e** **04B1**, other examples of *aithin* noted from **04B** contain intervocalic **-n-** as is regular in the dialect. The by-form **br̥̊ ah̊ə** can arguably be viewed synchronically as a reduced variant of **br̥̊ anh̊ə**. For further reduction of *breath(n)aigh*, e.g. **æ̊h̊ə**, see 1.263.

1.234 *sn ~ st (~ stn)****broснаigh ~ brostaigh***

broснаigh M, also *brostaigh* SM, *brosnú* **04B**. Speakers **21Jq** and **27Mdq** recognise *brostaigh* only. Speaker **52Jq** considers *brostaigh* to be most common as the inflected verb and *brosnú* to be most common as the verbal noun. (Speaker **56N**, from Ros Muc, claims she would say *brostú*.) Seán connects *broсна* 'kindling' with *broснаigh*; in his explanation of *broсна*: *tá sé ag brosnú an phota ta fe brosnú: n fotə* S.

ceistigh ~ ceisnigh ~ ceistnigh

ceist(n)igh **k̥̊ e̊t̥ ə k̥̊ e̊f̥̊n̥̊ ə k̥̊ e̊f̥̊t̥n̥̊ ə** M.

1.235 Nasal vowel > vowel + n (ĩ)

Nasalisation of the vowel produces **n** in a rare by-form of *áithe* **anhə 21J** (only from common **ā:hə**.¹ Compare this speaker's common consonantal realisation of *mh* (for common **ĩ** in the dialect): *samhradh* **sā'mrə** >> **sā'vrə 21J**, *Tamhnaigh* **tāmnə 21J**. The nasalised vowel in *áithe* may also have influenced a by-form of the place-name *Loch na nÁithean Bhuí* **lox nə nā:hən wi: 20M**; for more regular *Loch na hÁithe Buí* **lox nə hā:hi: bi:** (brother of **20M**). (Perhaps from *Loch na nÁihanna Buí* (Robinson 2002: 47–9) or **Loch na hÁtha Buí* or **Loch an Átha Bhú.*) Also *comhrag* **kū:nrək 00T**, a rarer by-form of **kū:rək**, but with the added complication of the by-form *cūnac* **894C2**, i.e. ***kū:nək**. Cp. *lúthmhar* **lū:fər ~ lū:nfər** (1.305). The noun *agús* generally **agu:s**, but *amhgús* **894C2** indicating ***ā'vgu:s**, perhaps related to the nasalisation of the conjunction *agus*, common in some speakers (1.300, 1.309). Cp. *Caolan* **ki:lən** (*Cruaich na Caoile* **kruə nə ki:l'ə**) but *Naomh Caolan* **nī:w̃ ki:nl̃ən 894Ct**.

The development *áil* > *áin* preceding the preposition *le* may have been influenced by the phrase *is mian le* **əs m'ĩ:n' l'e**. (Cp. *is gráin le*. The change *áil* > *áin* was perhaps influenced by *án* (adjective) and *mian*. The present negative may also have developed with nasal spread as follows: *ní háil le* ***ĩ'i: hā:l' l'e** > ***ĩ'i: hā:l' l'e** > **ĩ'i: hā:n' l'e** from whence *áin* would spread to all positions.) Speaker **869P** has (in a rhyme) **ər hā:n' l'art**, **ĩ'i: hā:n' l'um**, **əs ā:n' l'um**. Cp. comparative *ab áile liom* **!894C9**; *geall le ~ gearr le* (1.165).

1.236 Further instances of medial intrusion or alternation

boltsaire > *boltsaire* **baulskər'ə** generally, also *búlsaire* **866ESemr96** (cp. *blosaire* Dinn, *balcaire* FGB);
caidhte FGB, *caidhfte* FFG19, 20, M;
ciothánach, *cionthánach*;

cnó **knō'** plural **knuhəni** 46.649; plural **krunhi: 43Mp** is the basis for new singular **krunhə 43Mp**; similarly, singular (doubtful for **34Mq**) **krunə 34Mq**, plural **kruni: / krunər' 34Mq**;

confairt ~ *coinfirt* is perhaps a lexical fudge of historical *confadh(ach)* and *conairt*, the similar form *cuanfart* is cited in DIL s.v. *cúana(i)rt*; cp. *miolfairt* below;

crúca **kru:kə** generally, but *crúnca* FFG.

donn **daun** > comparative *doinne* **daun'ə Sq**, **daun'ə 66N**, but also **daivn'ə Mq**, **Sq**. The last form is based on analogy with *domhain* **daun' > doimhne daivn'ə**; cp. *abhainn* **aun' > aibhne aivn'ə**, *aibhneachaí* **aivn'əxi: / ó Duibhne**, etc.

(*Diarmaid*) *ó Duibhne*, ... *ó Duinn*, ... *Donn*: **o: daivn'ə / daivn'ə / devn'ə / dev'ən'ə / dain'**, also **o: dōjən 869PZCP163**, **o: dowən' 869PZCP161**.

¹ Compare a similar unhistorical **n** in the Co. Derry place-name 'Aghanloo' **ah(ə)n 'lju:, an'lju:** < [stress not shown] ***ahnlū:** < ***ā:hlū:** [sic leg for ***ā:hlū:**] < ***ā:hlū:** < ***ā:hlugə Áth Longa** according to de hÓir (1964–5: 10). Although not necessary, nasalisation of *áth* in place-names following the preposition *in* as well as influence of *áith* are also possibilities contributing to conjectured ***ā:** here (cp. **ā:**^(b) **x-** in *Áth an Chláir* and *Áth an Choirce* Tomás Ó Máille (1927a: 73 §299.5(a)), discussed in footnote 1 on page 1335 below; nasalised *áith* in Donegal, SIDI Mp 263; Uist, Outer Hebrides, e.g. MacDonald (1993: 192 n. 2)). Cp. Ó Baoill (2001); Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 116–7).

easna plural *easnachaí*, etc., but a young speaker has *æ:sknəxi* 76Nq and claims not to know the singular (perhaps influenced by *eascainí*, *eascannaí*);
éigse > *éiscle* in *scoil éigse skol' e:ʃkl'ə* 11C, through copying of *l* in *scoil* (suggested to me by Tomás de Bhaldraithe, personal communication), both words then contain the sequence *sc()l*, also *aimsir na héiscle*, *na scoileannaí éiscle* 11C5569;
giughrann > *g'urə́n'*, also *g'ur'ə́n'* 06C, *g'ur'ə́n'* M, (*giúrlinn* FFG20, *giúrann* (*giúrainn*, *giúrlinn*) FGB), perhaps influenced by *duirling du:rl'ə́n'*, cp. *gírlé* (*má*) *guairle* FGB, *gúrlamán gaorlamán* FFG, *guairdeall*);
Íosa Críost generally, but the following *t* is copied in '*S a Íosta Críost(é) ná'r ...* !894C9, *drúil íosta príosta* S; cp. *grás*, *grásta* (3.47);
míolfairt FGB, FFG20, *mílfirt* FFG20 > *mílfartán* 'm'i:l'forta:n 20Cq (speaker slightly unsure); cp. *confairt* above;
móiréis FGB I recall as *mó:r'je:f* M, 20Ml, *mó:rg'e:f* S, *mó:r'e:f* 12Sperm, Mperm (but my early notes are unclear as to the palatality of *r* in my spellings containing *mór-*: *móiréis*, *móryéis*, *mórgheis*, *mórgéis*); in recordings *mó:r'e:f* 11C, 27Mdq, cp. *móiréiseach* LFRM *mó:r'e:fəx*, *mó:re:səx*);
-b- ~ *-bh-* in *múscríobach* [sic] 869PCAR presumably for *múiscríobach*, also *múiscríobhach* FFG (not known to Mq but cp. *múiscríonach* M);
siolla, *siolta*;
smúrhacht FGB *smu:r'həxt* generally but *smu:r'fəxt* 25M, compare *-fəxt*, for example, in *maor* > *maoirseacht* *mi:r'fəxt*; cp. *mar sin mar 'fin'*, *mar hin'* (6.81); cp. *smúslacht* S 'rummaging';
smúsach, *smúslach*, *smúslacht* S;
tuaifisceach FGB > *tuaifisteach* CAR, base *tuaifisc* FGB *stuəf'ij* S.
 For *-g-* ~ *-ng-* and *-c-* ~ *-ngc-* compare *feacadh*, *feac* 10B and *feanc*; *priocadh* *pr'ukə* S also *pr'ukə* S.

1.237 Cluster simplification and assimilation

-bst- in *substaint* > *siosmaint* 894C2, cp. *substainte* 894C9;
-nd- in compound preposition *in éindí le* (< *in aoindigh*, probably) *ə n'e:nd'i: l'e*, also *n'e:n'dj' l'e*, *n'e:n'i: l'e*, (*n'e:n'ə l'e*, *n'e:n'ə l'e*, *n'e:n'i: l'e*, *n'e:n' l'e*), *n'e:i: l'e*, *n'e: l'i*; cp. *-dj' l'e* also in *maidir le* directly below;
-r l- in compound preposition *maidir le mad'ər l'e* generally, but *madj' l'e* 45N;
-rtghl- in *gortghlanadh* 'gort,ylanə generally, but 'gox,ylanə 18J8003;
-scr- in *oscartha askri:* ~ *asri:*, e.g. *glan oscartha as mo chiall glan asri: æs mə x'ial* 43M. Cp. *-sc* ~ *-s* (1.73).
-sct- > *-skt-* ~ *-st-* in impersonal verbal forms, e.g. *lasctar la'stər* 4, *la'sktər* 5, Mq-*tí*, for other examples, see 5.38.
-st- ~ *-d-* in *feidheastar f'aistər* SM, but their son has *feidheadar f'aidər* 52J (as well as *feidheastar* 52Jq), cp. *foighdeán*.
-il' əs > *-i:s*; *-il' m' -* > *-i: m' -*, in forms of *bí* (in sandhi): *níl a fhios agam n'i:s am* S; *níl mé i ndan n'i: m'e: na:n* M.

1.238 Suffixation of *t* and other final changes

Final *t* is suffixed to continuants in a few words. The phenomenon may be a result of epenthesis or analogy (or both).

-ch > *-cht* in nouns, e.g. *cnámhlach* **krā:vləxt** S; *smúsach*, *smúslach(t)* S; *Roisín na Mainchíoch* generally **roʃi:n̩ (n)ə man'hiəx**, but also **roʃi:n̩ ə mæn'iəxt** **04Br**, ... **man'hiəxt** S; *tamhnach* **ta'vnəx** generally, but **ta'vnəxt** **10Bq**; *duine ná deora(io)ch* **din'ə nɑ: d'or(i)əx** generally, but **din'ə nɑ: d'orəxt** **48M**; *Fódlā* > *Fódlacht* (possibly adjective, perhaps *Fódlach*) in *ar shaorthaí an tsaol Fódlacht er' hi:hi: ən ti:l 'fo:ləx(t ?)* | **!10B**. In adjective *millteach* **m'i:lt̪əx** generally (including **50N**'s parents and siblings), but **m'i:lt̪əxt** **50N** (cp. VN *réiteacht* **50N**). Also other words, especially in some younger speakers: *sách* > **səxt** **63S**, **72N**; *iallach* **iələx** generally but **iələxt** **66N**; *i dtosach (é)* **dosəxt** (Úna, daughter of **07P**), **ə dəsəxt** **ε** **78Pb**; *Garraí na nUltach* **gari: nə naultəx** (field-name) but **garənti: nə naultəxt** **69S**.

-l > *lt* in *samhail* **sā:wəl̪'**, **sā:wəlt̪'**, *macasamhail* **makə'sāwəl̪'** **881J**, **makə'sāwəl̪'** ~ **makə'sāwəlt̪'** S, *mo mh~* **mə 'wā:kə'sāwəl̪'** **896P**; *mar gheall ar* generally **mar jəl̪ er'** but in East Iorras Aithneach **mar jə:lt̪ er'** **27JLC** and his daughter Bairbre, also Neain Team Teaimín a Búrca, *Roisín na Mainchíoch*, also *i ngeall orm* **ə ŋ'ə:lt̪ orəm** (male speaker, born c. 1955, from Cill Chiaráin or environs); cp. *míorbhail míorbhaile (míorbhaille l.)* IGT **m'i:or̪u:lt̪ə**, influenced perhaps by the late adjective *míorbhailteach*. Cp. *agailt* M, *angailt* **āŋgəlt̪'** (Asc) **11C**, the latter given as a by-form of FGB *agailt*¹.

-in > *-int* in *dammair* DIL **damənt̪'** SM; *éigin* has by-forms **ə'k'i:nt̪'**, **ə'k'i:nt̪'əx** (8.243); *teiscinn* FGB, *teisgin* Clad138, *teisgint* Clad17, *teiscint* SeolG69, gen *na toiscine* **852SbTS131**, *na teisginte* [with note] *teisgine* = *teisginnte* [and claim that] *teisginne* [is most common] Clad13; *dóthain* generally **dohənt̪'** but *ní raibh leath a ndóthain am againn* **n'i ro l̪'ə: no:hənt̪' am æ:n** **04Br**. Cp. adverbial *a chuigint* Clad189 (< *chuige*).

Cp. *-ar* > *-airt* in *grampar* FGB, *grampairt* SeolG39.

Also in the case of many verbal nouns in *-cht*, *-lt*, *-nt*, *-rt* (5.218 ff.).

Compound preposition *ar scáth er skə:hə* generally, also **er skə:həs** **52J** through analogy with *seachas*, *tharas*.

-s (palatal) > *-st* in *arís* > **ə'r'i:st̪'** *aríst*; optionally in *cac ar aithris(t)*, *-t* FFG s.v. *cac* 4, *-s* S. Cp. final *-c* added to *aithris* in *nár aithrisg in ám é* ! CABI §618 v. 7. Note possible *-s* > *-sc* in *aibhéis (aibis DIL)* > *áibhéis* FFG, probably also *áibhéisc* **11C**.

n ~ *m* *ruacans* ~ *ruacams* (1.259);

seileastram **fel'əstərn** P, **fel'əstrəm** (1.362).

Ø ~ *n* *duine* in the phrase *slua le duine* 'fairies' is recorded as such (e.g. **866ESc228**) but also as *Slua le duineann* **894C2**. This was perhaps influenced by *doineann* or may be based on, and in turn have influenced, *Danann* (also *Donann* Dinn. s.v. *tuath*) in **sluə ne: / l̪'e: dən'ən** ZCP160 and in *Tuatha Dé Danann*, which is attested in *na Tuathaí Dé Danainn* **nə tuəhi: d̪e: dunən' ... tu:hi: d̪e: d̪ā'nən' ... tuəhi: d̪e: d̪ā'nən' ... d̪e: dunən'** **892M2263**, 2285, 2752.

1.239 *seo* ʃo(w); *righe* ri:(w); *ab fhaillighe* əb æˈlʲi:(w)

The demonstrative pronoun *seo* (also in *anseo*) has an obsolescent by-form **ʃow**, which may have originated as a phonetic glide prevocalically, i.e. *seo* ʃo + é, etc., > ʃow eː. Many, probably most, speakers tend not to use this sandhi at all, others use only a weakened glide, e.g. *anuas anseo é əˈnuəs ənˈʃo ˈe* P. The form **ʃow** may have been influenced by the historical emphatic particle *somh*. The form *roimhe seo riˈv ə ʃau* (= [ʃeʊ²]) **899P** was recorded once from **899PLC**, whilst other tokens from him are realised as **ʃo**. This single example could be interpreted as a form of /ʃo/ (or /ʃow/) with **899P**'s strong 'barróg' diphthongisation (1.376 ff.) or as a genuine example of /ʃau/ as found in ITM §94.

If correctly transcribed, the final **u** of *righe riːu* pl *riːxi* SID.46 Vocab s.v. (analysable as /riːw/), may be a (once-off) analogical form based on *crobh krow* Vocab (in the same entry), i.e. /krow/. Cp. **kro(h)** < *crobh krow* and *troigh tro(h)* (1.254). Alternatively, -u in *riːu* might represent a strong prepausa offglide more commonly iə, iː.

faillighe is common in narrative in the phrase *níor leis (léithi, etc.) ab fhaillighe é* *ˈnʲiːr ˈlʲeʃ əb æˈlʲiː eː*; but also *ˈnʲiːr ˈlʲeʃ əb æˈlʲiːw eː* **881J** (x1), perhaps influenced by the past impersonal ending -iːw, as if ... *a *baillíodh é*.

1.240 Metathesis

Metathesis is especially common in liquids. Copying of a liquid on both sides of a cluster is rare; see, for example, *maircíocht*, *marcach* and *siúcra* (1.246) as well as *tarlú* (1.244). Cp. the by-form of *gréigeach* in *spuir dheilgneacha ghréigreacha ghreannta* (run) **864MLL152**. The clusters *thr*, *thl*, *thn* generally fall together with *rth*, *lth*, *nth*; as do other sources of **h** preceding sonorants, as well as spontaneous devoicing of mostly lenited sonorants, all sources yielding a phonemic sonorant + **h**. Phonetically, devoicing can occur following the sonorant, during and after the sonorant articulation, or preceding the sonorant. When presonorant devoicing occurs it is generally combined with post-sonorant devoicing. Devoicing may be optionally lost, e.g. *carthanas* **karhənəs** S, **karənəs** 46.I, or completely lost, for example at a reinterpreted morpheme boundary in Seán's *stiúrthóir stˈuːrɔːr* S in contrast with *stiúrthóireacht stˈuːrɔːr ɔːt* **872P**. See (SONh) 1.394. Phonemic **h** immediately preceding a sonorant does occur as a by-form in some words, e.g. *Dé Sathairnn dˈe sahrən ~ dˈe sahrən* **79S**, cp. forms of *malairt* (1.245). In the case of initial clusters **hl**(ˈ), **hl**(ˈ), **hn**(ˈ), **hn**(ˈ), **hr**(ˈ), which arise through lenition in *thl*-, *shl*-, etc., there is optional metathesis when they occur between vowels, e.g. a phrase such as *mo shlabhra* can be realised as (i) *mə hlaurə*, (ii) *mə lhlaurə*, ((iii) *mə lhaurə*) (9.12). The noun *aithne* 'acquaintance' is generally **æˈnˈhə**. Speaker **881N** (only) has *aithne æhən* (recorded in *níl aon aithne æhən nach ...* **881N**) perhaps through analogy with the verbal roots *aithin æhən* ~ *aithnigh æˈnˈhə*, although it may represent *aithint* (with loss of *t* in sandhi or analogically). The noun *aithint* is general in Co. Clare and common in South-East Co. Galway (SIDi.240). Cp. *thaitnigh hæˈn ə* **881N**.

1.241 Vowel and liquid; CV//r > C//rV

In some well-documented words there is metathesis of the first short vowel and

liquid with loss of the second vowel. The second vowel is mostly an epenthetic vowel:

bolgam > *blogam*; *dearbh-bhráthair* > *dreitheáir*; *deirbhshiúr* > *dreithiúr* >> *dreofúr*; *deargnaid* > *dreancaid*; *teilg* > *tlig* (e.g. pst *thlig* Clad176, pst imprs *tligeadh* 875PDT10); similarly, *triomach*, *drioball*, *Crochúr*. Non-epenthetic in: *frusta*; *tarathar* > *srathar*. Note also *tarsna* > *trasna*; *turscar* FGB, *trosgar* trágha Clad1223; *Muircheartach* (perhaps > **Mricheartach*) > *Briartach* (BBeo.17).

Optionally in:

Murchadh > *mroxə Mrocha* generally, but there are some examples of trisyllabic *Murchadh*, e.g. *gan Muracha gan Mághnas* 894C9, also *A Mhurcháin ghránna* 866EB16.111, cp. *Murchadh Mór m^əroxə mo:ɾ* [x2] 892M5213;

dorgha both *doru:* 892M, 03C, 27Cl, and *drú* [x2] 894C3, *dru:* SM; also an intermediary (fudged) form *d^əru:* plural *d^ərif^ə* 29C. A given speaker's singular *doru:* can have plural *dr-*. The opposite alternation is found in singular *dru:* but plural *d^ərif^ə* 46.1116. Most speakers have consistent initials, e.g. *drú*, *drúit^ə* SM; *dorú*, *dorantaí* 05M (4.231 s.v. *dorú*);

spirut DIL, *spiorad* also *sprid* FGB, *spioraid* LFRM, *sp^əirəd Naomh*, etc., *sp^əirəd^ə* 'courage', *sp^əir^əd^ə* 'sprite', also *ainspirid* mostly *æn^əsp^əir^əd^ə* (Aebi)03C, 27Mdq, *an-sp^əer^əd^ə* (Aebi)03C but also *æn^əsp^ər^əd^ə* !05M, 21Ptq *ainsprid*. Also adjective *spioraidiúil* *sp^əirəd^əu:l^ə* 'spirited, courageous'. In response to query 21Jq has: *sp^əir^əd^ə* 'sprite, (Holy) Spirit, courage'; 21Ptq has: *sp^əir^əd^ə* 'sprite', *sp^əir^əd^ə* (*Naomh*) and *sp^əirəd^ə* (*Naomh*) [*sp^əirəd^ə* uncertainly], *sp^ər^əd^əu:l^ə* and *sp^əir^əd^əu:l^ə* 'spirited'. Cp. *spirioid* 866ESemr162 'sprite'.

There is no metathesis in *purgadóir* *porəgədor^ə* SM, *pəragədor^ə* 46.790, *porgədor^ə* 15W, 21Pt (x3) (1.357).

With *tlig* compare *Nó gur thléig mé lé Burcaí* [leg *Búrcaí*] !894C9, and *Lé bean eile 'stór do dhia'sa 's ní thléigfead mo rún* !894C where *thréigfead* was written above *thléigfead* by Séamas Mac Aonghusa but crossed out and the footnote *theilgfead* given in explanation of the form. If the accented *-é-* is to be retained, this may represent a change *tlig* > *tléig* on the historical pattern *lig* ~ *léig*; perhaps influenced by *tréig*.

Also *druid* *drid^ə* *dord^ə*, e.g. '*Druid anonn*' ná '*Druid anall*' *leat dord^ə ə'nū:n na: dord^ə ə'nā:l* *l^ətæt* 894C, *dhoird* 864MDT24, cp. *dhruid mé yort m^əe: !*(sns)869PZCP158; Clad1 has *duird* >> *druid*, noted in: *ar dhuird abhaile* [x5], *duirdeann* 114, *duirdim* 6, *dhruid* 104, *druidim* 15, 105.

Cp. *féil(e)* *f^əe:l^ə* (ə), long vowel in weak stress, > by-form *flé* in *i mullach na flé Séáin* 12S (cp. Co. Clare *Lá 'lé Mártain* LSE316); for rare *féile* *f^əe:lə*, see 1.216.

1.242 s in metathesis, Cs > sC

Palatal *ts* > *st* in many words, e.g. *báisteach*, *bagáitse* > *bagáiste*; but *stáitse*; later borrowings retain *ts*, e.g. *beaitsiléara*, 'page' > *peáitse* and semantically differentiated *páiste*; compare also earlier *maiste* *māst^ə* with later *meaits* *m^əāf^ə*, both from 'match'.

Palatal *ds* > *sd* in *creidsin* > *creisdiúint*, etc.

Palatal *gs* > *sc* in *tiscint*, *tréiscint*, *tairiscint*, *i bhfoigseacht* > *i bhfoisceacht*; non-palatal *bogsa* > *bosca*. Cp. *tuairgint* 148 ... *tuairsgint* 149 ... *tuairigint* 160

864MLL; *éigse* > *éiscle* in *scoil éigse skol' e:ʃkl'ə* **11C**.

Cp. *oschall ascall* DIL *askəɫ'* and *absdal aspol* IGT *aspəl*; *bs* retained in *absolóid absəlo:d'*.

Possible palatal *ngs* > *nsc* in *Ó Loingsigh* > *Ó Loinscigh* in the place-name *Carraig Ó Loinscigh ka'rəg' a:l'i:nʃk'ə* **11C** (unless actually from *Carraig dhá Ghlinisce*).

Palatal *sm* ~ *ms* in *clismín* ~ *climsín* S, *climsíní* 46.1126. Cp. *ls* ~ *sl* under *l* (1.244).

ch-s ~ *s-ch* ~ *s-cht* in *scliúchas* FGB *ʃkl'u:xəs* **05M**, *ʃkl'u:xəs* ~ *ʃkl'u:səx* M, *ʃkl'u:səxt* S, *ʃkl'u:ʃəx* M, *ʃkl'u:ʃəxt* SM, *ʃkl'u:xəs* ~ *ʃkr'u:xəs* **35E**, *ʃkr'u:xəs* ~ *ʃl'u:səxt* **21Ptq**.

Palatal *m(h)s_r* ~ *m(h)r_s*: during the nasal questionnaire, speaker **21Pt** pronounced *daimhséarach* *dævʃe:rəx* **21Ptq** as prompted, but also *dævr'e:ʃəx* *dæmr'e:ʃəx* **21Ptq**.

Phrasal *spig neanta*, *smig neánta*, etc.; also, from speaker **51Pq**: *mig neánta*, *smig neánta*, plural *mig sneántachaí*.

Speaker **23C** regularly metathesises clitic *-sa* and *-d/-t* in the 2sg prepositional pronoun following stressed *æ*, e.g. *agadsa æstə* **23C** (6.54). This may be related to speaker **23C**'s slight lisp.

1.243 *sr* > *rs*; *rs* > *sr*

sr > *rʃ* in *baosra* > *baorsa* (e.g. FFG) *bi:rʃə*.

Words with *sr* ~ *rs* are: (i) *go bhfiosraí*, (ii) *pisreog*, (iii) forms of *caisric*, (iv) plurals *déasrachaí*, *léasrachaí*. In all five words, *ʃ* (rather than *s*) is the main variant of *s* involved in metathesis. This is also the case in *baosra* *bi:rʃə* (above), as is *ʃ* in *arsa*, *eirseachaí* and *ar siobhal* (further below). Cp. variants in *rʃr* in *arsa*, *ar siobhal*, *caisric*, *pisreog*; *rʃ* ~ *ʃ* (1.131 ff.).

(i) The adjective *fiosrach* is regularly *f'isrəx*, the verb *fiosraigh* is not known in the traditional vernacular. A verb similar to *fiosraigh* occurs twice in higher register, in each instance eclipsed following *go*:

Eistigí go bhfeirsáí mé cás díb !**894C9** (= CABI §545(b) v. 4), apparently indicating **v'ersi*; , glossed by Séamas Mac Aonghusa, the transcriber, with *go bhfiosraí*, and transcribed in a different version CABI §545(a) v. 6 as *go bhfiosruighí*;

-Stop, stop, arsa Guilean Óg, Ná hól a dheoch agus ná blais a bhia, go bhfiosraís dhúinn cén gleann a rabhais ann roimhe ariamh.

stop stop orsə gil'ən o:g na ho:l ə jox ogəs na: bla:ʃ ə v'ia
gə v'erʃi:ʃ yu:n k'eŋ gl'ən ə rau.əʃ ən riv'ə r'iaw

glossed by the speaker as *go n-insí tú gə n'inʃi: tu* (Lam)**04B**.

In both these examples the meaning of the verb in question can be taken to be 'recount'; it is therefore both formally and semantically similar to *ársraigh*² FGB. They are perhaps reflexes of *fiosraigh*, which may have been influenced by *véarsa v'erʃə v'erʃə*, perhaps meaning 'recount in verse'.

(ii) *pisreog* *p'ufro:g* >> *p'urfə:g* (also *p'ifr/rʃ-*):

p'ufro:gi: **899D**, SM, *p'ufro:g* **20S**, *p'ifrə:g* **35E**;

p'irʃə:gi: S;

p'urfro:g (with *r*-copying).

(iii) The regular verb *caisric* **kafrək'** (verbal noun generally *caisreacan* > *caisricean* **kafrək'an**) has, as well as **a** >>> **o** alternation, four metathesised by-forms (a) **-rfəm'ək'**, (b) **-rfək'(ən)**, (c) **-rfək'**, (d) **krofk'ərən**:

- (a) *coisricim* in the set phrase *goirim is coisricim thú* **gor'am' əs garfəm'ək' hu 18Bm**, where the first two syllables of *coisricim* appear to be remodelled on *goirim*; cp. initial *c* > *g* and the sequence **g-r-m'** in *coimirce* **gir'am'ək'ə** (1.246);
- (b) a regular verbal by-form with *r*-copying *chaisric sé* **xařřig' je 795**, *caisreacan* **korfək'an 25M**;
- (c) an adjectival by-form with **-rfək'** in *uisce caisricthe* **ifk'ě kařřik' 46.783**, more usually **ifk'ə kafrək'**;
- (d) *caisreacan* has another type of *r*-copying in set phrases for Seán:
caisreacan Dé orainn! **krofk'ərən' d'e: orən' S**,
caisreacan na ciotóige ar íochtar do phutóige!
krofk'ərən nə k'ito:g'ə er' iəxtər də fito:g'ə S.

(iv) Plural of *déas* > **d'e:řfəxi**: ~ **d'e:řrəxi**: M, **35Eq**; *léas* **l'e:řrəxi**: **20My**, **35Eq**, **l'e:řrəxi**: M, but also **l'e:řsəxi**: Mq, **l'e:řfəxi**: M, the last form cited is probably Máire's most common. Retention of *sr* is general in other plurals, e.g. *glaise* > *glaisreachaí*, *cis* > *cisreachaí*, *seas* > *seasrachaí*, *seasrálachaí*, and in syncopating *lasair* > *lasrachaí*.

rs > sr

arsa **ərsə əřfə**, with copying of *r* > **ər'f.ru**, also **f.ru**.

eiris > **əřrəxi**: rare by-form attested in **26Pq** only.

r s > (*r*) *sr* optionally in the adverb *ar siobhal* **er f.u:l, er sr.u:l, er řru:l, ə sr.u:l, ə řru:l, ə ř.u:l, ə řu:l** (8.197);¹ *Leitir Seanaidh* **l'et'ər' řrə:nə 20M**, cp. the English equivalent 'Lettershanna', Robinson (2002: 10–1).

1.244 / in metathesis

- lr ~ rl* *dallraigh*, past **yarlə** M, verbal adjective **darli**: SM, **darli:hə 892M**, **darli**: **12J**;
deallradh > **d'arlə** !(Abfr)**43Js**, *deálra* **!894C9**, cp. *deállradh* !(Abfr) CABI §134(c) v. 3, *deallradh* §134(e) v. 3;
galra (*galrae* DIL) ~ *garla*: **galrə** 46.86, **galrə 11C, 29C**; **garlə 04B, 26P, 56B**, 'mo:r,yarlə M *muirgharla*;
iolrach **olrəx, ulrəx**, *an Charraig Iolraigh* **ə xa:rəg' olrə 01J**;
Leacht Charraig Iolraigh **l'æ:xt xa'rəg' urlə 21Pt**;
malrach **malrəx Sq, marləx 21Ptq, marlach FFG**;
Maolmhúire (cp. 'Moyler') generally **midrə** but **mirlə 23Ms**, *ó Mhaorla Caoch* FFG s.v. *ó* 1(a);
siolraigh **řiəlrə** often, also spelt *siolthrú* (in my early notes, cp. *siolrúch* Sc308-1.11) but also *shíorla* **!894C9**, *siorlú* FFG, also VN **řiəlu: 30M**. Cf. *malairt* (1.245).
- rl > rlr* *tarlú* generally **tə:rlu:**, but **tə:rl^dru:** (Smbb)**04B**.

¹ It is likely that "déanamh through le", transcribed from **03V** in Becker (1997: 70, cp. *déanamh *sruth le* n. 16), was misheard for the common idiom *déanamh ar siobhal le*.

- rl* > *lr* *iarla* often retained, e.g. *Ó Iarla* *o: iərɫə* 11C, but *bád an iarla* *bɑd əɫ iəɫrə* !10B.
- ls* ~ *sl* *trilseán* FGB *traɪlfɑ:n* SM, *troilseán* FFG (>>) *traɪfɫɑ:n* S, Mq, 21Pt.
- lg* > *gl* ~ *lgl* *Gaoidhealg* > *Gaoidhilge* generally *ge:lgʷə*, but far less frequently *ge:glʷə* 899D6608, and *ge:lgɫʷə* (wife of 26J, also *ge:lgɫʷə* 66N). It is noteworthy that similar metathesis is involved in *béalra* > *Béarla*. There is a clear semantic link and co-occurrence relationship between both words.
- l(bh)* ~ *bl* *geolbhach* *gʷo:lwəx* S, 27Mdq, *gʷo:ləx* M, also *gʷo:bləx* 21Jq.
- C-l* ~ *l-C* *cumhsclaí(the)* *kū:skli:* M, *klū:ski:* S, *kū:nskli:(hə)* M, *klū:nski:* S, *klū:nski:hə* 21Pt, *cúsclaithe* FFG s.v. *cúnsclaí*; *eitleog* > *ar eilteog* 864MLL68; also *eitreo* 864MLL72, *eɫtrʷo:g*.
- l-C* ~ *C-l* *eilit mhaol* *eɫʷərʷ* [-ɫʷ ?] *wɪ:l* (Lam, prose) 04B; *annlann* generally *ɑ:nlən*, also *ɑ:vlən* 05M, perhaps also *ɑ:mvlən* !35E, but > *ánail* (attested in genitive) in *togha bí leis agus ánaíl* !894C6, (possible nominative) *biadh 'gus Ánaíl in áras* !894C9 (nominative *ánnall* in ICF §636); *muinchille* *mɪɫʷhənʷə*, *muhəɫʷə*, *muhəɫʷə*, *murhɫʷə* (1.114); *neamhthuilleamaí* FGB *ʷnʷəhɪɫʷəmi:* M84, *ʷnʷəhɪmɫʷi:* S84.
- naca* > *-laca*n, therefore resembling other (verbal) nouns in *-(ac)an* (*-án*) in: *iodhnaca* > *iodhlacan*, *íolacan* FFG, *iəɫəkən* 03V, *iəɫəkən* 11C, also *iarlaca*n 894C9; *tiodhnaca* > *tiodhlacan* *tʷiəɫəkən*, *tíolacan* 894C3, with combining of *-naca* and *-laca*n > *tionnlaca*n (or *tiodhnlaca*n) *tʷi:nləkən*, *tʷi:nləkən*.
- r-l* ~ *l-r* *barriall* *bariəl* (e.g. 23Bq), *baliaɾ*, *baleɾ*, etc.; *cairéal* FGB *kɪɫʷeɾ*, *coiléar* FFG (homophonous with *coiléar* 'collar'); *mearbhall* > *mearúll* generally, but also *mʷæluɾ* !(Ast)36P; cp. *Cearbhalán* generally *kʷarhu:ɫɑ:n*, regularly *kʷæru:ɫɑ:n* 11C, but *Cearlúrán* 894C6.704, *Cearlabhán* !01S CABI §50(a) v. 5; slips of the tongue (in one rendition of a tale) *kʷælu:ɾɑ:n* 11Ct as well as *tuarastal* (*tuəɾəstəl* generally) *tuəɾəstəl* [x1] *tuəɫəstər* [x2] 11Ct.
- Cp. *blúire* (*brúille*) FGB > *blúire* M, *blúirín* 10B only; but *spriúille*.
- l-r* > *r-l* *coillearán* generally *kɔɫʷəɾɑ:n*, but *korəɫʷɑ:n* 899D6699.

1.245 *malairt* > *l-r* ~ *r-l* ~ *lr* ~ *rl* ~ *l*; *lh* > *h-l*

The noun *malairt* has much variation, including devoicing of *l*, loss of *r* and both (1) final *tʷ*, and (2) *dʷ*, as well as (3) an unmetathesised by-form. Cp. *anairt* (1.246). The main variants and their examples are set out as follows:

- 1(a) *-rhəɫʷ* (b) *-lrəɫʷ* (c) *-lhrəɫʷ* ~ *-lɾəɫʷ* (d) *-rləɫʷ* (e) *-rhləɫʷ* (f) *-hrləɫʷ* (g) *-lhəɫʷ*
 2 (c) *-lhrədʷ* ~ *-lɾədʷ* (e) *-rhlədʷ*
 3 *-ləɾtʷ*

1(a) *marhəɫʷ* SM;

1(b) *malrait* 869PRBÉ, 03V (Becker 1997: 164, 189);

- 1(c) **ma'lhrať** 894C, **ma:lrať** 11C regularly (e.g. [x4] ARN1635–50),
ma'lhrať 18J, **malhrať** FFG, *a mhalairt sin ə wa'lhrať jin'* 892M, 06C;
 1(d) **ma'rlať** 21Pt, !!39D;
 1(e) **marhlať** 20C;
 1(f) **ma:hrlať** 01J (perhaps a mistranscription for, or variant of, 1(e));
 1(g) **malhať** 21J(q), *malairt suíocháin ma'lhəť* ⁽¹⁾ **si:əxə:n'** 04B!;
 2(c) *malthraid* !894C9; **ma'l^hrať** 899N; **wa:l^hid'** 46.Vocab s.v. *malairt*
 (probably best taken as **-l^hrať** in my analysis), **malhrať** !869PZCP155;
malairt dhe malhrať ə gə 892M;
 2(e) **marhlať** 23M;
 3 **maləť** 872P.

Cp. borrowed 'l-rd' > *rd-l* in possible 'mallard' > *bardal* **bə:rdəl**, and therefore resembling the borrowing 'gander' > *gandal* (also *gandar*, *gandra* Dinn) **gə:ndəl**, **gə:ndəl**. The source may actually have contained metathesis with 'l-rd' > 'rl-d' > *rd-l*: Welsh 'barlad (marlad)' > *bardal* (T. S. Ó Máille 1966: 34–5).

lh > h-l

Con Fhaolaidh kən'hi:lə heard from a young male speaker from An Aird Thiar (born c. 1975), presumably a case of metathesis of more common *kə'ni:lhə*. Cp. by-forms of *tráth nóna trə'nu:nhə trən'hu:nə*.

1.246 r in metathesis

Many instances of *r* in metathesis have been dealt with under *s* and *l* above. Other instances are given here.

-mharth- > *-tharr-* in *comhartha* **kuhə:rə**, more conservative also **kōhə:rə** 11C.
amharc >

<i>afarc</i>	<i>afrac</i>
894C2 , 852S4 , ā:fərk 01J, āfērk 894Cs,	āfērk 892M1767, āfrək 06C,
03V , 04B , 11C , 18J , 21J ; in clann Mhacaí	SM , 21Pt , 23Ms , 23B , 35E ,
(An Coillín): afərk 46.I, <i>claon~ -āfərk</i>	afrək 30B, <i>claon~ -āfrək</i> SM.
427, āfērk 04Br, -rk 25M;	
genitive <i>afairc</i> āfərk 876J.	

anairt: *anthrait* (in saying) 894C9, **a'nhrəť** !21Jq, **anṭəť** (or perhaps **a:-**) 35E,
 cp. *malairt* above.

bagairt **bagəť** (verbal noun of *bagair*) generally, but young speaker's
ba:ɟu:nť 78B.

beargún FGB **b'orəɟu:n**, **b'orəɟu:n** M, **b'ogru:n** FFG19, 20, **21Pt**, cp. **b'ergu:n**
 FFG20 s.v. *beargún* and *beargúinín* FFG19; < 'bedgown' (de Bhaldraithe
 NIGCF §§39, 61; 1956–7d: 144 n. 3) or < 'habergeon' (T. S. Ó Máille 1961:
 119–20), < French 'haubergeun' (Ó Siadhail 1978: 35).

ceannrach (*ceanrach* FGB) **k'ā:rləx** 21J.

EModIr by-forms *coimírghe* and *coimírce* are direct sources for **ki:mr'i:** and
kim'ərk'ə respectively. The variant *coimírce* is perhaps generally
kim'ərk'ə, but as well as the usual form, speaker 04B has two other
 by-forms, **kim'ər'ək'ə** (as though influenced by *coimírghe*, epenthesised to
coimírghe) which is also metathesised in **kir'am'ək'ə**:

kim'ərk'ə in *coimírce air kim'ərk' er* 04B

kim'ər'ək'ə in *culaidh agus coimirce an Deirg Mhóir kolhə ogəs kim'ər'ək'ə ən d'er'əg' wər' 04B1*

gir'am'ək'ə in *i gcoimirce an Deirg Mhóir ə gur'am'ək'ə ən d'er'əg' wər' 04B1*, *i gcoimirce agus i gculaidh ... ə gir'am'ik'ə ogəs ə golhə ... 04B1*.

Similarly, speaker **21Pt** has various forms in response to query, with variable final **ə/i:**, (perhaps analysed as a plural but showing influence of **ki(:)mr'i:** *coimírghe*):

kim'ək'i: in *faoi choimirce Dé fi: xum'ək'ə/i: d'e: 21Ptq*, *i gcoimirce Dé thú ə gim'ək'i: d'e: 21Ptq*, and he reproduced the prompted metathesised form in query with apocope:

gir'am'ək' in *i gcoimirce Dé thú gir'am'ək' d'e: hu: 21Ptq*.

An example of *coimírghe* is *cara agus coimírghe kar əgəs ki:mr'i 11C*.

coisricim in the set phrase *goirim is coisricim thú gor'am əs garfəm'ək' hu 18Bm (see (*sr*) above 1.131 and 1.243).*

garsún > *gasúr*, resembling agentives in *-úr*, e.g. *dochtúr*, cp. another borrowing *searmóin* > *seanamóir*.

iomardadh: *ag iomadra !894C9*.

Innbhearán (place-name, English 'Inveran') > **Inn(ea)bharán* (cp. **in' u:ɣa:n** as pronounced by a native of Indreabhán) > **Innreabhán in'dr'əɣa:n* (with epenthetic *d* in cluster), also **in'dr' u:wə:n 76Mt** (Doire Iorrais).

léargas generally **l'e:rgəs** but note *gan solas gan léargas gən soləs gən l'e:rgəs 04B*.

Lochrann(ach) (< *Lochlann(ach)*) generally **loxrən(əx)**, but **866EB17** has metathesis in trisyllabic forms: *a' Locharnach, sean-Locharnach, Tír Locharna, Tír Locharnaí*; in disyllabic form **866EB17** has *Tír Lochlainn* (which may be a mistranscription for more common *Tír Lochrann*).

lucharpán **loprəxə:n M, lo'ep'r'əxə:n S, 21Jq**, *-achán* being a common ending, cp. *clúrachán, cutharlán FFG*.

luifearnach **lif'ərnəx SM, lif'r'ənəx S**.

maircíocht **mark'iaxt** generally (also **markiaxt**), but **markr'iaxt 23C**.

marcach > **mā'rkāx | 11C2182**.

oiread in the compound preposition and adverb *ach an oiread ax ən er'əd* generally, but **ax ən edər' 04Br** only.

scanraigh **skanrə, skənt'rə, skənt'rə**; but metathesised in speaker **76N** and her younger cousin **84P** (both of An Aird Thoir) and **79A** (Maínis), e.g. *ar scanradh er' skra:ntə 76Nq*, *níor scanraigh n'ir skra:ntə 76Nq*, *scanraíonn sé skra:nti:n' je 79A*; *ag scanrú ə skra:ntu: 84P*. (In contrast, **74N** and **75C**, who are **84P**'s elder sisters, do not have metathesis here.) Cp. past **skə:ntər 51P** through analogy with syncopating verbs such as *iomair ~ iomraigh*.

searmóin > *seanamóir* with a common ending *-óir*.

siúcra generally **ju:krə**, also **ju:r:krə 05M (ju:krə** noted once from **23C**).

sochraide > *sochraíd(e)* generally, but **soxərd'ə (Sdás)04B (x2) (1.261)**.

Historical *iomarcraidh* and *iomarca(idh)*: *iomarca* is the general form, also *iomarcra 894Cs*.

Note the slip of the tongue in *mhadradh allaidh vra'd a'lə 11Ctn*, regularly **mə'd ra'lə >> mə'd ra:lə 11Ctn**, also **mə'd(ə)r a'lə**.

Cp. *macrall*, *magarla* (~ *magairle*) DIL > sg *magairle*, pl *magarlaí*.

1.247 Nasals and other instances

Nasals in metathesis

n-m ~ *m-n* *menma* DIL *n*-stem, (originally) plural: *meanmnaí* **m'æ:nəmni:** **20C**, also so pronounced by the late Neaine Mhór (AM) according to **47P**, *meanmnaí* FFG19, 20; **m'ænəmi:** SM, **47P**; **m'æməni:** S, **43M**. Cp. *meanmnach* **m'ænəməx** (so pronounced by **881J** according to **21J**).

nmh > *mhn* *in(n)mhe* > *ímhne* **894C9**, **i:mr'ə** SM (1.86).

dnh > *mhd* *admhaím* > *amhdaím* **āvdi:m' amdi:m'**.

gmh > *ng* Cp. *teagmháil* > **taggəxtə:l'**; higher register **t'əggəwə:l'**, but *teagabháil* Semr84.

gn > *ng*, *nc* Cp. *cagnamh* > *cangailt*; *dergnad* DIL > *dreancaid(e)*.

For *-achan* ~ *-anach* (cp. *fionnfadhach* below) and *-achán* ~ *-ánach*, see 1.56. Cp. 'm-t' > *t-m* in 'limiter' (> *leitiméara(t)*, e.g. FFG24) > *liciméara* ~ *leiciméara* (T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6b: 90–2).

Further instances of metathesis

acabh generally **akəb aku:**, but also *apac* **apək** heard from **46S** only; speaker **71D** also has **apu:** (perhaps via *apac* influenced by *acú*, this metathesised *apac* is in fact the secondary variant in Cois Fharraige, cf. ICF §636).

canntlamh > *canntla* > *canntal*.

coiscéim > *cuisméig*, *cuismeig*, *coismig* (cp. *coisméag* **894C2**).

cuiptéar **kip'te:r** **10B** also *cuibéar* **kiʔb'e:r** FFG.

fionnfadhach **f'i:nhəx** generally, but one younger speaker has **f'i:əxən** **78Rbt**.

moghéanair, etc., DIL, *méanar* FGB, *meandár* **!869P** CABI §110 v. 5, *miníor* **!03V** CABI §143 v. 3, *miniar* **!00M** CABI §16(a) v. 8, **m'in'e:r** S, cp. **m'in'iar m'in'e:r** FFG20 s.v. *miniar*.

stéig >> *scéid*, e.g. **ʃk'e:d'əxi:** **37Mq**.

General *neaipicín* (also *neaipcín* P) **n'æp'(ə)k'i:n'**, but also **n'ak'ip'i:n'** FFG s.v. *neaipicín* (cp. the by-form *neaicibín* ICF §636); regular *graibél* DIL **græ:v'e:l** M (cp. *graibhéal* > *gairbhéal* IWM §420).

For metathesis of palatality, see 1.219.

There is metathesis of **g** and **ɣ** (perhaps also confusion of common *ghoil*) in the following slip of the tongue:

bhí trí phunt ag goil dhó seo **v'i: 'tr'i: 'fūnt ə ɣol' 'go: ʃo** **11C**.

1.248 Repeated sounds

The *l* is repeated in a by-form of *béadail* ~ *bléadail* FFG (*béadail* SM, **21Pt**) perhaps influenced by 'bladder' *bleadar*; rarely in *Gaoidhilge* > *Gaoidhilgle*; also *éitreorach* **e:l't'ɔ:rəx** **869P**, cp. (*ar*) *eitleog* > (**er'**) **e:l't'r'ɔ:g**. The phrase *comh-chiall duine* **'ko:x'ial dín'ə** **21C** has for other speakers changed, via **'ku:x'ial**, to **ku:l x'ial dín'ə** S, **21Pt**, interpreted as *cúl* In discussing *fátallach*, Seán also pronounced *fáltallach* and *fáltaireacht* S, both of which I take as probable slips of the tongue. Cp. *briúéara* **bl'u:e:rə** **869P** and slip **bl'u:l'e:rə** **869P**.

The *r* is optionally copied in *cascairt* ~ *crascairt* S (*cascairt* only M), *lá chascartha* **la: xra:skə:rə** S, cp. *crascairt* = *clascairt*, etc., FFG20, *tr(e)ascairt*

FGB; *sochraíde* > **troxri:də** 66N only; *muirbheach* **mir'əv'əx** SM and generally, but **mir'əvr'əx** 31M, see above for *coisreacan* (1.243), *ar siobhal* (1.243) and *tarlú* (1.244), *maircíocht*, *marcach* (1.246). Cp. *beithir* > *breithir* 866E_{Sc}307-1.4 and other examples of intrusive *r* (1.230). Slips of the tongue involving repeated *r* are:

ar teachtaireacht **ər tr'æxtər'əxt** 04Bl, cp. *teachtair(e)acht* **t'æxtər'ə** 04Bl, **t'æxtər'əxt** (Smds)04B;
an t-eadarascán, *thar éis an* **tr-eadarascán* **ən tæ:druskə:n | l'e:ʃ ən træ:druskə:n |** 04Bl.

A slip of the tongue involving the repetition of *m* is:

is olc a insímse mo scéal s olk i:mʃi:mʃə mə ʃk'e:l (Smbb)04B.

There is generally one **h** in *tráth nóna trən'hu:nə tər'hu:nə*, but variants with two **h**-sounds may be a result of copying, e.g. *trən'hu:nə trən'hu:nhə trə'hu:nhə* 52J.

1.249 Metanalysis

clag ~ *clags*: *clag sa bhfarraige* M, *clags i l sa bhfarraige* 05M(q).

comhrá generally, but *comhrá* ~ *comhráil* 64Mq with common verbal noun suffix *-áil*; from the common use with *le*, i.e. *ag comhrá le* (*chéile*). Speaker 60Mq has singular *comhrá*, plural *comhráileachaí*.

Eibhlínóir ~ *Eibhlín Óir* often 894C6.704. Cp. double stress in borrowed personal names in Early Modern Irish, in, for example, McManus (1994: 344).

goit is a new singular back-formation from plural *goití*; original singular *gotha* is most common. Cp. *aithinn* and *céibh* (1.49), *lann* (1.151).

Inis Leacain: the inhabitants of this island are known as *Sleacadóirí* **ʃl'ækədor'i**. Compare elsewhere 'Abby Slunagh' from *Inis Leamhnachta* 'Inishlounaght' where the metanalysis of *s* in 'Slunagh' may be attributed to 'a scribe ignorant of the Irish language' as suggested by Goblet (1932: 1, n. 5) or to Irish speakers. Cp. West Conamara *na buachaillí as Searc* (i.e. *Inis Airc* 'Inishshark') cited in *uÍ Ógáin* (2002: 535); *Inis Cathaigh* > 'Scattery Island' in Co. Clare; *Inis* in other toponyms (1.130).

liag in *tuile liag* **til'ə l'iaɣ** S, 35Et, **til'ə l'iaɣ**, *tuile liaga* FFG s.v. *tuile*; regular sandhi, with loss of schwa between homorganic consonants, would yield [**ti l'iaɣə**]; metanalysis to **til' iaɣə** M is indicated in Máire's form when discussing this phrase: *Céard é an 'iaga' ansin?* **k'e:rd e: n iaɣə n'ʃin' M**.

muir théachtaíthe in a set phrase in traditional narrative: *bhí an fharraige ina muir théachtaíthe | v'i:ə | ən ā:rəɣ'ə | nə miř' | hr'exti:hə |* (Sgbf)869P no doubt metanalysed from *-r' h-* > *-r' hr'* - resulting in *r*-copying. Cp. *muir théacht(aí)* **he:-** and *bruith shléachta* **hl'e:-** LFRM s.v. *téacht*; *bruith-shléacht* FFG20 **bru'h'l'ext**.

pataisce **patə rɪʃk'ə** << **pat rɪʃk'ə** M, *patar uisce* FFG, plural **pa'tər'i iʃk'ə** M, *patairí uisce* FFG.

pló S is a reflex of *plód* through metanalysis from the common *plód daoine*; also *pló gaoithe* 875PCAR s.v. *pló*. Cp. *seod* below.

ribe róibéis generally, but > *bróibéis* 79S.

seód 'large number' is a reflex of *seó* through metanalysis from the common *seó daoine*. Cp. *pló* above.

Baile Uí Bheacháin (E. Hogan 1910), place-name in Co. Clare, is in our dialect commonly **ba'í i: v'iaxan'**, but also **ba'í i: iaخان' 899P**.¹ Three possible explanations of these unhistorical forms come to mind. (i) There is a townland less than three miles south-east of *Baile Uí Bheacháin* called in English 'Ballyhehan'. This is given in Irish as *Baile Ua Shéadhachain* [sic] in Frost (1893: Appendix) and in S. Ó hÓgáin (1938: 293) as *Baile Uí (h)Éacháin* from Ordnance Survey field books. (ii) There is a place-name *Baile Uí Fhiacháin*, known in English as 'Newport', situated north of Westport (*Cathair na Mart*) in South-West Co. Mayo. I have not heard either of these place-names (*Baile Uí (h)Éacháin*, *Baile Uí Fhiacháin*) in our dialect, but either of them may have influenced our dialect form of *Baile Uí Bheacháin*. (iii) Alternatively, these forms could be derived phonologically from the expected **ba'í i: vuxan'** with aberrant loss of (possibly weakly stressed) **v'** or **w** yielding ***ba'í i: uxan'**. I have heard the form **ba'í i: vuxan'** (or perhaps **ba'í i: v'uxan'**) from a speaker from Cladhnach, east of An Cheathrú Rua, but it is unattested in my primary material from Iorras Aithneach (*Bail' uí Mhucháin* !894C). Coalescence of **i:** and **u** and restoration of **i:** would result in **ba'í i: iaخان' 899P**, and further restoration of **v'** would yield **ba'í i: v'iaخان'**. Note that this explanation presupposes the existence of (more conservative) by-forms for the restoration of **i:** and **v'**, which is perhaps not unlikely in this widely used coastal place-name. There could also be metathesis of unstressed **i: və- > -ə vi:-**, similar to **bal'ivri:خان SIDI**, xiv, pt 24. These various lexical and phonological explanations are not mutually exclusive.

The phrase *an saol láimhe* Dinn s.v. *lámh*, *an saol Ádhaimhe* FFG20 s.v. *Ádhamh*, S. Ó Murchú (1982) s.v. *ádhamhe*, is pronounced and analysed in our dialect as containing *láimh*, i.e. **ən si:l lā:v ə** (corresponding to Dinn).

When *mar a chéile* is echoed, *mara* is used, e.g. *-Nach mar a chéile ... ? -Ní mara*. The association with the preposition *mar* has therefore been weakened.

caras *Críost* **karəs kr'ist** (*cairdes* *Críst* DIL s.v. *cairdes*; FGB s.v. *cara*: *cara Críost*, *cara as Críost*; Dinn s.v. *cara*: *cara Críost*; BBeo: *cara as Críost* 12, *an charais Críost* 152 and *cairdeas* (*Críost*) n. 123). Similarly, 'godparent' in Munster sources: *cáirdeas Chríost* (Mac Clúin 1922 s.v. *cáirdeas*), *cáirdeas* CFBB, *cárdas Críost* (R. B. Breatnach 1961), *carasaidhe Chríost* (Mac Clúin 1940 s.v. *carasaidhe*, this Clare form resembles a plural variant *carasaíochaí Críost* in our dialect). In Ulster, cp. *cairdeas Críosta* CGT §270(e); and Donegal: **karəf ·k' r'istə** (Quiggin 1906 §§118, 480). Perhaps the *caras* of our dialect derives from a blend of *cara* with *cairdeas*; the words *Carghas* and *teagas* (*Críostaí*) (< *teagasc*, 1.73) may also have affected the development of *caras*. There may also be the possibility of

¹ The spelling *Baile Uí Fhíodhcháin* by P. Ó Conaire (no date: 12) seems to indicate this **ba'í i: iaخان'**. The Clare pronunciation is **bal'í: vuxan, -vuhən**, from speakers in the *Baile Uí Bheacháin* area, see Holmer (1962: 112; with modification of Holmer's transcription to more common usage). Also Clare: *Bailí Bhocháin* and *Bail Í Bhocháin* (LSE243, 264; this is also the form indicated from song in our dialect in *Bail' uí Mhucháin* !894C CABI §335; the Fanore pronunciation is: *paráiste Bhaile Uí Bheacháin* **prə:fjə val'ivri:خان SIDI**, xiv, point 24. The nonpalatal initial **v** in *Bheacháin* is possibly either assimilated to the initial in *Baile* or more likely a reflex of a form with second syllable stress and quality assimilation ... ***v(ə)خان** as possibly in the surname *Beachán*, cp. the English form 'Ballyvaughan'.

derivation from, or interpretation as, **cara is Críost* (where *is* 'is' is preposition *i* + article).

Note further *crás croí kra:s kri:*, e.g. *chuir sé crás croí orm féin xur je kra:s kri: orəm pe:n'* M. Perhaps derived from **crá is' gcroí* (where *is* 'is' is preposition *i* + article). The form *cara agus / is coimírghe kar ogəs / əs ki:m'r'i:* meaning 'protection' may contain *cara* originally or is perhaps derived from *carthanas (is) coimrí* (cp. *carthanas* FFG24).

síodhán in *Síánaí Bheara fí:ə:ní: v'æ:rə 49J* (analysed as transcribed here, heard by 49J from 21Pt; *Beara* < (genitive) *Bior* (an island)), called *Carraig Shiobhán Uí Bheara* in Rob.88.

Dissimilation, assimilation and clusters

1.250 Dissimilation

l > *d* in *slánlus* > *slándas* FFG.

r ~ *l* in *darta mhíre 894C, 875T, darta mhíle* SM, with possible further dissimilation of the initial stop in the by-form: *arta mhíle* S. For further examples, see *r* (1.188).

r > Ø in *brocamach*¹ FFG27 > *bokərnəx 892Mg; Déirdre* > *Déadra !852S; prócar pro:kə* M, FFG and CAR s.v. *próca*.

n > *d* (replacement of endings) optionally in *fothannán* (etc.) DIL > *fo:həna:n 892M, 15Pt*, more commonly *fo:həda:n* SM, also *feothan(n)* DIL > *f'ə:hənā:n 46.973*. Cp. *treaghdán (troighdeán)* > *troigheadán traidə:n* 'nit', but *tradhnán* (indicating **trainə:n*) 'tick' CAR; *carnán kə:rnə:n* >> *kə:rdə:n*.

n ~ *r*, e.g. *baineann bin'ən*, but *bir'ən*, perhaps also *bor'ən 81A* (1.149).

n > *l* in a by-form of *tafann* > *tā'fəl 18J*, commonly *tā'fən*; cp. *ceannrach k'ā:rləx 21J; cadairne* (FGB, FFG20) + *-ín* > *cadairlín 875PCAR; caoineas* FGB is in our dialect *caointeanas ki:n'tənəs, kaint'ənəs* (FFG s.v. *cainteanas*) but also *caoilteanas* with adjective *caoilteanach* CAR; *Cionn tSáile k'i:n təl'ə !10B, k'il təl'ə* (Afl)03C (perhaps influenced by *cill*); *Droim an Mhaoilín* (uí Ógáin 1999: 37 note 86) *dri:m' ən wi:l'i:l'* (Apm)19J. Note that all six lexemes contain nasalised vowels or another nasal consonant. The change of *n* > *l* presumably involves reassignment or disassociation of nasalisation from *n*. This is also true for items with *n* > *r*, *n* > Ø listed here.

n > Ø in *tuairgnín* FGB, *tuər'əg'i:n'*; in by-form of *naonbhar ni:nwər ni:wər ni:nur*. Cp. *ansin* by-form *ə'fin'* (8.195).

Dissimilation of vowel length may be an aspect of the substitution of *-anós* with abstract *-anas* in *cuntanós ku:ntənəs 10B*, SM, *cúntanas* FFG, adjective *ku:ntənəsəx* S, *gearrchuntanásach* FFG, *'g'ar:xū:ntəsəx* [sic] 10Bq. Only *k/xu:n-* was noted, although a variant with short *k/xun-* would be expected; note *-u:s* MØperm. In LFRM in *cuntanas(ach)*, *dea-chuntanósach*, *míchuntanósach*, *k/xu:n-* is noted, although secondary by-forms with *-ás(ach)* and *-ús(ach)* are also given, as well as short *k/xun-* in *gearrchuntanós*. For dissimilation of nasality, see the diachronic section on 'Nasalisation' (1.304). For dissimilation of type of

sonorant, lenited vs. unlenited, see *scillinn* (1.168) above and *an Fhéinn* in ‘Sandhi’ (2.57).

Haplology or contraction occurs under weak stress in: *Dé Dardaoin* > *Déardaoín* FGB generally **d’er’di:n’**, also in earlier use found independently without *Dé* as *Dardaoin*. Loss of consonants is discussed under individual consonants above.

1.251 Assimilation

Assimilation of vowel length may be a factor in *pionós p’ínus* ~ *p’ínus* SM, *píonús* 875PCAR (s.v. *spúnáil*), although the form **p’iəno:s** 21Pg6807 suggests analogy with *pian*. In the phrase *gan cíos gan camhlas* S the -s of *cíos* (which is also common in abstract suffixes) seems to have assimilated the final fricative of *cabhlach*. There is perhaps assimilation of *ch* to *r* in *Loch ‘ac Con Aortha lorə kəni:rhə* 889P, more commonly *Loch Con Aortha lox kəni:r(hə)* (< *Loch Mhac Con Fhaolaidh*, 1.165). As noted above (1.163) there is assimilation between both *l* sounds in by-forms of *uile go léir* > **ə’l’ig’ ə l’er’** and **ə’l’ug ə l’er’** (8.247). A younger speaker was noted with *l* > *n* in *chuile dhuine xun’ə yun’ə* 78E (consistently). For palatalisation of eclipsed *n* in *seacht n-acra ... seacht n-iomaire faxt n’æ:krə ... faxt n’umər’ə*, see ‘Sandhi’ (2.75). There is an example of assimilation of -*t* in *seacht míle ... seasca agus a sé déag faxt m’i:l’ə ... fæ:st ogəs ə fə: d’e:g* 04Bl. For examples of medial cluster simplification and assimilation, see 1.237.

1.252 Other changes; áfas — ceartas

Words listed here (1.252–1.262) often have nonpredictable variation in more than one phoneme. In fact some words are hypervariable having variation in several phoneme positions yielding an exponential number of variants: *ceirín* (1.253), *ruacan* (1.259). Cp. *bricfeasta* (1.217), *cuimhn-* (1.83), *éigin* (1.382), *malairt* (1.245), *péibrí* (8.246), *scliúchas* (1.166), *shula* (8.130).

áfas **ə:fəs** 35E < *sámhas* FGB.

aisréad (*doist(r)éad*) FGB > *duistéad* (*pota íocshláinte*) LL163.

a mh’aisce (**ə**) **wəjk’ə**, (**ə**) **wəjk’ə**, also contracted to **əfk’ə**, derives from *dar mo bhaisteadh* (in Dinn *a bhaiste* North Connacht s.v. *baisteadh*); perhaps influenced by *a mh’anam* and *a thaiscidh*.

aointighe(adh)as: in the proverb (recording slightly indistinct): *ní eolas gan aointighe(adh)as agus ní aointighe(adh)as gan pluid* **n’i: o:ləs yən ‘ēn,t’irhəs | əgəf n’i: ‘ēn,t’irəs yən plid’** 894Ct (perhaps influenced by *tír* or *tiagharnas*, cp. *tiagharnas* CABI §139(d) v. 4). Note *Ní eolas go haontigheachas*, *Agus ní haontigheachas gan pluid!* 894C9 implying ***-t’ixəs**. This proverb occurs as number 2121 in T. S. Ó Máille (1948: 326), where the noun is spelt *aointigheas* and *aointigheachas*; the latter is the form in the version cited from Carna, Iorras Aithneach. Contrast *tighe(adh)as* > *tíos*, *tíobhas*, *tíobhaíos*, and *tíofas*.

asarlaíocht (< *astralaíocht*): *aisiléarach* 35MI ‘deceit’, perhaps influenced by other agentives and abstracts in *-iléarach*, e.g. *caimiléarach*.

Babalan: *Baibialan* 852S4.

Baoiscne: with cluster reduction *Uí Bhaoisne* (MS *Mhuísne*) 852S4, *Clanna Baoiscne* **klanə** ~ **klənə** **bwi:jn’ə** ZCP150, with further change >

Bhaoisleáin in *mhac Airt ... mhac Mhór Uí Bhaoisleáin wāk art' ... wak wōr i: wi:ɫ'ɑ:n'* (Asc)19S, similarly ZCP151.

Beannchar may be the place-name pronounced as *b'æ:rəxər'* (SGuair)11C, cf. *Beanachair* FFG24, *Innis Bearchain* (1.149, 'Onomastics' 12.27).

Beitheach Átha (following Rob.117–9) may be the origin of the place-name pronounced *b'e: xahə*.

bolbóg, *bolgóg*, *bológ*, *boilgeog*, *bolbán*, *bolgán* all mean 'bubble' or 'air-bladder'.

bonnbhualadh bunuələ, but also *bun:ə:l* S, *bun:ə:lə* M, perhaps influenced by *sáil* plural *sálaí*, also *bunəl* plural *bunoləxi:* 43Mpq, cp. plurals in *-ɑ:xi:* *-o:xi:*, etc., (4.19). Cp. loss in *seachtmhain faxtən'*, etc., (1.97). With apparent vowel metathesis in *bonnbhualadh buən' olə* 20Páq, perhaps influenced by *fola* genitive of *fuil* (cp. by-form *bunfholadh* BBeo.145).¹

briosbhruar (*briosbhruan*) FGB corresponds to dialectal *brios brún* (e.g. *'b'r'is'bru:n* 46.52), perhaps influenced by (other ailments which contain) *bronn bru:n*, old genitive of *broinn*.

bruithéachán, cp. *tart bleitheacháin* FFG s.v. *bleitheachán*.

bruth fá thír > *brá thír bra: hi:r'*.

bun os cionn, *bun as k'in* 'upside down', *bunə(s) ʃk'inə* 'inside out' FFG *bunascine*, M (cp. *i: ~ i* of *os cionn* 1.173), perhaps related to *eascaoin* (*escaín* DIL 'inner surface').

caileannógach, *cailimhineog* FGB, *cál leannógach* Dinn, *caidhl mo leanthóg* FFG, *kail'əwər ɣlənɔ:g* 21J.

Cait(i)liceach FGB varies in syncope and voicing, there is also a change in palatality from older forms (1.61).

Cartúr (place-name) < *cartún* < *cartrún* < 'cartron' (T. S. Ó Máille 1966: 35).

catach is combined with *casta* to give *ka'stəx* 'curly' in the speech of 78E (recorded in 1994).

céadfaí (*céataí*) *corpartha* (BBeo.130) > *céidí corp* 21J (14 *céidí*).

ceartas = *cneasacht* SM.

1.253 *ceirín*, *ciméar(a)*

ceirín and *ciméar(a)* seem phonologically combined in by-forms which vary stressed *e* and *i*, medial *r'* and *l'*, unstressed *i:* and *e:*, and final *n'* and *m'*. The forms resemble closest historical *ceirín*. In all, nine variants in *k'-r'/l'-n'/m'* were recorded (there are doubtless more):

Stressed	Unstressed		-i:-	-e:-
	Final -n´		Final -m´	
-e- -r´-	k´er´hi:n´ SM, 14M		k´er´hi:m´ S	k´er´he:m´əx 35E
-l´-	k´el´hi:n´ (əx) S		k´el´hi:m´ S, 21Pt	k´el´he:m´ (əx) 21Pt
-i- -r´-				k´ir´he:m´ 14M, k´ir´he:m´əx 894C, 11C
-l´-			k´il´hi:m´ 21Pt	k´il´he:m´ (əx) 21Pt

¹ Cp. Williams (1975–6: 133–4) for the possible medical explanation: 'verruca plantaris'; although the double stress in forms given for An Cheathrú Rua (*'bun 'uələ*, *'bu:n 'uələ*) seems dubious (cp. *bunuələ* GCF §471).

The variant **k'ir'h-m'** has corresponding by-forms with further metathesis in *crithéimeacha* **866ESc308-1.10** (plural adjective) and **kr'ihəm'** **63Sq**. Also with nonpalatal initial *coirthin* M = *cirthéim*, cp. *coirtheim* (Tourmakeady) Dinn.

The vocalic pattern resembles one of dissimilation with preferred **-e-i-** (reflecting *ceirín*) and **-i-e:** (reflecting *ciméar(a)*). Only two speakers, **35E** (often) and (in query) **21Pt**, were noted with examples of the same vowel quality in each syllable: **-e-e-** and **-i-i-**.

There are also four variants more resembling historical *ciméar(a)*:

	-m'ər'	-m'ər	-m'e:r	-m'he:r
noun	k'im'ər' M	k'im'ər 21J	k'im'e:r S, 21J¹	k'im'he:r 21J
adjective	k'im'ər'əx 21J	k'im'ərəx 21J	k'im'e:rəx 21J	

The by-form **k'im'he:r 21J** is the closest example we have to a monomorphemic **m(h)** cluster.

1.254 *ceobhrán — cuimhneach*

ceobhrán (variants *ceob(h)arnach*, *ceob(r)án*) FGB: **k'ò:bə:n 892M**, **k'ò:bə:n S**, **k'ò:bərnəx SM**, **k'ò:bərnɪ:l' Mq**, **k'ò:bərnə:n 37J**; adj **k'ò:bərnəx S**.

coiste (cf. *coiste* Dinn): *cuisne crochta* **864MDT29**; in *coiste cróinéara* **kuʃl'ə kru:n'e:rə SM**, the rare word *coiste* being replaced by familiar *cuisle*, perhaps through folk etymology in the meaning 'pulse', but compare *custaiméar* > *cuisliméara* (1.57) and for possible *cuisle* ~ *cuisne* place-name *Cuisneachaí Choill Sáile* **897P**.

corraghiob and *corrabionga(idí)* FGB, **korə g'æ:w S**, *corra geam(h)* FFG, *corrabiongúm* FFG, *corra geábh* LL69.

cotá **875PCAR**, *cotán* **869PCAR**, cp. *cot* FGB (also CFU), *cúta* and *cútáil* CFU.

clúrachán, cp. *loprəxə:n* (1.217).

comhghar **ku(:)ŋgər** generally, but *i gcomhghar na gcúig gcos ... ə gu:g'ər nə gu:g gos ... 11Ct* (unless one should read *i gcúigear ...*); influenced by the following *gcúig*.

cornasc, *croimeasc*, **krim'æsk kru:m'æsk M**, **kru:n'a:sk 46.532**, **kro:m'æsk 01P**, *cróimeasc* FFG s.v. *crúimeasc* FFG20.

cranna cumhachta, the first element has been noted as **kranə M**, **kanə ~ k'ænə S**, **kə:nə 43M**, cp. (perhaps corrupt, serial eclipsis or voice assimilation in) *i gcranna cumhachta ə gra:nə guəxtə 05Md*.

Cróchnaid **kro:xnəd' M**, **kro:xrəd' 11C**, **kro:xlət' St**, **kro:xlən' 25M**, **kruəxlən' 32J**, **kno:xnət' ~ klo:xnət' 20M**'s brother, *Cruachnait* Rob.71, 'Croghnett' (Freeman 1936: 61).

cróindearg **'kro:m'jærəg S84**, M84, **'kru:m'jærəg S84**.

croth kro(h) SM < blend of *crobh krow* and *troigh tro(h)*.² Cp. *righe ri:u* SID.46 Vocab s.v. (1.239).

crothal > *clochar an bháis*, with *-th-* > *-ch-* perhaps through onomatopoeia, cp. medial velar in *glugar* and association of *clothar* with *croch* in DIL s.v. *crothal*. Cf. Tomás Ó Máille (1927b: 178).

¹ Also *ciméar* CAR. A total of sixteen by-forms is of course not incongruous for a word derived (partially) from 'chimaera'.

² The form **kro(h)** seems to be indicated in CABI §379 by the spellings *i gcroch a chosa* (a) v. 14 and (b) *i gcrutha chosa* v. 6.

Cruaich Mhic Dhara (e.g. ‘Crogh M^h Darra’ in Baptista Boazio’s Map of Ireland c. 1609, ‘Cruagh mhic Dara’, O’Flaherty (1684) in Hardiman 1846: 97) > **kruə nə karə**, as if *Cruaich na Cara* (cp. ‘Cruankarra’, Hardiman 1846: 98); presumably via ***kruə** (v̥)ə **karə** with **ka-** < **-k ya-** < **-k’ ya-** and with possible influence of the nasality of *Mhic*, as v̥(‘)ə or ə̃, on the change to **na nə**. Cp. 1.100 (iii).

cuibhreann (FGB 1.) > *cuirbhirt* **894C9**, indicating ***kir’əv’ərt’** or perhaps even ***kirv’ərt’**.

cúiléar << *cíléar* SM.

cuimhneach is sometimes ‘confused’ with the verb *cuimhnigh*: (is) *cuimhneach* *liom* **kim’ən’ l’um** **51P**, cp. *cuimhním* **kin’im’** **51P**; *-Ar chuimhneach leat ... ?* **ər xun’u l’æt ...** **37J** *Hea?* **-hæ** *-Ar cuimhneach leat ... ?* **ər kun’i:n’ l’æt ...** **37J**.

1.255 *daideog* — *Dúithche Sheoigheach*

daideog = *gaideog* ≈ *dóideog* S.

darbh-daol (*darb-dóel* DIL) > *deargadaol* FGB **d’ærəgə’di:l**.

dar fhuil Íosa (*Críosta*) exclamation, perhaps > **dru:l’ i:sə**, also **dru:l’ i:stə pr’i:stə** (as suggested s.v. *drúil* in FFG and LFRM).

deabhal (*deamhan*) euphemistically *daighean* S, *deabhac* SM, *a dheabhac* **892M** 1709, *á a dheabhait* **a: jauʔ** **05M**; *a dheabhais*, *d(h)eabhaisín* M.

deamhan **d’u:n** >>> **d’aun**, possibly alveolar *d* in *deamhan blas* **ɬaum blas** **11C**.

déidín FGB **d’e:d’i:n’**, **d’e:hi:n’** SM, **d’e:həd’i:n’** S.

‘Deo gratias’ **d’iə rə:f d’iə** S, (reanalysed as) containing *Dia* and perhaps *grás*.

do dhon is do dhochar ort, also ... *do dhoifeall* [< *doicheall*] *ort*, also ... *do dhofairn* (?) *ort is do neart Dia i dtala’ leat!* **852Sb** 6.71, common malediction in stories. Cp. *do chrá agus do chufairne!* **866ESc** 46.2.

draoib dri:b’, *dóib do:b’*, cp. *dróbáil*, *dróibín*, etc.

driopás FGB **dr’u:ipə:s**, also **d’ispə:s** S, **tr’ipə:s** S.

driúraic FGB in *codladh driúraic* **kolə d’u:lək** S, **kolə d’u:lək** **64M**.

dúchas, *dúthracht*, **du:xəs**, also > *dúthrús/-as* **du:rhʉ:s**, **dur:həs** SM, and *dúthríuch* **dur:hʉ:x** SM.

duisín DIL, *dosaen* (*duisín*) FGB, **difje:n’ə** P, **difæ:n’ə**, cp. **difjèn’ě** 46.Mp 40.

Dú Dara often with unstressed initial syllable weakened in appellations, e.g. *Pádraigín Dhú Dara* **pa:rək’i:n’ wə** **‘dærə** **21J**, ... *Sheáin Dhú Dara* ... **x’ə:n’ və** **‘dærə** **56Pe**.

Dúithche Sheoigheach > **du: x’o:g’əx** **20A** and generally, also *Dúiche Seoige(ach)*, but recorded from **892M** in *thar éis Dhúithche Sheoigheach* **r’e:f yū:ŋ’ k’o:g’əx** **892M** (this speaker commonly delenites x(‘)).

1.256 *éad* — *iontas* (*iongantás*)

éad ~ *éadús* M also *éadúchas* **875PCAR**, with adjectives *éadúil*, *éadúsach* S. For *-úchas* ~ *-úsach* (etc.), compare *scliúchas* further below and compare also *dúchas* above (1.255). Cp. also the abstract noun suffixes *-achas* and *-asach* (3.158).

Eanáir an’ər’ S, **an’ər’** M.

- éiric* generally **e:ɾ'ək'**, but *éiric* [x1] = *urraic* [x2] **852S4**, *dh'éiric* (< *dhe éiric*) **ger'ək'** **892Mtn** (frequently).
- falmaire* DIL, *falmaire* M, CAR, *famaire* [?] S, *fámaire*, the alternance may reflect original variation based on 'palmier' and also Norman French 'paumier'.
- feidín* FGB in *fál feidín*, *fidín* FFG20 s.v. *fál*, **fa:l f'ig'i:n'** S, = **fa:l fr'i:d'i:n'** (?) M, cp. *fidínteacht*.
- féilí*, *féilíocht* FGB, also *faeilí* **fe:l'i:** **fail'i:** FFG20, cp. *faighlí* **fail'i:** M.
- feiriglinnte* and *firmimintí* FGB, cp. *Séideadh insna feire glinntí í*. **876JDT97**, *sna feiriglinnte* **snə f'er'ə gl'i:nt'i'** M, **snə f'ærəbə: t'i:nt'i:** M, *go lasadh sí suas ina fíir theintí f'ir' hi:nt'i: **889P**.*
- fiabhnach*, perhaps from *fiamhach* (cp. *fiadhnach*), occurs in *ag treobhadh na farraige fiabhnach f'iaɲnəx uaigneach nar treobhadh ariamh roimhe is nach dtreoibhfear aríst go brách* (run) **11C**.
- fíoraíocht*, perhaps related to *fíor-*, *íocht*, *iaríocht*, *giarmhullach* (3.117), and influenced by *fiathraí*.
- foireann* **for'an** **18J**, **23M**, **for'an** **899N** (in boat), also **for'am** SM, e.g. *bhí foireann acabh ann v'i: for'am a'kəb a:n* !S, *bhí foireann mhór daoine ann v'i: for'am wo:r di:n a:n* M, *foireannachaí móra daoine for'am'əxi: mo:rə di:n'ə* M.
- foirm* FFG20 s.v. *clár 2*, *i gclár ná i bhfoireann* M, **52T**, *i gclár ná i bhfoiris* S. *forma* **forəmə** ~ *formna* **forəmnə**, also **forəm**. Cp. *meanma* (1.247).
- foisteanach*, *bheannaigh sé dhi sna briathra foisteanacha faisteanacha*, **friʃt'ənəxə fa:ʃt'ənəxə** | *mar a bhíodh acub san am sin*. (run) **04B**, similarly (but in less clear recording) **fift'e:ləxə fa:ʃt'ienəxə** [?] (run) **869P**.
- gairtéar* FGB > *duirtéal* **durt'e:l** SM.
- gealdaidhríocht* **'g'æl'dair'əxt** **21Jq**, **'g'æl'dair'əxt** **63S** (21J's son). Cp. *gealampaeracht* **'g'aləm'pærəxt** FFG20, *gealadhram* FGB, *geallaman-saíocht* FGB.
- giar-*, *iar-*, *thiar-*, *diar-* prefixes, which are to some extent interchangeable, can be derived from *géar-*, (*th*)*iar-*, *dí-* (in *dí-thrá*), and perhaps *fíor-* (3.117).
- iamh* in *iamh ná foras iarv na: a:rvəs* ~ *iar na: a:rvəs* [perhaps also *iə na: a:rvəs*] S.
- iontas* (*iongantás*) **intəs** is more commonly used than *ionadh* **inə**; *iontas* is rarely influenced by *ionadh*, giving **inəs** St2b, **inəs** Mperm, **inhəs** S.

1.257 Labhradha — luiseag

- Labhradha* **la:vru:** **892M4245**, **la:bru:** M, **21Jq**, *Láfrú* FFG s.v. *leathrach*, **la:vro:** S, **la:ru:** S, **lauru:** **20M**.
- Leitir hArd*, also spelt *Leitreach Ard*; also *Leitir (dhá) (h)Árd* SÓC2.285 (but **d(h)á h-* would be highly anomalous), *Leitir Dhá Ard* suggested by Robinson (2002: 141–2). The first element, **L'et'ər'**, is generally constant, but note **L'etr'** **'ohə:rd** **875P**, **L'e** **'tro:hə:rd** **25M** (with this element **'tro** compare nearby *Inis Troigh* (*Inis tSruth*) **in'əs tro**, **in'əʃ tro**). The second element varies with regard to stress and presence of **h**:
- 'thə:rd** **894C** (first element perhaps **L'et'ər'**; cp. the transcription *Leitirähárd* **!894C9** which may imply a pronunciation **'ohə:rd**), **'ohə:rd** **11C**, SM, *baile ... ba:l'ə L'etr' **'ohə:rd** **875P**, **'oə:rd** M,*

o'hård 14M, ə'hård 14M, ə'ard 21Pg⁹¹⁴⁷,
hård (heard from a middle-aged man), **ard 27Md**.

This seems to be the place-name spelt in English 'leterdahirta' and 'leyterdoharta', perhaps for *Leitir Dhochartaigh*, in a copy of an original document of 1585 ('The Compossicion Booke of Conought', Freeman 1936: 53, 61). It appears in 'The Compossicion' close to or conjoined with 'Moyrus(e)', i.e. *Maoras*, its neighbouring townland (cp. SÓC2.285). It is spelt 'Litterdaharta' and 'Litterdahart' in the seventeenth century (Robinson 2002: 141–2).

lí 'colour' seems to have influenced one of the meanings of *liúdh* 'shout' > *liú* 'colour' FFG.

loisteán ABg274 < *loiscreán* (T. S. Ó Máille 1966: 36).

luiseag **loʃək** generally, but also *luisead* for Máire, e.g. *luiseag na láighe* **loʃəd nə lɑiː** M, as well *losad* SM.

1.258 *mantach* — *rása*

mantach may be the etymon in *smeantán* in the phrase (*ag dul*) *go smior is go smeantán ann* LL23, (*smior smearta(in)(e)* = *smior mantach* FGB, also *smior seantuinne* Dinn s.v. *smior*).

magairle > (euphemistic and humorous) plural *machairí* **!894C9**, FFG, cp. *bachairle* **!894C9** (= *magairle* ?).

mínleach (DIL s.v. *mínlech*), *míonlach* Dinn, *míngasach* SÓC3.159 (perhaps influenced by *gas*), *mínleasach* M (perhaps influenced by *leas(aigh)* or related to *míonghlais*), *míngleasach* ~ *míngliseach* S85 (perhaps influenced by *glas*); similarly, attributive *míonghlais* **m'i:ŋyləʃ** Mq (Mq slightly unsure).

míotáisc ? A slightly unclear recording contains a word meaning 'harm' in *níl aon mhíotáisc* **ʔ i:tɑ:ʃk' déanta a'd** **881J**, perhaps related to *místáid* and possibly *mísc* (< *míthoisc*), cp. *tásc*.

muirghalra: *múrghalra* and *mórghalra* FFG.

múisiam, **mu:ʃiəm** M, **43M**, **mu:ʃi:m'** **31M**, **mu:ʃu:m** SM, genitive **mu:ʃiəm'** M, **43M**.

oisre DIL, FGB, 'oyster', **ɛʃt'ər'ə**, pl **ɛʃt'ər'i:** (less common **ɛʃt'r'i:**); *oistire* FFG19, 32, LFRM.

ollmhaire(ach), etc., **'ul'war'ə**, **'ulwar'ə**, **'olwar'ə**, **'ulwar'əx**, **'ulwarəx**, **'ur'war'əx** **amwarəx** M, **er'war'ə**, **er'war'əx**, **el'war'əx** S, *an-mhairíoch* ~ *an-mharach* FFG (i.e. ' '), cp. **'ol'war'əx** FFG20. There is possible folk etymology in *ollmhaireach*, ... *sin oiliúint el'war'əx ...* **ʃin' 'el'u:nt'** S.

ommar DIL, *umar* FGB, *iomar* M, **20C**, **20My**, *iomair* **01J**, S, Mq, *iomra* S.

Pionsa *Piolóid* **!869P6** (for standard *Pointias* *Píoláit* also *Píoláid*) with short vowel in the second element *Piolóid* perhaps caused either in assimilation with *Pionsa* or influenced by *piolóid* or both.

rabhcán FGB **rau:kən**, **ro:kəm**, **ruəkən** SM; cp. *rúcáil* **ru:kəl'** M, alternating with *rúcam* **ru:kəm** M, cp. *rabhcám*, *caráncum* CAR, *carancam* **ka'raŋkəm** FFG. Cp. *ruacan* (1.258).

raimeáil FFG cp. *raimleáil* and *raiméis*, etc.

rása **rɑ:sə** generally, but **66N**'s brother, Pádraig, was noted with singular *rásta*, a back-formation from plural (with *t*-extension) *rástaí*.

1.259 ruacan

ruacan FGB (*rócan*, *rúcan*, *ruacán*) Dinn. This noun has variation in the stressed vowel **uə** ~ **o:** and in the final consonant **n** ~ **n'** ~ **m**, as well as ending replacement in **-a:n**. This yields eight attested by-forms, the singular and plural of which can be classified as follows:

First Syllable	Second Syllable				
	-ən		-ən'	-əm	-a:n
sg	uə	ruəkən		ruəkən'	
	o:	rəkən		rəkən'	
pl	uə	ruəkən'	ruəkəns		ruəkəms
		ruəkni:	ruək'n'ə		ruəkə:n'
		rəkən'	rək-n'ə		
	o:		rəkən'z	rəkəm'	rəkə:n'
				rəkəms	

Some of these variants are doubtful having been heard only in response to query. The word is most common in the plural, noted from conversation as *rócams*, *ruacams*, *ruacans* and *ruaicne*. I had the impression that certain speakers, when queried, avoided the plurals in *-s* (felt by some to be incongruous) and that they may have produced nonvernacular or 'corrected' singulars and plurals. In particular, singulars in **-ən'**, attested only in response to query, may be back-formations from plurals in **-kəns** (where the **n** can be alveolar before **s** and **z**, thus resembling **n'**). For final *-m(s)* compare *seileastram(s)* (1.362) and English 'clam(s)'. Speakers: **rəkəm** 04Brq, 15Wq, **rəkəms** 15Wq, M, 27Mq, FFG s.v. *rócams* (pl), **ruəkəns** P (pl), **ruəkən'** 46.1126 (sg) but *na ruacain* 869PDT87 (pl), Clad68, Clad64 (pl), 29Cq (pl), 43Mpq (pl), **rəkən'** 26Pq (sg), 29Cq (pl) (29C's queried sg is **rəkən**), **rəkən'z** 18Bmq, **ruəkən'** (sg) 18Bmq, **ruəkə:n** 43Mq, 54Cq, 52Jq, **ruəkə:n'** 18Bmq (pl), 43Mq (pl), 52Jq (pl), **rəkə:n'** (pl) 18Bmq; also plurals **ruəkəms**, **ruək'n'ə**, **ruəkni:** 36Pq, **rəkəm'** 36Mq, **rək-n'ə** 71Dq, 76Nq, **rək-n'i:** 74Nq. Cp. *rabhcán* (1.258).

The Connacht responses and nearest attested Munster point in SIDII–III q 1126 show mostly regular singular *ruacan* and plural *ruacain* (also *ruacna*):

sg	<i>ruacan</i>	21, 44, 47, 53, 54, 55, 57
pl	<i>ruacain</i>	21, 37, 43, 50, 55, 56
	<i>ruacna</i>	43a

Less common forms are:

sg	<i>rúcan</i>	59 (Baile an Chaisil)
	<i>ruacam</i>	25 (Cinn Mhara)
	<i>ruacain</i>	46 (our dialect, discussed above)
pl	<i>ruascáin</i>	40 (An Lochán Beag, Cois Fharraige)
	<i>ruachans</i>	43b (a) (An Máimín, West Cois Fharraige)

The form *ruascáin* pt40 seems anomalous. I have noted only *ruacan*, *ruaicne* (FFG20) from de Bhaldraithe's work on Cois Fharraige (Wagner's point 40). The medial *s* is perhaps an error brought about through confusion with the plural forms in *s* (plurals which are attested in Iorras Aithneach and An Máimín). Cp. *-s* in *rúscam rabha* with *rabhcám*, *rabhcán*. The medial *-ch-* in point 43b may indicate confusion with *cuachma* (cp. **kruəxmi:** 16P, 1.230) and *faocha*, words

found in this response (43b.1126). Cp. furthermore borrowed ‘s’ with other native words (11.155); also *meaca(i)n* (3.22).

1.260 *samhadh caorach — slíomadóir*

samhadh caorach ~ *samhóg caorach*, but also *scamhach caorach* Mq, cp. the following entry.

scamhach, in *scamhach iongan* *skā:vəx ʔngən* 46.454, *skā:vəx ʔngən* 20My, *skā:vəx ʔngə(x)* M, *scamhlach iongach* ~ *scamhlach t'iongachaí* S, *skā:vən ʔngən* 10Bq (with -n from *iongan*), *skamən ʔngə* 31M, *skā fi: ʔngən* 20C (with *faoi*, cp. *cor / gor faoi ionga* FGB, *scoth faoi ionga* 14 s.v. *scoth*), *skra fi: ʔngə* 23B (cp. *scraith*).

sceabhdaíthe *ʃk'audi:(hə)* SM, cp. *sceabhaltaithe* FFG and *ʃk'auldi:hə* (?) Mq. *scliúchas* FGB *ʃkl'uxəs* 05M, *ʃkl'uxəs* ~ *ʃkr'uxəs* 35E, *ʃkl'uxəs* ~ *ʃkl'uxəs* M, *ʃkl'uxəs* S, *ʃkl'uxəs* M, *ʃkl'uxəs* SM, *ʃl'uxəs* ~ *ʃkr'uxəs* 21Ptq.

scoirneach skaur'əx SM, *skaur'əx* M.

scolabard FGB *skoləbərd* ('turbot') perhaps from *turbard* influenced by *scodal*.

scramaire FFG20, *scramachán* M, *scrathachán* FFG20, etc., *scráfaire* 24M.

séalaigh feilhə 'expire, die', homophonous with *síothlaigh feilhə*, may be related to *téaltaigh*, cp. FGB s.v. *téaltaigh*, Tomás Ó Máille (1927b: 180), FFG20 s.v. *séalaíonn* 2, *téaltú*.

sé an sórt seems influenced by *séard* and possibly by *sé an nós* in minority forms *ʃe:rdə:s ʃe:rdə:d* also *sér sórt*.

slaisc sləʃk' 889P, cp. *laisc*, *slais* FGB.

shliocht, in phrases with *a shliocht ar* ..., e.g. *beidh ... 'b'e: ʃ'ox't 'er' 894C*, *tá ... inniu ta ʃ'ox't er' ə'n'iw* S; also > *éileacht e:l'əxt*, in, for example *bhí éileacht air* (1.385).

slíomadóir, cp. *sníomadóir* FFG.

1.261 *sochraide*

sochraide > *soxri:d'ə* ~ *soxri:d'* generally (the traditional local forms). In all, seven variants have been noted:

- soxri:d'ə* 04Br, 11C, S, 15W, M, 20Mi;
- soxri:d'* 01J, 11C, M, 29C, *səxri:d'* Mp 196; *ən toxri:d'* M, 43M;
- soxri:d'* sg and *soxri:d'əxi:* pl 60Mq;
- soxərd'ə* (x2) in (Sdás)04B only;
- toxri:d'ə* 64M and his sister 66L: *ach tsochraide bheag ax toxri:d'ə v'og* 66L; *bhí tsochraide mór aige, ag an tsochraide, go leor tsochraideachaí* 64Mq; note lack of lenition: *ní mórán dhe tsochraide a bheidheas ...* 66L;
- troxri:d'ə* 66N only, *ag an tsochraide eg' ə troxri:d'ə* 66N; cp. *Déardaoin d'er'dri:n'* 66N (1.230);
- toxri:d'* 79S only (whose grandmother 29C (with whom he resides) has *soxri:d'*).

It may not be coincidental that in Máire's usage I have noted both *soxri:d'ə* and *soxri:d'*, but with the article *ə(n) toxri:d'* only. This contrast is also found in ... *casadh sochraide dhó soxri:d'ə yor' ... -Tá sé chomh maith, a deir sé, casadh leis an tsochraid. toxri:d' | 11C.*

The variants in our dialect can be readily compared with SIDl.196. There, *sochraíde* is found in North-East Galway (point 34 and as a by-form to point 35 in SIDIII Vocab s.v. *sochraíde*) and in the centre of South Conamara (points 43, 43a and 44). The by-form *sochraíd* occurs in West Conamara and North Connacht; it is the only variant in ITM and IEM. Points 43b (younger speaker) and 60 are exceptional for Connacht with *sochraíd*. The by-form *sochrairde* is found in point 42 (and as a by-form of *sochraíde* in ICF §636). The by-form *sochraide* (not noted for Iorras Aithneach except in 60Mq's plural stem) is commonest in East Conamara (including Árainn), East Galway and Co. Clare. The by-form *tochraide* occurs in points 27, 29, 32 and 41; it is clear from SIDIII.703–4 that these tokens are not preceded by the article. They correspond to the younger speakers' *tochraíde* 64M, 66L, *trochraíde* 66N and *tochraíd* 79S. This lexeme, then, shows an East–West Conamara isogloss, with West Conamara *sochraíd(e)*, including Iorras Aithneach, agreeing with North Connacht in contrast with East Conamara *sochraide* agreeing with East Galway and Co. Clare. Final *-e* in *sochraíde* occurs in (a) narrow zone(s) in mid-Connacht (points 34, 35, 43, 43a and 44, and Iorras Aithneach, as mentioned) between *sochraíd* to the north and *sochraide* to the south. Speaker 04B is the only speaker noted in Iorras Aithneach with *sochrairde*; he may have acquired this by-form from his father who was a native of Maigh Cuilinn in North-East Conamara. Speaker 60Mq has the local stem in the singular *soxri:d* and his father's (Doire an Locháin, South-East Conamara) stem in the plural *soxrid'axi*: (cp. 4.5).

1.262 *soicheallach* — *ulchabhán*

soicheallach, cp. *suifeanach(t)* FFG.

spig *neanta* *sp'ig' n'antə* M, *sp'ig' n'antə* M, *spr'ig' n'antə* S (plural *spr'ugəni*: *n'antə* S), first element also *sm'ig'*, *sp'id'*, *spr'id'*, *sp'ir'əg'*, *sp'i*, also 51Pq: (s)m'ig' *n'antə* and metathesised *m'ig' jn'antəxi*: 51Pq.

sruthar (fem) *fruhər* 20Ml, Rob.96 gives *Na Sruthracha* or *Na Sruilleachaí* as a place-name in *Loch Con Aortha*. Cp. *sruthair* LFRM, *srutha(i)r*, *sruill* FGB.

sról > *sreol* occurs lenited in tales with anomalous palatality in the phrase *mo / a chulaidh shreoil* *mə xolhə xr'or'* (Lam)04B, *ə xolhə kr'or'* [hr'- ?] (Lam, prose) 04B, influenced by the initial in *chulaidh*, also *mə xolhə x'or'* (Lam)04B perhaps reinterpreted as *cheoil*; contrast *brat sróil* *jroil'*.

steafóg *jt'æfo:g* generally, but *steafóg mhór dhe mhaide* *jk'æ:xo:g wo:r gə wa:d'ə* 00Tn perhaps influenced by *sceach*.

substaint: *siosmaint* FFG, *substainte* 894C9.

súgradh, generally *saugrə*, also *su:grə*. In the phrase *eidir shúgradh is d(h)áiríribh*, Máire pronounces *ed'ər' hau gəs ga:r'ir'ə* Mq (through haplological loss of *-grə*). Seán pronounces *ed'ər' haur' əs da:r'ir'ə* Sq (through haplological loss of *-g-ə*), he does not know the word independently of this phrase, which he knows is synonymous with *eidir mhagadh ... ed'ər' wa:g əs da:r'ir'ə* Sq. The palatal *r* has presumably been copied from *dáiríribh*.

suil (conjunction) > *shula*, *shura*, *shul dhá*, *chul dhá*, *chuil dhá*, etc., (8.130).

tamhnach: apparent anomalous masculine genitive (but cp. *Loch an Tamhnaigh* Rob.94) in place-name *Roisín an Tamhnaigh* *roj'in' ə tāvnə* generally (also ... *tāmnə* 21J), but *roj'in' ə tā'win'* 18J7113 (*n'* indistinct), *roj'in' ə tāvnə*

- / **ta^hwə** 23C (Roisín an Tamhnaigh), **rojín' ə tā·wə** 18J7875 (An Aird Thoir), ... **tā·wə** 27Cb (An Aird Thiar). Speaker 27Cbq suggests his form **tā·wə** may be related to *samhadh caorach sā·wə kirəx* 27Cbq, i.e. *Roisín an tSamhaidh*.
- taobh is-muigh do (de) > césmuite* (R. A. Breathnach 1952–4: 341–2), also *tésmuite, césmúite*.
- teallachóg* 869PDT87, probably related to *sealgóg* and *teanchair*; cf. 14.
- téiscilim* FGB **t'e:ʃkl'əm'** !894C, **t'e:ʃkl'əm** 21Pi, *tréismint* S, cp. *téismínteacht* FFG20.
- tochrá* FGB, *tochrá* DIL, *Sé mo shou-chrádh gan ...* !894C9, the apparent diphthong *-ou-* here may be caused by vocalic extension (or 'barróg') in singing or the word is perhaps analysable as **togha-chrádh*.
- toill* **t'i:l'** (also **ʃi:l'**, **f'i:l'**) SM, cf. 5.325.
- úis* **u:ʃ**, cp. *múisc* **mu:ʃk'**.
- ulchabhán* **u:ləxə:n** P.

1.263 Reductions in common phrases

- an chéad rud* (a common discourse device), e.g. *an chéad rud eile bhí sí dhá báthadh x'e: rud e'ə v'i: ʃi: ga: bə:hə* M, *badh in é an chéad rud a labhródh an chéad duine eile air ... agus an chéad rud eile ... bə jin' e: ŋ' x'e: rud ə lauro:x x'e:d dín' e' er' ... gəs x'e: rud e'ə* 21Pt. Here *chéad* > *x'e:* in possible haplology with *d* of *rud*.
- aon ghnatha*, e.g. ... *mar níl aon ghnótha a'd ag goil leat féin ... mar | n'ĩl' ē^h* *ru həd ə gol' l'æt 'he:n' ...* 11C, *mar ní raibh aon ghnatha agad dhá ghearradh giortach mar n'i: r æh æd ga: 'jærə 'g'urtəx* 21Pt, *ní bheadh aon ghnatha agad ag goil ro-fhada mar sin n'i: v'əx e'n ræh æd ə ...* 21Pt.
- b'fhéidir*, e.g. *b'fhéidir nach bhfeicfí muid. b'e:qⁿ nāx v'ekf'i: mid' |* 11C; *b'fhéidir go gceannóthá é. b'e:f' gə 'g'ænrəh e* 11C. Cp. *b'fhéidir b'ed'ər* 46.930.
- breath(n)aigh* (1.233), *féach(a)* (5.310), *feic* are often reduced:
- breathnaigh* (in some cases *féacha*): *breathnaigh an ghealach æhə n' jæ:ləx* S, *Breathnaigh mo bheirt! Breathnaigh mo bheirt! æ:hə mə v'ert' æ:hə mə v'ert'* 22J, *Breathnaigh é ag tíocht! a: he: ə t'iaxt* 08B, *Breathnaigh! æhə* 64M; *Féacha! f'æxə*; *Jéipears féacha! dʒe:p'ərs æxə* 19B (Doire an Locháin);
- an bhfeiceann tú? en tu*, etc., cp. the less common reduction in *... go dté mise abha-, isteach, a deir sé, go bhfeice mé cén sórt ə d'ərʃe hek'ə m'ē k'ēn so:rt nuaiócht atá acub seo. 11C*; cf. *feic* (5.280).
- buíochas* reduced in the frequent phrase *buíochas le Dia* **br:^xəʃ l'e d'ia**, **br:fiəs l'e d'ia** 04B, **bixəʃ l'e d'ia** 29C, **bij l'e d'ia**; *míle buíochas le Dia* **m'i:l'ə bē^{hə}ʃ l'e: d'ia** 21Pt.
- chomh maith dho*, e.g. *dhá dtéadh an oiread seo mílte, tá sé chomh maith dhom ta fe ma' um ə ra:*, *amach ag meairtseáil ina n-aghaidh sin* 21Pt.
- d'fhéadhá a rá! d'e:ta: ra:* generally, but speaker 64M has frequent *Á! d'fhéadhá a rá! a: e:ta: ra:* 64M.
- Dia dhuit*, etc. Greetings have frequent by-forms: **d'a: ut'** 20My, **a: jit'** 62P; *Dia dhíbh d'e:i:b'* 52J, **d'ai:b'**. Further reduction to indistinct vocalisms but

with retained or distinct pitch pattern are common. Similarly, *go ngnóthaighe Dia dhíbh nuí: d'ai ji:b' M.*

go ndéana Dia grásta / trócaire (ar, etc.), N'irə d'ia 'grə:st orhəb 11C, N'inə d'i trə:kər' ... 24M, ə 'N'inə jiə 'trə:kər' orb | [sic] 03C, d'inə d'ia ... 18J.

mara bhfuil i ndán is go 'unless perhaps', e.g. mar l' 'nə:ns gə ... 21Pt, cp. mara i ndán is gur mar ə 'nə:ns gər ... 21Pt.

tuig is often reduced in *an dtuigeann tú?* (ə) d'i.ən tu, (ə) d'i:n tu M.

For *x ~ h* in common phrases, see *ch* (1.116); for many phonetic reductions in some prepositions and functors, e.g. *in éindí le, chomh fada is* or perhaps *chomhuain is > chúns*, etc., see relevant chapters (e.g. *chúns* 8.123 (ii)(c)). Cp. *inín > nín* (12.7), *mhac > 'ac* (12.2) in names.

1.264 Language addressed to children

Sound changes found in certain words associated with children are: monophthongisation of *ua*, alveolarisation of *d* and of palatal *ll* as well as delateralisation of palatal *ll*.

uə > o: (perhaps *g > ɔ*), *l' > l'* in some of the variants of *haighe deá guailí 'hai 'd̪a: guə:l'i: / guə:l'i:n' / guə:l'i:n' / go:l'i: / go:l'i:n' S, 'hai'd̪o:l'i:n' FFG s.v. haigh dóilín, 'hai 'd̪o: 'd̪o:l'i:n' FFG s.v. haigh dó dóilín; perhaps also influenced by gabháilín. Note Seán's remark hai d̪a: go:l'i:n' is mó a déarthá, gá ghiortú gon pháiste S, rather than hai d̪a: guə:l'i:.*

l' > l' in *leáise l' a:fə SM, l' a:fə M, 52J*, perhaps because of its use in the vocative (following *a^L*) addressing young girls.

d > d̪ in *stóirín*, possibly a source for *d̪o:r'i:n'*, cf. 14 *deoirín*.

l' > d' perhaps in *gabh i leith > goille > god'ə*. (Speaker 21Ptq associates *goide* with *goille* (< *gabh i leith*).) Cp. perhaps *Gaidí < Gaillimh*.

1.265 Miscellaneous lengthening and shortening of vowels

Vowels are lengthened in a few words without any obvious phonological reason.

i > i: mostly between palatal consonants, particularly *l* and also *s*:

fiche f'ix'ə f'i:x'ə, see immediately below;

fithín FGB, *fithín* FFG;

borrowing *limistéar* Dinn, FGB > *l'i:m'əft'e:r* (1.34);

dil: a chara dhíl mo chléiv !894C6 influenced by *dílis*;

Sibéal: Naomh Síbéal !(MP)894C, Isibéal !(MP)852SC;

slibéarach *sl'ib'ə:rəxt S, slíbearacht sl'ib'ə:rəxt S, slíbríthe*

sl'ib'ri:hə Mq, slíbleáil sl'ib'l'a:l' 889P, slíbleáilte FFG, cp. FGB

slibrí, slíbreáil, slíbín, etc.

e > e: *sléacht, sleacht* FGB *slecht* DIL, both *sl'e:xt* and *sl'æ:xt* M.

u > u: *pluma* in *ubhlaí péaraí is plumaí plu:mi: agus airne !(sns)ZCP159*, perhaps influenced by *ubhla(í) u:lə/i:*;

perhaps in the exclamation *dar fhuil Íosa > dru:l' i:sə* (as suggested s.v. *drúil* FFG, LFRM).

Vowels are shortened in a few words before *h* which comes from (or still alternates with) *x'*.

i > *i*: *i* *e* in *Mícheál* *m'í/i/eha:l* M, *m'í/i/x'ɑ:l* [often with close [i/i]] 894C, *m'í:ha:l* 892M1101, genitive *Míchíl* *m'íhi:l* *m'íhi:l* (often with close [i/i]); note 21Pt's *m'í:x'ɑ:l* ~ *v'í:x'ɑ:l* [x2];

i: *i* *e* *o* in *dícheall* *d'í/e/ohəl*, *do dhícheall* *də jihəl* (Smbb)04B, *jihəl* 11C, *je/i:həl* 12J, genitive *d'íhəl* *d'íhəl* 21Pt.

Cp. the opposite development in *fiche* *f'íx'ə*, *fichead* *f'íx'əd*, but also (speaker 21Pt only) *f'í:x'ə* 21Pt, *fichead* *f'í:həd* 21Pt, but not when *x'* is final, i.e. (*is*) *fiche* (*əs*) *f'íx'* only.

oi is lengthened before palatal *th* in a rare by-form of *soitheach* *se:thəx* 32P (only; Loch Con Aortha), cp. *s'ohəx* 04B, generally *sohəx*, plural *soithighe* *sehi*: >> *sohi*:. Cp. *Catháin* *kuhɑ:n' kɑ:hɑ:n'*, *dearbhbhráthair* > *dreátháir*, *drítheáir* (1.7). See also *th* 1.399.

ú > *ú* ~ *u* in *fuainnimint* FGB, *fuainniméad* > *fúinniméad*, adjective *fúinniméadach*, but also *fuinniméadach* CAR, perhaps influenced *fuinneamh* or by (prevocalic forms of) *fonn*, cp. *fuiméadach*, *fuíméideach* S (speaker uncertain). Cp. 3f *lé l'e(ɪ)hə*, synchronically reduced by-form *l'ei*, and 3f *dí*, *di* rare *d'í(ɪ)hə* (L. Breatnach (2003: 139–40).

Slips of the tongue

Certain slips of the tongue are cited throughout this work; others are collected here. (Many others found in my material have not been collated.)

1.266 Vowel switches

- ɑ*: (*æ*) for *æ*: *ɑ*: *bhí aithne ag Seán air ach ...*
v'í: ɑ:n' eg' f | v'í: æ:n' eg' fɑ:n er' ax ... 04Br8.
æ for *e* *istigh ag — ag fear ... ə'f'íh æg' | eg' f'ær ...* 897P.
u: *ɑ* for *u*: *ɑ*: *ach an cnocán lom ax ə 'kru:kān | kru:kā'n 'lū:m |* 18J8874.

1.267 Consonant switches and copies

- l* > *r* *daoine ag iarraidh a bheith ag obair leis an gcliabh.*
+ pal *din'ə g' iər e g obər l'əf ə g'r' iəw* 892M1500.
Sé tarraint na gcliabh a d'fhág striallta do sheanpheaintealón fe
'ta:rən't nə 'gr' iə' 'gl' iəw ə dɑ:g 'f'tr' iəltə də 'hā'n' f' æ'n' t'ə' lo:n |
(Atb)11C.
cleasa lúith agus gaisce ...
kl' æ'sə lu: gəs ga'f'k' ə ... kr' æ'sə lu: ... 889Ptn (perhaps influenced
by *cneas(aigh)*).
Cp. *Agus ag cur críoch ar chleasa lúth, ogəs ə kír k'í'i:əx er x'asə*
k'í'u: !869PZCP164 (perhaps influenced by *cliú*).
– pal *nar raibh sé ag cloisteál tada ach ceol ...*
na' ro fe | k kruft'ɑ:l 'tæ:d ax 'k' o:l ... 11C.
r > *l* *na duilliúir dhe bharra na gcoill nə d'í'l' u:r' gə wɑ:rə nə gail'*
+ pal also *nə d'í'l' u:l' gə wɑ:rə nə gail'* (Angt)11C;
tá lán doirne duine sa chuile bhuinne dhá cuid dlaoithe geala breá
... gɑ' kid 'dli:hə 'g' æ'lə 'bl'ɑ' | 'br'ɑ: | (Ascñ)11C.
– pal *cuaille comhrac air ... cuaille comhrac cungarach ...*
kuəl' ə kū:fə̃k er' | ... kuəl' ə | ku:lək | ku:ŋgərəx | 896P;

In one token of the phrase *na ngealchrobh lámh* speaker (Ascⁿ)11C selfcorrects his lateral slip, in another rendition it is uncorrected:

nə 'ŋ'æ:l'xlov | 'xrov'lā:w 11C, nə 'ŋ'æ:l'xlov 'lā:w 11C.

Other speakers have **xr-** 19J, 04B, 19S. The full line is:

Badh iúd í ainnirín na rósa meala agus na ngealchrobh lámh.

b'ə ju:d i: æ'n'ər'i:n nə ro:sə m'æ:lə gəs nə 'ŋ'a'l'xlov 'lā:w |
(Ascⁿ)11C.

n' > n' *seanloinidh cuinneoige -n'h- -n'- ... loinidh cuinneoige -n'h- -n'-*
11C1235–9.

b > br *brat bán bréidín a bhí uirthi bræ't b-r'æn br'e:d'i:n' 897P.*

c > cr *d'abraíodh bróg na coise k'ɔfə deise 11C.*

b > d *thug sí craoibhín b(h)eag dó hug f'i' 'kri:v'i:n' ,dog ,dɔ' | 11C.*

t > n, *an cé tá i ndán duit | ə 'k'e: næn 'dæn ,dɪt' | go b'í tá le t'aghaidh.*

n > d **01P.**

Ø > n *thrí chuile chineál áit dhár casadh air.*

hri: xul'ə x'inā:l' nā:t' gar 'ka:su: 'er' | 11C (nasalisation of vowel in *áit* is perhaps significant).

t > th *seod é teach, heod é teach ... fɔd ɛ t'æ | hod ɛ h'æ | t'æx ... 10B.*

m > mh *an mhaidín ... bhí an mhaid-, bhí an mhac wā'k in éindí leis 897P.*

g > c *agus le gruaig a cinn féin əgəs l'e kruəg ə k'i:n' he:n' | (run)11C.*

Cp. *c > g* in environment of lexical *g*: *cruadhán, caisricim* (1.208).

ch > c *isteach eidir na cláir əft'a'k ed'ər' nə klær' 899P.*

ch > chl *an chéad chleite d'fhás ən xl'e:d | x'əl'et'ə dəs | 896P.*

s(c) ~ f *is fíor é sin. Níl scéal ar bith níos fíré ná é sin.*

əs f'iar e f'in' | n'i:l' f'e:l ə b'í n'i: f'i:r'i: nɑ: e fən' | P.

f > s *... a deir sé is innseoidh mise dhuit é*

... id'ər fe s in'so: m'ifə yit' e | 894C;

níos réchúisí ar chaoi eicín | 'N'i:ʃ, 're:əxu:si: er 'χi: ə'x'i:n' | 01P
(perhaps through assimilation with *s* of *níos*);

The slip *seas suas sæ's suəs* 17M is an uncommon slip of the tongue in Iorras Aithneach. This is in contrast with Paróiste an Chaisleáin Ghearr, north of Galway city. I have heard common *seasamh suas sasə suəs* and broad and palatal initial *s* alternating in other forms of *seas* from Tom Kelly (born 1913, Baile an Phoill); *seas sas* is very common in Mionlach (Ó Maolaithe 1948: §202). The younger speaker 78Pb (Loch Con Aortha) has two tokens of *sæsə suəs* in his recording. Cp. 'f'i: 'f'i:s suí síos, in the following entry.

s > f *Ní fhéadfaidís suí síos ar chor ar bith*

n'i e:təd'i: 'f'i: 'f'i:s hɔr ə 'b'ɪ | 889P.

l > l' *ar nós mar a bhí an scéal n' 'f'k'e:l' ar ball. 894C* (13.8, line 6).

n > n' *Agus ag an am chéanna 'x'ē:n'ə | 894C* (13.8, line 20).

1.268 Other slips of the tongue

Syllable-rhyme switch, **uəs** for **o:rt'** in:

a dtabhairt anuas ə duəs, do:rt' ə'nuəs 11C1521.

Copying of **ər** in: *go dtugadar isteach é gə dʊgərədər 'f'ɪ'əx e | 06C.*

Switch of palatality within the word *lámhe* in:

ar thaobh na láimhe deise dhen bhóthar

er' hi:v nə L'ā:wā d'efə ʔən 'wə:hə | 894C,

perhaps influenced by the palatal initial in *deise*.

Switch of palatality in elicitation: *teálta* > plural **t'ə:ltriəxi: tə:lt'iaxi tə:lt'iaxi 25Mq.**

Cp. *i gcionn tamaillín féin g'i:n taməli:n' e:n' | !894C.*

Cp. (said without any indication of mistake): *ní raibh ... muid ag cuir mórán suntais fu:ntəf air ach an balla tao' amuigh, agus na beanna trasna trə:fno tá a fhios a'd. 899D6591, but trasna trə:snə 899D6698.*

Syllable loss in (haplology, slip for **gr'ialəfəxə**):

le na Grialaiseacha sin f'er nə gr'ialəxə fin' 04Br.

List effect of genitive feminine article:

... ag díol na bó ... bhuel má dhíolann tú na bó téard ... 25Tt.

Nasalisation

1.269 Inventory of vowels

Phonemic nasalisation can be segmentally or suprasegmentally realised. Segmentally it is most often realised on a stressed vowel, less often on an adjacent continuant; suprasegmentally nasalisation may be realised on the stressed syllable and adjacent unstressed syllables, generally within the word. In very limited cases, only the unstressed syllable(s) is or are nasalised. In the description below and elsewhere in this work the term 'nasal(ised) vowel' is used as shorthand for 'vowel which can carry phonemic nasalisation'; and 'nasal word' for 'word which has a nasal(ised) vowel'. This terminology is not meant to compromise the actual status of nasalisation in my interpretation as an independent phonological component which has either segmental or suprasegmental realisation. All vowels, excluding the diphthong **ei** and the triphthongs **uəi** and **uəu**, can be phonemically nasalised, and even **ei** can be nasalised in sandhi. The phonemic status of **ə** is very limited indeed.

Nasal Vowels									
Short nasal					Long nasal				
ĩ	ẽ	(ə̃)	õ	ũ	ĩ:	ẽ:	õ:	ũ:	
	ã					ã:			
Nasal diphthongs ¹									
aĩ	aũ	uə̃	(iə̃)						

Nasalisation occurs contrastively both adjacent to nasal consonants, denoted in the tables below by **ṽN** (N represents any nasal consonant, before or after the vowel), and independently, denoted below by **ṽ**. In Table 1.10, we present a selection of nasalised and non-nasalised lexemes, with contrastive pairs, or near contrastive pairs, underlined.

¹ In the phonological transcription of diphthongs, phonemic nasalisation needs to be indicated only once; the second element is marked here, e.g. /iə̃/ = [iə̃]. In phonetic transcription nasalisation is indicated on each element as perceived, e.g. [iə̃] = /iə̃/. Cf. 13.

Table 1.10 Sample of nasalised vowels and lexemes

	Ṽ	ṼN		Contrast
		N-	-N ¹	
ĩ	rĩv'ə roimhe ² rĩvr'ə reimhre ³	mĩk' <u>muic</u>		liv'ə luibhe əmĩx' <u>amuigh</u>
ẽ	krẽv'ə cruimhe	m'ẽhəl <u>meitheal</u>		m'eg'əl <u>meigeall</u>
ã	dãv' Daimh dãhu:l' <u>dathúil</u> br'ãhu: <u>breath(n)ú</u> krãp <u>cnap</u>	m'ãs meas		m'alə mealladh; dahu: <u>dathú</u> bra(h) <u>braith</u> krap <u>crap</u>
õ	kõhəɾə comhartha			ko coich
ũ	grũhə <u>gnotha</u> krũ <u>cnó</u> krũk <u>cnoc</u>	knõ <u>cnó</u> ⁴ mũhu: mothú knũk <u>cnoc</u>		gru <u>gruth</u> mugəl mogall krukə <u>croca</u>
õ	võ mha(c)			
ĩ:	ĩ:hə <u>oiche</u>	m'ĩ: <u>mí</u>		sĩ:hə <u>suighfidh</u> m'ĩ:l' <u>mill</u>
ẽ:	fr'ẽ:w fréamh	m'ẽ:f' <u>méis</u>		m'e:d' <u>méid</u>
ã:	ã:hə <u>áithe</u>	mã:sə <u>mása</u> mã:r'hi:n' <u>máithrín</u> ⁵		ã:hə <u>ád</u> mã:lə <u>mála</u> mã:r'ĩ:n' <u>Máirín</u>
õ:	rõ:v' <u>Róimh</u>		rã:n <u>rann</u>	ra:n <u>arán</u>
ũ:	kũ: <u>cumha</u> kũ:rʃə <u>comharsa</u> klũ:x <u>clúmhaich</u>	mũ: mó mũ:x múch	ə gõ:nĩ: i gcónaí	do:v' <u>dóibh</u> lo:n lón ku: <u>cú</u> kũ:rʃə <u>cúrsa</u> klũ:d' <u>clúid</u> mũ:ʃa:l' <u>múitseáil</u>
aĩ	daĩvʃə daimhsigh !			laĩvr'ə loibhre
aũ	saũrə <u>samhradh</u>			kaurə <u>cabhraigh</u>

1.270 Segmental and unstressed

As mentioned above, segmental realisation occurs overwhelmingly on the stressed vowel, e.g.

kũ:r'hə cumhartha, lũ:f'ər lɑ:d'ər' lúthmhar láidir,

krũgəd'ə krã'gəd'ə Cnogaide, Cnagaide,

tr'ĩ: wæ:ʃt'ĩ:n' gair' trí mhaistín gadhair (all 04B);

'kũ:l'ẽhəd 892M2009 comhleithead (nasalised stressed prefix).

Phonemic nasalisation on an unstressed syllable (which is not a result of suprasegmental spread from a stressed syllable) is rare. It does occur, however, in the speech of some individuals who pronounce **umũ:** *iomú*, which has a by-form **(u)mũ:**, in *imíthe im'ĩ:hə*, which has a by-form *imíthe əm'ĩ:hə*, and one can also note **arnũ:** *ar ndóigh*, which has a by-form 'ar 'nũ: 866E. The phonemic status on

¹ For discussion of the prenasal consonant environment (-N) as well as diphthongs **uõ** (*iã*), see 1.277.

² Preposition and prepositional pronoun.

³ Comparative of *reamhar* St.

⁴ *cnó* 46.649; here **õ** = /ũ/.

⁵ Diminutive of *máthair*; with loss of **h**, also **mã:r'ĩ:n'**.

the unstressed second syllable in *iomú* and *imíthe* is particularly defensible in the case of speakers who have limited or rare /ū/ and /i/ but who do clearly have /ū:/ and /i:/ in lexemes. The preposition *rīvə roimhe* is generally unstressed or weakly stressed but may, however, be stressed and of course corresponds formally to the stressed 3m prepositional pronoun. Stressed *māk mac* has unstressed by-forms *vāk*, *və* and *āk*, e.g. (with the number of tokens noted from a single tale in brackets)

wā: ~ *wā:* (7) *və* (1) *ə* (1) in *Fionn mhac Cúil* 869P.

With suprasegmental realisation the most prominent nasal segment may well be in the unstressed position. This is quite noticeable in words with short stressed vowels followed by long unstressed vowels, e.g.

mūhū: *mothú*, *br' æhū:* *breathnú*, ('m'i:)f'k' æ'vni: *04B* (mí-)sceamhnaíthe.

In some instances, only the unstressed nasalisation was audible and thus transcribed in my early notes, e.g. (cf. *prepausa*, in 1.293 ff.)

br' æhn'hū: 894Cs *breathnú*, 'v'i:f'k' æ'vni:hə *M mhí-sceamhnaíthe*.

This includes the schwa in the final syllable of words, e.g.

ŋ'i:v'ə *ngeimhreadh*, *kū:f'ə* ~ *ku:r'ə* *comhairle*,
si:v'əs *suaimhneas* (but also *rə'h'i:v'r' əx* *ro-shuaimhneach*),
im'i: ~ *ə'm'i:hə* ~ *ə'm'i:hə* ~ *ə'm'i:hə* ~ *ə'm'i:hə* *imíthe* (all M).

Segmental realisation on a consonant of the stressed, and, in one uncertain token, unstressed, syllable does occur. It has been noted in *v'*, *f'* and *r'* (i.e. in continuants and *r*, or simply in continuants, if *r* is classified as a continuant); occurring in:

la:v' 21Pt *láimh* (perhaps in *nə ho:ro:v' ə* 869P *na hEoróibhe*);
ta:fən 21Pt *tafann*;
m'ra: 869P, 15W *mná*, *ra:wər* 21Pt *reamhar*;
 cp. *fa:x* *gr'a:* S *seacht ngrá* (9.138).

1.271 Suprasegmental; (a)–(d)

Suprasegmental realisation is common. It occurs in the following environments.

(a) Sequences of vowels, e.g.

gr'i:ū:l' >> *gr'i:u:l'* *gnaíúil*, *m'i:ā:* 03S *mí-ádhl*, *nū:ēšxt* 11C *nuaíocht*.

(b) Quite often through continuant consonants and whole syllables of a word, e.g.

ə tñā:hə 894Cs *an tsnáithe*, *br' æhū:* *br' æhū:* *breathnú*, *v'f' æh'i:d'i:f* 11C *bhreachnaídís*, *gr'i:v'əf'i:* 11C *gníomharthaí*, *ŷ'ri:ū:lə* 18J *ghnaíúla*, *ta:fən* 21Pt *tafann*, *xi:l'ə:dər* *chomhluadar* M, *rā:v'əf'* *reamhar*, *mōh'i:* 11C *moichí*, *kūh'i:s* *coimhthíos*, *g'i:v'ə* *geimhreadh*, *fū:v'əf'* 11C *fómhar*, *ən m'q:s* | *k'α:n* *'mā:šə* | 892M1571 *an Más*, *Ceann Mása*.

The nasalisation may weaken towards the end of the nasal stretch in a diminuendo effect, e.g. *rā:v'ri:hə* | 892M1212 *reamhraíthe* with weaker nasalisation on -*hə*, but also *nuər'* *v'ed* *fe rā:v'ri:hə* | 892M1212 *nuair a bheadh sé reamhraíthe* with strong nasalisation throughout.

(c) Only rarely across (coronal) stops, e.g.

xū:r' əd'i:f | ARN1405 *chomhairidís*, *ā:t' əxi:* *el' ə* 25M *áiteachaí eile*,
'nā: *skā:nf'ə* | 894C *ná scanraigh!*

(d) It also occurs in syllables preceding the phonemically marked syllable. For example, on prefixes and the first element of compounds (spreading in small capitals):

'dō:lā:v' 'dō:lā:v' M *dóláimh*; f̃ ð̃ w̃ ã̃ 892M1453, M *RO-mhaith*;
'du:wā:k 889P, 'du:wā:k ~ 'dū:wā:k ~ 'dū:wā:k 11C *DUBHmhac* (character in tale);
ə 'b'e:r'ə 'tuə't'i: kũ:l'fā'ṽð̃r̃ ,b'e:l'tā'nī: | (Asc̃n)11C
a bpéire tuaití cÚlramhar béaltanaí,
in another rendition ə 'b'e:r'ə 'tuə't'ə ,ku:l'fā'ṽð̃r̃ ,b'e:l'tā'nī: |.
Cp. m̃ ã̃ ñ i: h̃ ẽ 46.909 *meán oíche*.

In the place-name *an Leath-Mhás* the stressed syllable is sometimes the only indicator of nasality:

b'e:l ə 'l' æ̃ h̃ w̃ ã̃ j̃ 892M1523 *Béal an LEATH-Mháis*; in contrast with
ə 'l' æ̃ f̃ a: s 11C *an LEATH-Mhás*,
m̃ i: ñ t' ə r' ə 'l' æ̃ h̃ w̃ a j̃ 18JARN *muinntir an LEATH-Mháis*.

1.272 (e) Anticipatory

(e) Across word boundaries nasalisation spread is not uncommon, both anticipatory ('from the left') and perseverative ('from the right'). Anticipatory examples are (spreading in small capitals):

wel' ɣə kl'i:ʃt'ə n' i:ʃ | ṽ i: m̃ i: x̃ a:l ə f̃ a:r' ə n t̃ a:gərt' ə r' iəw | 894C
Bhuel go cliste anois BHÍ Mícheál ag faire an tsagairt ariamh,
b̃ ð̃ w̃ ã̃: 866E, S *ba mhó*,
SUL má sũl̃ m̃ ã̃: *dearnadh an 'railway'* 872P,
tr̃ i: ṽ i: ð̃ h̃ i:ñ 14M *trí mhí ó shin*,
marə gahəð̃ ʃe ,l' o:həb̃ ð̃: i:h̃ ð̃ gə 'ma:d' ə ñ | 11C
mara gcaitheadh sé leothub ó oíche go maidin,
| ð̃: 'æ̃ ñ 'hi:m̃ 'hu: ɔ̃ du:r̃ t̃ ʃi: | 11C -Ó! *aithním thú, a dúirt sí*.
f̃ e:b̃ r̃ i: 'ā:t' ə m̃ ed̃ i:ʃ 11C *féibrí áit a mbeidís*,
'tr̃ i:w̃ ã̃ 'h̃ ā:t' 18J7206 *tríobhú háit*,
x̃ e:ñ d̃ ā:r̃ ñ ð̃ h̃ i:h̃ ẽ 46.915 *chaon dArna hoíche* (contrast ñ 'd̃ ā:r̃ ñ ð̃ f̃ ar
46.358a *an darna fear*),
cp. t̃ a: k̃ o:l̃ ṽ ð̃ r̃ èr'ə gñ ð̃ k̃; 46.967 *tá coill mhór ar an gcnoc* (with possible spreading from *cnoc*),
k̃ ā m̃ ā: l̃ e j̃ ə g̃ e:d̃ rud̃ e l̃ ə 892M1459 *chOMH maith leis an gcéad rud eile* (*chomh* is phonemically non-nasal x/kə),
s̃ ə x̃ i:l̃ ā:t' 892M1459 *sa chuILE áit*,
x̃ ũ:l̃ ð̃ ɣ̃ i:ñ æ̃ k̃ ə b̃ 894Cs *CHUILE dhuine acub*.

Sometimes even across stops: 'tu:s̃ ð̃ 't̃ ā ṽ ð̃ r̃ ð̃ 899P *tús An tsamhraidh*.

There is an example of alternant non-nasalisation of the main stressed syllable *ais*, apparently with retention of nasalisation on *ar* in secondary stress in:

ñ ə i: ʃe 't̃ a:r̃ ə ñ ñ ə hesñ ē̃ r̃ 'æ̃ ʃ̃ ə r̃ i: ə ʃt̃ | har̃ ə ñ ʃe ŋ̃ ɣ̃ aul̃ 'e: d̃ ə ñ ē̃ r̃
'æ̃ ʃ̃ | 11C *nuair a bhí sé ag tarraint na hosna ar ais aríst tharrainn sé an ghabhail éadain ar ais*.

Anticipatory nasalisation on *d(h)ó* spreading from *nó* is phonemicised in obsolescent pronunciation of the phrase *d(h)ó nó trí*, e.g.

dū: nō: 'tr' i: gə 'f' i: n' ǝxi: 869P *dó nó trí dhe phínneachaí;*

fi: 'x' ǝ:ŋ gǝ: [sic] nū 'tr' i: gə ... 11C4122 *faoi cheann dhó nó trí dhe ...*

What can be termed word internal anticipatory nasalisation occurs, probably sub-phonemic. It was noted from 18J, a speaker who has considerably less phonemic nasalisation than our oldest speakers:

krūhū:nəs 18J *cruthúnas* vs. kruhu: 18J *cruthú;*

f' ēhū:n' ~ f' ehū:n' 18J *Feichín.*

1.273 Perseverative (i)–(iii)

Perseverative examples (small capitals) include, in order of frequency of noted examples, (i) simple prepositions, (ii) prepositional pronouns, (iii) conjunction *ach*:¹

- (i) | ǝ 'n' æ'r xǝ 'mā ǝ 'gahəsǝx | 872P
ina fhear chomh maith LEIS an gCathasach,
bhí mé ag bualadh ar an gcuid eile leis sin ... nó AR ball nar raibh agam
nū: ēř' ba:l na r a'm ... ach an dá lorga 892M2097,
br' æhū: ǝř' ǝ 'wa:rǝg ǝ 892M1573 breathnú AR An bhfarraige,
n' i rǝ mid' ǝ br' æhū ēř' hæ:d ax ǝ br' æhū ēř' fol ǝl ǝrǝgræm' ...
vr' əhə m' ǝ hæ:rəm 892M1767–8 ní raibh muid ag breathnú AR thada
ach ag breathnú AR phól teileagraim ... bhreathnaigh mé tharam,
br' æhū: w ēř' ǝ mr' e:d' i:n' 892M1185 breathnaíodh AR An mbréidín,
ən 'tā:m ǝř' ǝ 'gǝlō' hā:n | 872P an t-am sin AR An gClochán,
iǝd ǝ v' eh im' i: ǝg' ǝn 'a:fr' ǝn 869P
iad a bheith imithe Ag an Aifreann;
- (ii) | bǝ 'gǝrǝ:n' ǝ 'nā: 'ē' | l' e 'br' æhū: ēř' | 852S
ba gráinne ná é le breathnú AIR,
bhí Seán ag éisteacht, agus cluas mhaith AIR. kluəs 'wāh' ēř' | 866E,
| ta mē 'hē:ŋ xǝ 'mā ǝ 'tǝsǝ | 866E tá mé féin chomh maith LEATSa,
s to:r' 'b' æhə 'wā ǝř' | (Suda) 894Cs
is tabhair beatha mhaith DHÓ (cf. 1.282),
br' æhū: ēř' hē:n' S breathnú AIR féin;
- (iii) *agus céard a bhí ag Mac Uí Con Shnámha Ach māk i: kǝ'nā:w āx scian*
bheag 18J7810.

Cp. ka:t' i:n' wā:rǝt' i:n' xū:lā:n' S *Cáitín Mháirtín Chúláin.*

Phonotactics and morphophonemics

1.274 Categorical ~ Facultative

The oldest recorded speakers (born in the nineteenth century) may well be categorical with regard to nasalisation in all phonemic environments. For an example of consistent nasalisation, see SID.46's (*amh*) usage (1.324 ff.); also Table 1.14

¹ A possible example of perseverative orality, from i: of *trí*, occurs in *ar feadh trí oíche tr' i: i:hə agus trí lá ag imeacht 11C*. This is one of the few examples, in either higher register or vernacular, of non-nasal *oíche* recorded from speaker 11C, although his other non-nasal examples of *oíche* cannot be explained in this manner.

and discussion (1.329). Some of the oldest current generation, born before c. 1915, are quite consistent, probably categorical, in many phonological classes. Many older living speakers, however, do not have categorical realisation of nasalisation in all contexts, as will be shown in 1.322 ff.

1.275 Phonotactics

All examples of phonemically nasalised short vowels are flanked by at least one continuant consonant. The exceptional **ə̃k** *mhac* is of course a reduced by-form of **mā̃k** *mac*, lenited **wā̃k** *mhac*. All examples of long nasalised vowels are flanked by at least one consonant in citation forms. With loss of this consonant, however, **ĩ**: (i.e. long nasalised vowel) may occur without any neighbouring consonant. For example, **ĩ:hə̃** > **ĩ:ə̃** > **ĩ:** *oíche* is quite common in **ĩ:** **wā̃:** *oíche mhaith*.

There is a higher incidence of phonemic nasalisation in the environment of voiceless consonants. Contrast, for example, the voiced and non-nasalised context with the voiceless and nasalised context in open-class words in initial *m*-:

+ voice, – nasalisation	– voice, + nasalisation
mar' <i>mair</i> , marə <i>maraiḡh</i>	mārt <i>mart</i> , mārk <i>marc</i> ;
magə <i>magadh</i> , madə <i>madadh</i>	mā̃k <i>mac</i> , mā̃pə <i>mapa</i> ;
mā:r' <i>Máire</i>	mā:rt' <i>Máirt</i> , mā:hər' <i>máthair</i> .

Cf. 1.290, 1.299 ff., 1.306–1.308, 1.315, 1.317, 1.327–1.330, 1.341. Voicelessness is, however, neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for nasalisation, as evidenced by **mā̃:** *mā* and **marhə̃n'** *marthainn* respectively, although there are, for example, very few nasalised nuclei in full lexical words (i.e. nonfunctors) with initial *m* which have fully voiced codas (one being borrowed **mū:l'** *múille*; in contrast with closed-class words **mā̃d'ər** *le* **04Br** *maidir le*, **mār** **04Br** *mar*). Intervocalic *r* seems to disfavour nasalisation, hence, perhaps, the lack of nasalisation in *marthainn*. An instance of intervocalic fully voiced *r* ‘blocking’ nasalisation can be seen in the prefix *mí-* which is generally nasalised (including by **06C**), e.g. **m'ĩ:ɑ:** **06C** *mí-ád̪h*, but this contrasts with (lenited) **v'ĩ:ru:nəx** **06C** *mhírúnach*.

Diphthongs are least commonly nasalised, followed in prevalence by slightly more common short central vowels, which are followed by more common short high vowels. The least commonly nasalised pure vowels are the mid vowels: **ə̃** (attested in *cruimhe* and in *coimhthíos* and *coimhthíoch*, a root with **ũ** alternant); and **ē̃** (attested in *cruimhe* and a few words in *m*-). Of the high vowels **ũ** is more common than **ĩ**. The low central vowel **ā̃**, which is phonemically short, is very common, mostly as a reflex of historical coda *amh*. All lexemes with short nasalised vowels are given in the list below (1.302). Long central vowels are also rare. Nasalised **e**, **o**, **o:**, **uə̃** and **iə̃** are relatively rare, basically because these vowels when nasalised have been for the most part raised or monophthongised diachronically to **ĩ**, **ũ**, **ũ:**, **ũ:** and **ĩ:** respectively.

1.276 Adjoining a nasal consonant

The difficulty of distinguishing phonemic from incidental nasalisation in stressed vowels beside nasal consonants will now be addressed, both from a practical point of view of perception and from an analytical point of view. Words in initial

m- present the least auditory difficulty, particularly when *m-* is lenited to *mh-*. In lenition, when the nasal consonant is no longer necessarily present, a non-nasal word can be distinguished from a nasal word, e.g. **wā'də** *mhadadh* vs. **wā'pə** *mhapa*. Once the analyst can perceive this distinction, the contrast between the unlenited versions will also become perceptible, e.g. **mā'də** *madadh* vs. **mā'pə** *mapa*. Generally speaking, in the older speakers, words in *ma-* which are nasalised in lenition are nasalised in the unlenited form, and vice versa.

There is, however, a grey area in words in **mu/i/e-**, which are, unfortunately, not sufficiently attested in the oldest speakers. Clearly, *muic* is nasalised, i.e. **mīk'** *muic* and **wīk'** *mhuic*. Speaker **869P** has **mīr'** *muir* (perhaps also **mīr'ə** *Muire* but non-nasalised **wīr'ə** **866E** *Mhuire*), and speaker **894Cs** has **mīr'əv'əx** *muirbheach* vs. **wīr'əv'əx** *mhuirbheach*; these words are interpreted as phonemically oral: the nasality of the unlenited version is taken as incidental. Similarly, *muráite* (related to *muir*) which is often lenited, is not phonemically nasalised. (From the systemic or developmental point of view these examples — **mīr'əv'əx** *muirbheach* vs. **wīr'əv'əx** *mhuirbheach* — are the earliest instances in apparent time of incidental nasalisation in competition with phonemic nasalisation within a single morpheme.) Further evidence of incidental nasalisation in the **mu/i/e-** environment is found in the otherwise exceptional nasalisation of eclipsed **mrūdā:n** [x2] **11C** *mbradán* in contrast with this speaker's uneclipsed **brudā:n** **11C** *bradán*. Speaker **12S**, who has, however, a lower incidence of nasalisation than the oldest speakers, was noted with **m'ēr'əv'** **12S** *meirbh* but **v'ēr'əv'** [perhaps also **v'ēr'əv'**] **12S** *mheirbh*. The personal pronoun *muid* is of course never lenited; it is generally clearly nasalised by the oldest speakers, i.e. **mīd'** *muid*.

Other words which do not have alternants without the nasal consonant, i.e. words which contain initial *n-* or initial *sm-*, or a vowel followed by either *n*, *ng*, or *m* are more difficult to classify phonemically. (Initial *sm-* is a special case and is discussed below, 1.277.) From a practical analytic point of view, one must analyse, in the first instance, the speech of those speakers who do not have spontaneous nasalisation or who do not switch between an oral and a nasal speech setting (cf. 1.292), but who have a maximum amount of phonemic nasalisation of both long and short vowels (cf. 1.322 ff.). This type of speech is confined to the earliest speakers and I have had the opportunity to listen in detail to recordings of four speakers who best comply with the criteria. Speaker **869P** has a fairly substantial amount of recordings, some of which are auditorily unclear for the present purpose. I have not yet systematically analysed all of his recordings for nasalisation.¹ He has quite limited prepausa 'spontaneous' nasalisation. Although speaker **866E**, a near coeval of **869P**, has far fewer recordings, which are of poor auditory quality, his nasalisation is extensive, consistent and unmistakeable. Little of it is 'spontaneous'. Speaker **11C** has many high-quality recordings but a smaller phonemic nasal inventory than **866E** and **869P**. Speaker **894Cs**'s fine recording was also consulted. He has the most 'spontaneous' or unhistoric nasalisation of this group of four of the oldest speakers.

¹ The following have been analysed: the short discourses *Toradh na teanga*, *Gíme Ní Ghíme*, *Seanchas bainse*, and the longer tale *Grabaire Beag Fhionn mhac Cúil* on tapes IA3 and IA4 in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann.

1.277 Monomorphemes

The vast majority of monomorphemic words containing nasal consonants (other than initial *m*-) are nasalised, e.g. (many from SID.46)

- ĩ **ĩggən** 46.454 *iongan*, **ĩn'ĩn'** *inín*, **m'ĩn'əft'e:rə** *ministéara*;
 ã **ãmʃər'** *aimsir*, **ȳã:n'ě** 46.62 *bhainne*, **fã:n'hě** 46.436 *faithne*, **bã:n't'** 46.935 *baint*, **gã:n'ě** 46.1076 *gaineamh*, **frã:ŋkə** 46.Vocab s.v. *franncach*, also *neach*, *nead*, *neart*;
 ū **būn** *bun*, **kūnā:n** *Conán*, **dūnə** *dona*, **smūtā:n** *smután*, **lūgg** *long*, **knō'** 46.649 *cnó*, **ə'n'ūw̃** **886E** *inniu*;
 ī: **drī:m'** 46.38 *droim*, **hī:msə** **869P** *shiamsa*, **rī:m'e:d** **866E** *ríméad*, **nī:** 46.357 *naoi*, **nī:nvər** 46.358b *naonbhar*, **snī:ʃi:n'** 46.432 *snaoisín*;
 ě: **k'ě:ənə** 46.295 *céanna*, **r'n'ě:** 46.917 *inné*, **hě:n' fēin**, **d'ě:nəx** *déanach*;
 ā: **ā:n** *ann*, **krā:n** 46.968 *crann*, **lā:n** 46.544 *lán*, **krā:ntəxi** 46.110 *crántachaí*, **snā:hə** 46.219 *snáithe*, **m'ā:ntā:n** 46.835 *meantán*;
 ō: **rō:m** *romham*, **kō:nī:** *cónaí*;
 ū: **šřū:n'ě** 46.428 *sróine*, **mū:n'** 46.553 *móin*, **ȳū:nəx** 46.778 *Dhomhnach*, **rū:m'** 46.IV.1 *Róim(h)*, also *nó*, *nós*, *nua*, *gruamach*, *ionlacht*, *iontaigh*, *lón* **894Cs**, *romham*, *snuá*, *snúda*; cp. **tənū:ntə** 46.716 *tionónta*;
 ũ̃ **sū̃ən** **11C** *suan*;
 ĩ **ə'n'ĩr̃** **892M** *aniar*, **gr'ĩən** ~ **gr'ĩən** **11C** *grian*. (Contrast **ə'r'ĩəw** *ariamh*.)

We may conclude that non-nasalisation is the marked case in monomorphemes containing nasal consonants (other than initial *m*-). The fact that all words where historical *n* becomes *r* have nasal vowels, i.e. **Cn-** > **Cr̃ṽ** (with the exception of *cníteáil*), supports the supposition that most words containing nasal consonants (apart from *m*-) are nasalised. This includes all words in *sn-* when preceded by *t*-, e.g. **snī:ʃi:n'** *snaoisín*, **trī:ʃi:n'** *tsnaoisín*. Younger speakers who have little or no nasalisation (of *i*) have **tri:ʃi:n'** *tsnaoisín*. Any nasalisation such speakers have in [**snī:ʃi:n'**] or [**snī:ʃi:n'**] *snaoisín* can therefore be classified as incidental. More particularly, we have no example of an oral vowel in monomorphemic words following initial *n*-. The only monomorphemic word noted with an oral vowel in the class containing nasal consonants (other than initial *m*-) in the speech of **866E** and **869P** is **rā:n** *arán*. The *-án* in this word reflects an originally unstressed syllable, one might therefore expect *bleán* < *bleaghan* and *breán* < *biorán* also to be oral. These two have not been heard (clearly) in these two speakers' recordings but it appears from Maps 19 and 67 SIDi that they are probably not phonemically nasalised. There is in fact a minimal pair in **rā:n** **869P** *arán* and **rā:n** **869P** *rann*, as noted above (Table 1.10).¹ Far more words are attested in the recorded speech of **11C** but he has in particular significantly less phonemic nasalisation of short *i/u*. I have noted **bri:n** **11C** *braon* (and **kə'nī:lhə** **11C** *Con Fhaolaidh*, probably bimorphemic) clearly unnasalsed and a contrast between **t'ĩn'ə** **11C** *tine* and **hĩn'ə** **11C** *shine*. Less categorical is his contrast between consistently nasalised **kĩ:n'ə** **11C** *caointe* and mostly non-nasalised **kĩ:n'ə** **11C** *caoineadh* (13.14, line

¹ Phonemic nasal contrast before *n* is evidenced in dialects, such as parts of East Galway and to a limited extent in our dialect (1.13), where nasalised **ā:** is raised to **ā:** (and subsequently denasalised to **ə:**). The raised vowel occurs (in parts of East Galway) in, for example, *máthair*, *Máirtín*, *cráin* but to a far lesser extent or not at all in *Máire*, *arán*, *Seán*.

24; speaker **869P** has nasalised *caoineachán*). In contrast with **ra:n arán** of **866E** and **869P**, speaker **11C** nasalises in **ə tʃā:n 11C an t-arán**, and speakers **866E**, **869P** and **11C** have nasalisation (perhaps facultatively) in *Seán* (< *Seaán*). Cp. **br'ā:n 11C breán** (< *biorán*). This suggests that an earlier contrast is lost, i.e. incidental nasalisation in [ā:n] replaces phonemic nasalisation contrast /ā:n/ vs. /a:n/. The instances of nasalisation of short vowels across word boundary following *n*, e.g. | **ən (ā):lə** | **869P an eala**, cited further below (1.288), imply that stressed oral short vowels are not an option following *n* within words (except for **ənorhə anuraidh**, **nolək' Nodlaig**).

1.278 Further remarks

The few words in the dialect which regularly retain historical *ó* (unraised) beside nasal consonants are also not nasalised or have non-nasalised variants, e.g. (**mo:r mór**, **mo:d' móid**, cp. **er' ə wɪn' o:l'g' | 866E ar an bhfuinneoig**), **lo:n 06C lón** (vs. **lū:n 894Cs**), **o:m'i: 11C Óimí**, **ūn'orəx 869P onórach**. Similarly, *o* is oral in *anoraidh*, *Nollaig*, but at least sometimes nasalised in *anocht 11C*; also *oi* in **me:l'ə moille**, and *i* in **m'il'ə milleadh**. There is no noted example of an oral monophthong which is flanked on either side by nasal consonants. Contrast, for example, regularly oral nominative **mad'ən' maidin** with regularly nasalised genitive **mān'ə maidne** and derived **mān'əxən maidneachan**; similarly **mānən' Manainn**.

Diphthongs often show resistance to nasalisation: *ua* resists nasalisation in *Nuala*, *nuair* (arguably bimorphemic); also oral, or at least often oral are *ia* in *mias*, *grian*, *trian*, *mian* (the last two have by-forms in **i:**). Perseverative nasalisation of *iad* is found in **852S's** speech: **ə 'jɪn' iəd 'iəd is in iad iad**. For further examples and discussion of the diphthong **aū**, see 1.323. The phonemic status of **l'āūnəxt** Mp 20 *leamhnacht* causes no problem as the variant **l'āvnəxt** 46.61, 68 also occurs, in contrast with, for example, more problematic *cabhntar* (**aū** 46.758). Nasalisation of the syntagm *-n V-* is also discussed with regard to *san abhainn* (1.326).

Since within morphemes most vowels are nasalised when adjacent to most nasal consonants, such nasalisation is to be considered unmarked. Orality is thus the marked feature and carries the greater contrastive load. If one wished one's transcription to reflect this important distributional generalisation, one might decide not to show nasalisation adjacent to nasal consonants (or in more precisely defined environments, e.g. monomorphemic *n-*, *-m*, *-n*) but instead to mark oral vowels with a suitable diacritic. Such a notation, however, will not be adopted here. Cp. 11.95 ff.

In younger speakers, such as **12S**, who show depletion of the older nasal inventory and facultative realisation in many classes, it may be that pronunciations of *glan*, for example, have weaker or less consistent nasalisation than in **glānfərt' 12S glamhthairt**, a word which clearly corresponds to other variants that have independent nasalisation such as **glāfər 12S glamhthar**. Another example of a word which has variants with both non-nasal and nasal consonant environments is *damhsa* ~ *damsa*; the same speakers often clearly nasalise both variants **dāvsə ~ dāmsə**. The analytically most challenging feature of nasalisation may be the usage of speakers who have an advanced stage of loss or merger in the environment of nasal consonants. We still need an accurate description of the process of

change in this environment, including the bimorphemic environment, where actual nasalisation increases at least for some speakers in comparison with older usage.

1.279 Morpheme boundaries

Phonological words, consisting of multimorphemic words and blexical units which contain nasal consonants, show important oral contrasts with nasal monomorphemes. This is also true in the case of initial consonants and vowels which, when eclipsed, yield initial nasal consonants. For the oldest speakers the following examples illustrate the types of contrasts that exist:

	Monomorphemic	Bimorphemic
e	(<i>ṇ'ēd'ə neide</i> possibly)	<i>ə'ner' anoir</i>
ɑ:	<i>nā: ná</i>	<i>ə'nɑ:l anall</i>
i:	<i>ṇ'is níos</i>	<i>ə ṇ'ir'ən'ə an fhírinne</i>
a	<i>kā'nə canna</i>	<i>ka'n ə ~ kahən ə caitheann an</i>
i:	<i>sī:m' suim, L'ín(tə) líon(ta)</i>	<i>sī:n suíonn, lī:ntə laonta</i>
ɑ:	<i>lā:n lán</i>	<i>lɑ:(ə)ni: lánnat [<i>< lát</i>]</i>
o:	<i>dō:nəx Domhnach</i>	<i>dō:n dónn</i>
u:	<i>sū:n suan, brū:n brón, bronn</i>	<i>su:n súnn, bru:n brúnn</i>
o:	<i>ō:n Eoghan</i>	<i>o:n 'ā:m fjo ón am seo</i>
ɑ:	<i>ə nū:r'ə an náire</i>	<i>ə nər'k' an áirc</i>
a	<i>ē:ṇ' ṇ'ært aon neart</i> <i>'fæ:ṇ'ært sean-neart</i>	<i>ē: ṇ'ær aon fhear</i> <i>'fæ:ṇ'ær seanfhear</i>
o	<i>(ə)nōxt anocht</i> ¹	<i>ən oxt in ucht</i>
		Eclipsis, etc. ²
i	<i>ə mīk' i muic</i>	<i>ə mīk'e:d i mbuicéad</i>
a	<i>mā'hə maithe</i> <i>ə mā:k a mac</i> <i>gə mā:pə go [= gur] mapa</i>	<i>mahər' m'athair</i> <i>ə mak a mbac</i> <i>gə madə go mb'fhada</i>
u	<i>ə mūk' i muc</i>	<i>ə mukɑ:n i mbacán</i>
i:	<i>ən i:hə an oíche</i>	<i>ə ŋi:hə i ngaoithe</i>
e:	<i>əṇ' ē: inné</i> ³	<i>gə ṇ'e:l' o:ṇ' go n-éileoinn</i>
ɑ:	<i>ə mā:hər' a máthair</i>	<i>ə mɑ:hər' an mbáifir?</i> <i>ə ṇ'ɑ:rənə an ndearna?</i>
	<i>ə mɾā: a mná</i>	<i>ə mɾɑ:hər' a mbráthair</i>
o:	<i>ə nō:s(əni:) a nós(annaí)</i>	<i>ə no:lən an ólann?</i> <i>ə ṇ' o:sɑ:lən an ndeósálann?</i>
u:	<i>nū: nó, nua</i> <i>ə nūs(əni:) a nós(annaí)</i>	<i>ə nu:hə i ndúiche</i> <i>ə nu:fj:n an ndúisíonn?</i>

The higher proportion of nasalisation in lenited (*mh-*) vs. unlenited (*m-*) forms of a given word found in some lects also has morphophonemic implications. See, for

¹ *anocht* is arguably bimorphemic.

² For nasalised short vowels, e.g. *əṇ'æ:s aneas*, see 1.288.

³ *inné* is arguably bimorphemic.

example, my earlier notes (which will need revision) on speaker **04B** (1.335 ff.), Wagner's misleading transcription (1.329, discussion of Table 1.14) and Scottish Gaelic material (1.351). There is a complex of cluster simplification and transfer of the functional load of nasalisation in **fa'x gřa**: S *seacht ngrá*, which can be derived via **-xt řř-** < **-xt řr-** (9.138).

1.280 *dó nó trí*

In the oldest speakers, however, phonological words can have nasalisation which is associated with a nasal consonant separated from the nasalised morpheme by a morpheme or word boundary. One of the clearest instances which proves that morphologically complex nasalisation can be systematised is that of the numeral *dó* in the phrase *d(h)ó nó trí*. As stated above (1.272) anticipatory nasalisation from *nó* is phonemicised in the obsolescent pronunciation of *d(h)ó nó trí*, e.g.

fi: 'x'ã:ŋ gř: nũ 'tr'i: gř ... **11C4122** *faoi cheann dhó nó trí dhe* ...

The phonemicisation is evident from the high allophone of nasalised **õ**:, in contrast with **õ**: which one would expect if nasalisation were simply incidental. In fact complete raising to **ũ**: (or **u**:) is found in **dũ**: **nõ**: 'tr'i: **869Pt** *dó nó trí* (also indicated in the transcription *dũ nó trí* **869P5** and partial raising may be indicated in *dũ (dó) nú trí* **869P5**, unless (*dó*) is simply a gloss on *dú*).¹ It is no doubt significant that *d(h)ó* often has weaker stress than *trí* in this phrase, thus resembling clitics which, as we will see further below (1.283 ff.), can have important nasalisation.

1.281 Irregular verbs

Other complex morphemes show nasalisation (but no phonemic vowel raising). Forms of irregular verbs are striking in this regard, mostly in anticipatory but also in perseverative transmorphemic nasalisation:

abər' **ã** following eclipsis in:

abair | gř nã:bri:d' i:f | **869P** *go n-abraídís*,
gř 'nã:bri:d' fe **11C** *dhá [dhe + a^N] n-abraíodh sé*.

b'i: bí **i:** in eclipsed **m'ix** **869P**, **11C** *mbíodh*;
| gř m'eq^{J3} | gř 'm'ĩ:d' fe 'f' iər | **869P**
go mbeadh sé, go mbíodh sé fíor.

ẽ in *mbei-*:

gř 'm'ẽŋfə ... γα 'm'ẽŋ' **869P** *dhá mbeinn(se)*,

ə m'ẽhã nã'n **11C** *an mbeitheá i ndan*

vs. gř 'm'eha a:gəm **869P** *dhá mbeitheá agam*;

gř 'm'ox **869P** *dhá mbeadh*.

ã: in **tã:m'** **11C** *táim* (Echo). In contrast, both **ei** and probably also **a**: are unnasalised in *Bheidhinn, agus táim*. **872P**.

bhí is often nasalised preceding nasal consonants, e.g.

¹ Also evident from the form recorded for Cois Fharraige (GCF p. 166 n. 1(a)) **du**: **nã**: 'tr'i: *dó ná trí* indicating phonemic **õ**: > **ũ**: (> **u**:, if the non-nasalised transcription is accurate, 1.312). Compare:

tř'i nũ 'k'ær' ə 'x'æ'nõ 'tæ'bl'əts | **21Pt** *trí nó ceathair dhe cheanna teaiblitís*,

tř'i: nũ 'k'ær' gř 'xuərtə **35E** *trí nó ceathair dhe chuarta*;

õx nũ: nĩ:õ **894Cs** *ocht nó naoi*;

speaker **894Cs**, however, has considerable spontaneous nasalisation in velar contexts (1.292 ff.) and speaker **35E** has much incidental nasalisation.

v'ĩ: n' 't'āŋkər'ə | 869P *bhí an t-angcaire*;
 (ʒs) v'ĩ: n'ĩs mū: gən v'æ:ləx 11C *is bhí níos mó dhen bhealach*,
 f'erd ə v'ĩ: ŋ' 'k'æ:ru:lən | 'mi:ər | 11C
Séard a bhí in Cearúlán maor.

Similarly, *tá* preceding nasal consonants and vowels, e.g.

| t̃ā: m potə | 869P *tá an pota*,
 t̃ā: ŋ 'xri:v ə d'ərʃi ... 11C *tá an chraobh, a deir sí ...*,
 | er 'l'ek' ə t̃ā: ā:n | 872P *ar leic atá ann.*

Also gə rō 'mā:nōm | 05M *go raibh m'anam!*

There are also examples of nasalised *beidh* before the article, e.g.

| b'ēĩ nə 'buəxəl'ĩ: 'ʃin' 872P *beidh na buachaillí sin ...*,
ní bheidh an saol sin n'ĩ v'ēĩ n si:l' 'ʃin' a'd feasta 11C.

Contrast:

n'ĩ v'ei n 'si:l xə 'mā hām 11C
ní bheidh an saol chomh maith a'm,
 gə m'ej m'ē 'nā:n ... 866E *go mbeidh mé i ndan ...*

Similarly, *beidh a fhios* from speaker 894Cs:

b'ēh̃s̃ æŋ' k'ē:n 'tækʃən ə 'tʌ ān | (Suda)894Cs
beidh a fhios a'inn cén t-aicsean atá ann.

(Speaker 894Cs, however, has more instances of unhistorical nasalisation than conservative speakers. We can compare, for example, his nasalisation in kə: n'ĩ:ʃl' o: (Suda)894Cs *cá n-ísleoidh* and ə'n'ĩ:s 894Cs *aníos*, ə'n'ĩr' o:ŋ' | 894Cs *an fhír óig*.)

fə: in *má fhaigheann 11C.*

faigh ĩ: in *dhá bhfuighinn 11C.* ĩ: in *ní bhfuigheadh 869P* in:

| n'ĩ: w'ĩ:ʔ ʃe: | b'ā:n ... 869P *ní bhfuigheadh sé bean ...*

t'air'ə āĩ often in t'āĩn, hāĩn', d'āĩn' *téann, théinn, dtéinn.*¹

teighre æ for some speakers in eclipsed:

| 'n'æ:xə | 872P vs. n'æ:xə 11C *ndeachaigh.*

ō common in eclipsed conditional, e.g.

və ŋōhəd 866E *go ngabhfad*, ŋ ŋō^həʔ ʃe 11C *go ngabhfadh sé.*

In fact, even without eclipse, nasalisation is common, for example, in 894Cs's usage, e.g.

| ʃōh̃ā:s̃ mā:x̃ ... | ʃōh̃ā: mā:x̃ ... | ʃōh̃āx̃ | b'ert' |
ghothása amach ... ghothá amach ... ghothadh beirt.

(See 1.294 ff., for spontaneous nasalisation, particularly in fricative and voiceless contexts such as *ghoth-*.)

There are perseverative examples of a regular verb:

air'ə | mā:r̃ō n'āĩr'ĩ: | 869P *mara n-éirí duine eicín ...*;

éirigh gə n'āĩr' o:ʔ ʃe 04B *go n-éireodh sé.*

1.282 Prepositional pronouns and other prepositional forms

Prepositional pronouns in stressed morphemes 1sg *-m* and 1pl *-inn* have nasalisation attested in *a'm* 866E, 869P, *dhíom* and *díom* 866E, *díomsa* 11C, *thríom* 869P, *a'inn* 11C, *dhínn* 869P, *dúinn* 869P. Speakers 869P and 11C generally

¹ This parallels the monomorphemicisation of *téigheann* (arguably) indicated by its monosyllabic realisation, for an expected disyllable, in IEM §358(iii).

have oral **dum** *dom* and *uainn* **wen'** and possibly **l'um** *liom*, **l'in'** *linn* as well as **l'um**, **l'in'**. E.g.

| **yum' p'ē:n'** ... **n'i: f'a:r l'umsə ho:rt'** | **869P**
dhom féin ... ní fearr liomsa a thabhairt;
n'i: 'j'i:nhəð fe 'yʊm e | **11C** *ní dhíonfadh sé dhom é;*
nə 'fūnədo:r' ə d'er f'iəð l'um | **11C** *ina fonnadóir deir siad liom;*
bə 'v'i:n' l'in' ... **l'in' 'hē:n'** **869P** *ba mhian linn ... linn féin.*

They also nasalise *dom*, e.g.

| **kə: v'is dūm ə du:rt' f'i** | **869P** *-Cá bhfios dom, a dúirt sí;*
| **yim' p'ē:n'** **869P** *dhom féin;* **to:r' 'yūmsə 869P** *tabhair dhomsa;*
tə fe xə mā' yūm' ə du:rt' ə ri:ə | **869P**
-Tá sé chomh maith dhom, a dúirt an rí;
ta fe xə 'mā yūm 'im' əxt' l'um ... 11C
tá sé chomh maith dhom imeacht liom ...

With the last two examples where *dom* follows *maith* one can compare:

s to:r' 'b'əhə 'wā yō' | (Suda) **894Cs** *is tabhair beatha mhaith dhó,*
kluəs 'wāh ,ēř' | **866E** *cluas mhaith air,*

cited as examples of perseverative nasal spread (1.273 (ii)). Similarly:

cuimhrim go rímháith air gə 'ri:wāh ,ēř' | **872P;**
v'i: 'uəka:d' ə 'gřūh ,ēř' | **869P** *bhí uacáide gnotha air;*
ə 'r'əw o: 'hūn ,ēř' | **872P** *ariamh ó shin air;*
| **bə 'wāə l'æt ə 'v'e sə ,mā:ə d** | **872P** *ba mhaith leat a bheith sa mbád.*

Such spread is by no means obligatory, at least not before other persons (*dhuit*) and other prepositional pronouns, e.g.

| **ta fe xə 'mā yit' 'bil'in' ə 'ho:rt' əm ... 866E**
-Tá sé chomh maith dhuit builín a thabhairt dhom, a deir Jaic;
chraith sí dhá lámh leis. 'lā:v' l'ɟ' | **866E;**
cp. *níl súntas a bith a'm ort!* **'ām "ort** | **866E;**
ə v'i: xə 'māə l'e:hə | **872P** *a bhí chomh maith léithi;*
| **ə l'a:kəð fe 'lā:w er'** | **869P** *a leagfadh sé a lámh air;*
n'is 'mū: orəm | **869P** *níos mó orm.*

The combination of preposition plus article, or cliticisation of the article, as well as linking *n* can cause anticipatory nasalisation:

f'i:n 869P, 11C *faoin;* **gə 'd'i: ən 'ri:ə** | **869P** *go dtí an rí;*
gə 'd'i:nə 'wə:st ɐ | **869P** *go dtína bhásta é;*
ānə x'e:l'ə 04B *óna chéile;*
l'ēnə 'hē:n,wā:k 05M *lena hAonmhac!*

in contrast with regular non-nasalisation of the preposition in:

o:n 869P, 11C *ón;* | **'hremə 'x'e:l'ə** | **872P** *thréna chéile;*
| **gə 'd'i: ,m'ē:** | **872P** *go dtí mé.*

The element *-án-*, which links some prepositions and possessives and is arguably bimorphemic (*-á-n-*), seems nasalised in **866E**'s speech, e.g. **gə d'i: ānə ... gə d'i: a'** | **ānə ... 866E** *go dtána* (e.g. Sc185.27).

1.283 Perseverative: pronominals *ea*, *thú*, *é*, *í*, *iad*

The pro-form (or historical neutral pronoun) *ea* as well as 2 and 3 singular disjunctive personal pronouns, *thú*, *é*, *í*, form an important class of words which

show consistent perseverative nasalisation for conservative speakers. Examples (small capitals) following nasalised vowels are:

- ea* | *ŋ'ĩ: 'hæ: ax ... 872P Ní HEA ach ...* ,
'mā: 'fæ: 'hē:n' 892M4049 más EA féin.
 Contrast oral:
... déanta ansin thiar againn. Más ea | mā: 'fæ ní, ní bheadh aon ... 872P,
go mbadh ea. 'æ: 872P.
- thú* *aon fhear ... is breácha ná THÚ əs 'br'ɑ:xə nã 'hũ | ná is mó a bhfuil cion*
a'm air ná THÚ. 'k'ũn 'ām er' ,nã 'hũ | 866E,
nax 'fa'də 'mũ 'hũ | 889Ptn nach fada amuigh THÚ?,
o: f'æ:r mā 'hũ: | 894C Ó! fear maith THÚ,
snə krā:w̃əni: 'hũ M sna cnámhannaí THÚ.
 Contrast oral *nã: 'k'e: hu: 'hē:ĩ'n' | 869P ná cé thú féin.*
- é* *níl aon fhear ... as aon ríocht is fearr liom ná É. ʎim nã: 'ē? | 866E,*
g 'v'ek'ə m'ē ē | 866E go bhfeice mé É;
| 'pɔ:sə m'ē ē | 869P pósfaidh mé É;
| ŋ'ĩ r ā: 'xũm 'ēř' gər 'rĩn'ũ: ,ē | 872P
ní raibh aon chuma air gur roinneadh É;
| ŋ'ĩs f'ɑ:r | nã: ē hē:n'ə | 869P níos fearr ná É féin,
| nã ē hē:ŋ' ga xĩn'ɑ:l 869P ná É féin dhá choinneál.¹
 Contrast consistent oral (s)é (before héin) without preceding nasal:
gur thug sé suas dho Dhia é féin. 'ji: e hē:n' | 872P,
(f)e hē:n' 869P (s)é féin.
 There is, however, a nasalised instance of é (before héin) phrase-initially
 (but following n):
| ,hã:n'ə k' 'kũnã:n | ē 'hē:n' ā:n | 875T tháinig Conán é féin ann.
- í* | ə 'wakə m'ē ,ĩ | 872P an bhfaca mé Í,
 | ,nã bə 'mũ:n't ə nã' i | 866E ná ba múinte ná Í.

There is a consistent contrast in a passage from speaker 866E between, on the one hand, /m'ĩfə 'hu:/ *mise thú* and /dã:wsə hu:/ *damhsa thú* (without perseverative spread across -f/sə), and, on the other hand, /m'ē: 'hũ:/ *mé thú* (with spread, in small capitals):

- thú* *... nach maróidh mise THÚ, a deir sí. nãx 'ma:ro: 'm'ĩfə 'hũ: d'or fĩ |*
-Maraigh mé! a deir sé. 'ma:rə 'm'ē: d'or fe | ... nó maróidh mise thú nũ
,ma:ro: m'ĩfə 'hu:³ |
-Ní mharóidh mé THÚ, a deir sí. ŋ'ĩ: 'wa:ro: m'ē 'hũ: ə d'or fĩ |
... nó maróidh mé THÚ nũ ,ma:ro: m'ē 'hũ:³ |
... ... gur casadh liom, a deir sí, ag damhsa thú. eg' 'dã:wsə hu' |

¹ Cp. Donegal *ŋ'ĩ: hē: ní hé* (Quiggin 1906: 65; cited by Pedersen 1909: 386).

1.284 Perseverative following nasal consonants

There are also examples of perseverative spread (small capitals) following nasal consonants (with preceding nasal vowel in some cases):¹

- ea* ə 'N' æ̃ an EA?
- thú* | d'ĩ:n ũ 'hē:n' 'N'ĩf i' d'erfe | 872P Déan THÚ féin anois í! a deir sé.
 | nō:³ | gə dugəN' | 'I'um 'hũ | 869P nó go dtugainn liom THÚ;
 muʃə ba:ʃt'əm' hũ: ə d'er' m'ix'ɑ:l | 894C
 -Muise baistim THÚ, a deir Mícheál,
 t'ig'əm' 'hũ: | 25M tuigim THÚ, kroʃəm' hũ [x3] M croisim thú,
 grá thú, 'hu | ... slán THÚ, hũ | ... ghábh thú, hu | ... ngrást thú, hu |
 !05M (13.13, lines 34–7);
- é* chuir sé istigh lena chraiceann É. 'I'enə 'xɾæ:k'ən ē | 852Sb,
 agus níor lúide an coirínín fíon É 'f'ĩ:n 'ē:³ | 852Sb,
 | gus bə 'wũ: 'kr'itā:n 'ē | 866E agus ba mhó creatán É,
 | ənə 'ʃk'ihā:n 'ē | 869P ... an cleite ab fhearr ina sciathán É,
 | əgəs 'wuəl' 'f'ĩ:n 'ē | 869P agus bhuaíl Fíonn É,
 l'ik'ə tu' gə 'he:r'ən' ē | 869P ligfidh tú go hÉirinn É,
 nā k'erd ə 'rĩN' 'ē:³ | 869P ná céard a rinne É,
 | 'v'ehəts ām 'ē | 872P bheadh a fhios a'm É,
 k'ē'n 'tā:m 'ē | 869P cén t-am É,
 N'ĩ: 'hā:n' 'I'um ē | N'ĩ: 'hā:n' 'I'ūm 'ē:³ | 869P ní hain liom É,
 | 'f'ĩn' 'ē: 'hɑ:l e ... 869P sin É thall é ... ,
 | 'f'ĩn' 'ē:ə | 872P Sin É. 'Yes',
 badh é an bə 'jē:³ n |, ... sa mbaile sin É 'ma:l'ə 'f'ĩn' 'ē | 869P,
 níor chuir sé nīb fhoide ná sin É. nā: 'f'ĩn' 'ē | 872P,
 | 'f'e? | 'f'ĩn' 'ē: | 'ba:d' ... 872P Sé, sin É, báid a dhéanamh ... ,
 sin É a gcuala 'f'ĩn' ē guələ ... ar báitheadh dhe bháid ariamh ... 872P,
 Hin É anois hĩn' 'ē: n'ĩf an 'mál' 872P,
 seobh é e: anois é e: ... sin É ē: (an) ... gurb in é e: a chloigeann 872P
 (contrast consistently nasal sin / hin É with oral in é (x1) in the above
 examples),
 xĩn'ə k' m'ē 'hē:n' 'ē 'f'ĩn' | father of 12J choinic mé féin É sin,
 mā hogri:n tu: 'he:n' ē | 11C má thograíonn tú féin É;
- í* | ə 'rĩN' 'ĩ | 872P a rinne í,
 nuair a leagfadh sé suas ar an mbord mar sin í. mar 'ʃ,un' 'ĩ | 872P,
 scaoil sé ó chéile amach ansin í ə'ma:³hĩ ən'f'ĩn' 'ĩ | 872P,
 ceannaíthe i nGaillimh ansin í ən'f'ĩn' 'ĩ | 872P,
 əgəs kĩN'ĩ:ũ 'ā:n 'ĩ: | 18J8233 agus coinníodh ann í,
 | er' 'v'ogā:n 'ĩ: | 21Jc ar bheagán í.
 Contrast:
 | d'ĩ:n ũ 'hē:n' 'N'ĩf i' d'erfe | 872P Déan thú féin anois í! a deir sé.

¹ Peadar Seoighe from Seanadh Chiamhair, An Clochán, and another speaker, from North Conamara, (both on tape IA.15b, RBÉ) also had this spread:

d'innis sé dá bhean É. dər 'V'æn ē | ... (Peadar Seoighe);

choinic sí sin í fĩ: 'f'ĩn' 'ĩ | ... badh í an darna hinín í bə jĩ n 'dɑ:rnə 'hĩn'ĩ:n' 'ĩ' | (other speaker).

There are examples of nasalised *iad* following stressed *sin* (*is in*), *-sin*:

iad | ə 'fɪn' iəd 'iəd ə'n'ɪ | 852S *is in iad iad anois*.

| kɪn'ɪw̃ 'ɑ:ntrə'x ə'n'fɪn' iəd | 894C *Coinníodh antráthach ansin iad*.

Contrast oral *iad* in:

gur cuireadh ag rith, an lá sin iad, | ə 'lɑ: fɪn' iəd | 892M.

Less commonly, perseverative nasalisation spreads through unstressed syllables to nasalise a pronoun:

é | fɛ' mə 'jɛr'xɪ:ṽ' ə̃s̃ ,ē̃ | 872P *Sé mo ghéarchuimhnesa É*;

cp. | əg's gə mə 'wā 'ɪ'ē̃ ,ē̃ 'h̃ɛ:n' 'tau^ə | ... 872P *agus go mba mhaith leis É féin togha, ar thogha na mbád a bheith aige*.

The following *féin* might also effect nasalisation in the preceding example. Contrast more prevalent absence of spread in such contexts:

daimhseoir deas ar aonach é er' 'ɪnəx e | 869P.

Anticipatory spread from following *mā-* *ma-* occurs in:

é | əs̃ ē' mɑ'rkɪəxt | ... 869P *is É ag marcaíocht ar sheanchapall bán*.

One can compare the coalescence in:

í | eg' 'tɪspɑ:n' ɣəmə jɪ: 'h̃æ:ṽnə̃ ṽ'i: ɑ'n | 894C

ag tuspáint go mbadh í oíche Shamhna a bhí ann.

1.285 Contrastive

Given that perseverative nasalisation of both stressed and unstressed personal pronouns is consistent for the conservative speakers 866E, 869P and 872P (at least), it can be described as a lexicalised sandhi rule, since perseverative nasalisation across word boundary is otherwise confined to unstressed or weakly stressed elements. We can therefore posit contrasts such as:

bə 'wāh̃ 'i:	vs.	bə 'wāh̃ 'i:	<i>ba mhaith í</i>	≠ ... Aodh
fkr' i:b m' ē̃ 'i:	vs.	fkr' i:b m' ē̃ 'i:	<i>scríob mé í</i>	≠ ... Aodh
f'ek' əm' 'i:	vs.	f'ek' əm' 'i:	<i>feicim í</i>	≠ ... Aodh
tɑ: s̃ əm̃ 'i:	vs.	tɑ: s̃ əm̃ 'i:	<i>tá a fhios a'm í</i>	≠ ... Aodh
'fɪn' 'ē̃:	vs.	'fɪn' 'e:wə	<i>sin é</i>	vs. ... Éabha
xɪn' ək' m' ē̃ 'h̃u:	vs.	xɪn' ək' m' ē̃ 'hu:s	<i>choinic mé thú</i>	vs. ... a thúis

Given the clitic nature of personal pronouns, it seems likely that nasalisation of these pronouns has been generalised from the unstressed context. In fact the nasal spread to these pronouns could be analysed as taking place at the lexical level. Pronouns, one might assert, are without stress and may be assigned stress only postlexically. (Cp. Scottish Gaelic, 1.349.)

Instances of perseverative spread of nasalisation from nasal vowels to prepositional pronouns have been cited above (1.273, 1.282). Similar spread from nasal consonants is also found. In 875T's use the unstressed prepositional pronoun *air* is affected by nasal spread from a preceding *n* but not stressed *air*:

... dugəd' i:f̃ ə 'mā:nə̃nā:n ē̃f̃ | ... gə 'tɪr 'lɔxrəñ ē̃ | ... 'wuəx 'kūnā:n 'er'
| ... 875T ... *a dtugaidís an Manannán air*, ... *go Tír Lochrann é* ...
bhuach Conán air ...

This is evidence that fully stressed, vowel-initial prepositional pronouns are not generally affected by nasal spread and thus contrast with fully stressed vowel-initial simple pronouns.

1.286 Pronouns *í, é*, interrogative *cé* + *an*

The pronouns *í* and *é* and interrogative *cé* in the forms *sí an*, *sé an* and *cén*, containing (copula *is* +) pronoun + the article *an*, are clearly and consistently nasalsed (in 852S's, 866E's and 869P's recordings), e.g.

- é* | f̃ɛːn t̃æːñ ðm̃ ʔ ... 869P *sé an t-ainm a* ... ;
 ax | f̃ɛːn f̃k̃ːeːl eː ˈh̃uːñ ək̃ ˈh̃uːñ ək̃ ... 866E *Ach sé an scéal é, tháinig* ... ;
 f̃ɛːn ˈuːt̃ ʔ ˈñ ʔæx̃ ʔe f̃t̃ ax̃ | 866E *sé an áit a ndeachaigh sé isteach*;
í m̃uː f̃iː ʔñ | ṽ ʔñ | 869P *más í an bhean* ... ;
cé | k̃ ɛːn | soːrt | f̃ ʔr̃ | ṽ ex̃ ʔk̃əb̃ | 869P *cén sórt fear a bheadh acub*.

In speaker 869P's often halting speech style, the initial token of *sí* is unnasalsed in:

- í* | ɣg̃əs f̃iːʔ | f̃ | f̃iː ñʔ | ʔñ ʔ ʔæːng̃ə | *agus sí, s-, sí an, an teanga*.

Similarly, there is nasalisation in (*go m*)*badh é an* and *gurb í an*:

- é* | b̃ə ˈj̃ɛː ñ ˈf̃ ʔr̃ | b̃ə ˈw̃uː ˈk̃aːs̃əxt̃ | 866E
badh é an fear ba mhó casacht ... ;
 | g̃ə m̃ə ˈj̃ɛː ɲ̃ ˈk̃l̃ ɛːt̃ ʔ ˈb̃ ʔr̃ | 869P *go mbadh é an cleite ab fhearr*.
í | g̃ə ˈb̃ ʔr̃ ˈh̃ ˈw̃aɪd̃ ʔñ ˈw̃aːr̃ə 869P *gurb í an mhaighdean mhara*

There is non-nasalisation, because of the pause and slower speech rate, in the following token of *go mbadh í an*:

- | g̃ə m̃ə ˈj̃iːʔ | ʔñ ɣeːlg̃ə | 869P *go mbadh í an Ghaeilge*.

There is non-nasalisation of *é an* in:

- ˈp̃ ʔib̃ ʔiː ˈk̃ ɛː heː ˈɲ̃ ˈx̃ ɛːd̃ ʔr̃ | 869P *péibí cé hé an chéad fhear*.

Examples of nasalsed *é* between two nasal consonants, *sin* or *an* followed by the article *an*, are:

- | h̃iñ ˈɛː m̃ ˈb̃aːs̃ | 869P *hin é an bás*;
 ʔñ ˈɛː ɲ̃ ˈk̃uərtiː ... 04B *an é an cuartaí a d'fhága an madadh*

1.287 Other unstressed words

It seems probable that the majority of frequently unstressed words (i.e. functors) can attract nasalisation from adjacent nasal vowels or consonants, particularly perhaps if that consonant is also unstressed. Another instance of the phenomenon is seen in the nasalisation of the conjunctive personal pronouns *tú*, *sé* and *sí* by (at least) speakers 866E, 869P, 11C and 21Jc (facultatively) before *an* of the article, *ina* (< *i* + possessive), before *ann* and *mise*, e.g.

- | ʔr̃ ˈj̃iəl̃ t̃uː ñ ˈw̃oːə | 866E *Ar dhíol tú an bhó?*
 nuəːr̃ ʔ ˈw̃aːrois̃ t̃uː m̃ ˈĩj̃ə d̃ ʔr̃ ʔe | 866E *nuair a mharós tú mise, a deir sé*;
 g̃ə ro f̃ɛː ñə ˈṽ ɛːr̃f̃əːñ ˈtr̃ ɛːəːñ | 21Jc *go raibh sé ina 'mherchant' tréan*;
 | x̃ ʔəñə f̃iː ɲ̃ ˈx̃olh̃ ˈeːd̃ə | 866E *cheannaigh sí an chulaidh éadaigh*;
 ñāx̃ m̃ ɛːd̃ f̃iː ˈuː ʔñ 869P *nach mbeadh sí ann*.

Unstressed *-ú* and *-í* are similarly nasalsed in:

- ... g̃ ʔibr̃ ˈuː ñ ˈw̃ul̃ ʔiːñ | 866E ... *ag oibriú an bhuilín*;
 caitheadh an kahūː ñ lá siñ 11C;
 d̃ ʔiːñ-f̃ ʔiː ñ ˈsokruː | 869P *déanfi an socrú*.

1.288 Nasal spread from preceding *n*

There are examples of the nasalisation of short stressed vowels *e*, *o* (and weak nasalisation of *a*) in word-initial position (and following *fh*-) when preceded by *n* (the definite article *an*, *aon*, *sean*-, linking and eclipsing *n*), in contrast with the general rule for long vowels:

| ən 'ā:lə | **869P** *an eala*; ē:n' ēl'tr' o:l'g' | **869P** *aon eiltreoir*;
 | f'ā:n,ōkəl | **869P** *seanfhocail*; l'e n'ix' ə | **869P** *le n-ithe*;
 | ən 'ā:wəR | **869P** *ina fhabhar*; | nə | n'ā:l'e:əxi' **869P** *na n-ealaíochai*;
 ē:n' æ:r' ə'wā:n' | **869P** *aon fhear amháin*;
 | f'axt 'nā:krə gəs 'faxt n'ūmər' ə (run) **04B**
seacht n-acra agus seacht n-iomaire;
 ən æ:k' ə l'e **872P**, **04B** *in aice le*;
 brudā:n ki:x ən' æ:sə ruə **11C** *bradán caoch an Easa Rua*.

Cp. nasalised *ā* in bimorphemic g'i:hə 'n'æ's | **872P** *gaoithe aneas* and unstressed *ā* in k'ūnā:krə **872P** *conacra*.

This nasalisation can be quite weak, it rarely spreads to adjacent consonants. Weak nasalisation of the vowel *a* may be subphonemic. It is in fact optional (or perhaps in some instances (lexically) conditioned) with *a*, e.g.

næ:fk' ə ... | f'in askəl' | ... [in contrast with phonemic] nō nā:wəs | **869P**
in aisce ... faoin ascaill ... na n-amhas;
 | mō 'hā:n,ahər' | ... | ən æhuər' | **869P** *mo sheanathair ... an athuair*;
 ən a'ræg' ə **04B** *an fharraige*; ŋa:r **869P** *i ngar*.

There is an example of copula *mb'* nasalising a short stressed vowel in:

dhā mb'air | ga: 'mēr' ə |, *an gcupóg stróictíthe, ... a leagfadh sé ...* **869P**.

These examples suggest that in this environment, i.e. short *o* and *e* following *n* and *m*, there is neutralisation of the nasal-oral opposition (both within the word and across morpheme boundary). For *an abhainn*, see 1.326.

1.289 Further perseverative spread

Eclipsing *n* does not generally nasalise immediately following long vowels but nasalisation is often found in *in Éirinn* (see also *abair* and *teighre* above, 1.281), e.g.

chomh luath in Éirinn ə 'n' ē:r' ən' *is / agus ...* [x2] **11C** [1]
níl aonduine in Éirinn ə 'n' ē:r' ən' **869P** [2]
an bhfuil sé in Éirinn ə 'n' ē:r' ən', *a deir sé, ná in aon réigiún?* **11C** [3]
chomh láidir leis an Éireannach | l'ef' ə 'n' ē:r' ən' ən' | ... *chuala mé* [4]
caint in Éirinn | 'ə 'n' ē:r' ən' | *nach raibh ...* **852S**

Non-nasalisation is also found, e.g.

... *déanta in Éirinn* | d'ĩntə 'n' ē:r' ən' *a bhí chomh maith léithi* **872P** [5]
gá uaisle gá bhfuil in Éirinn ə 'n' ē:r' ən' *inniubh* **11C** [6]

It would be worth establishing whether there is a semantic or grammatical distinction, or tendency to distinguish, between the nasalised and oral variants of *in Éirinn*. From the few examples collated it seems possible that nasalisation is particularly common in the more semantically bleached or grammaticalised functions of the phrase. One can paraphrase *in Éirinn* in the examples to indicate

its various senses: [1] ‘very, as ever’; [2] ‘at all, on earth’; [3], [5] and [6] perhaps ‘on earth’ or ‘in Ireland’; [4] ‘in Ireland’. Cp. 8.218.

An example of nasal perseverative spread to the stressed long vowel of an attributive adjective was noted from speaker **06C**:

ˈiːh̃ə ˈṽr̃əːʔ | 06C oíche BHREÁ.

This is rare generally and for speaker **06C** but he does, however, have some pre-pausa ‘spontaneous’ nasalisation and some other unhistorical nasal ‘leakage’.

In a few words historical nasalisation across word and mutational boundaries has been completely lexicalised so that nasalisation now occurs without the consonantal trigger, e.g. *an áit*, *ar n-ais*. Cf. 1.304.¹

1.290 Suffixes

In the monomorphemic unstressed syllables of suffixes containing nasal consonants, nasalisation is perhaps the rule, e.g. in *-án*, *-ún(as)*, *-ín* (e.g. **pukā:n** *Pocán na Binne*, cp. **fr̥ːisū:nə̃x̃** *phríosúnach*, **pu:k̃ːi:ñ** *púicín*, all **869P**). In bimorphemic unstressed syllables of suffixes, **+i:+(ə)m̃** *-ím* and **+i:+(ə)ñ** *-íonn* (1sg and nonpersonal present 2 Conjugation) are generally nasalised, e.g. **| āːṽd̃i:m̃ |**, **air̃ːi:m̃** **jeː** **869P** *amhdaím*, *éiríonn sé*; whereas **o:+(ə)ñ** *-óinn* (1sg conditional 2 Conjugation) is unnasalled. The general nonraising to **u:** of suffixes in historic **o:** following nasal consonants is an indicator of diachronic non-nasalisation, e.g. *-óg* (**fiːñːo:g** *fuinneog*), also *-óid*, *-óir* (1.21).

Unstressed morphemes are facultatively nasalised across morpheme boundaries (i) in perseverative spread from stressed nasal vowels or (ii) in contingent nasalisation from nasal consonants or (iii) following stressed nasal vowel + nasal consonant, e.g.

- (i) **kūːr̃ːõf̃ːi** **889P** *comhaireoifí*;
 - (ii) **xr̃ːiəxniːdər** **872P** *chríochnaíodar*, **kr̃ːiəxniːh̃ə** **| 872P** *críochnaíthe*, **gə dær̃ːiːh̃ə** **maːx** **894Cs** *go dtairnítheá amach*;
 - (iii) **| gə g̃iːñːõː** **fiːd** **869P** *go gcoinneoidh siad*, **gə g̃iːñːə̃hə** **894P** *dhá gcoinneothá*, **k̃iːñːiːw̃** **894C** *coinníodh*, **iː** **x̃iːñːə̃ː** **| 869P** *í a choinneál*;
- d̃ːiːm̃ːiːdər** **869P** *d’imíodar*,
contrast **d̃ːūːnsiːdər** **869P** *d’ionsaíodar*, .

In two words the suffixes *-úil* (< *-amhail*) and *-mhar* cause nasalisation of the stems to which they are suffixed:

lu:(h) + wər, *lúth* + *-mhar* > **lūːfər** also **luːfər**, **luːnfər**;

da(h) + uːl̃, *dath* + *-úil* > **dāhuːl̃** also **dahuːl̃**.

The voiceless context is noteworthy in both words (1.304). Cp. **ˈL̃ːə̃h̃w̃ə̃ː**, **ˈL̃ːə̃h̃w̃ə̃ː** *Leath-Mhá(i)s* (1.271) < **māːs** *Más*.

¹ Ó Cuív (IWM §192) contrasts nasalised **əñ iːhi** *an oíche* with oral **əs̃ːdiːhi** *istoiche*. In a later publication he explicitly classifies this contrast as lexicalised (phonemic) sandhi nasalisation caused by the preceding nasal consonant (Ó Cuív 1986a: 412). R. B. Breatnach also gives *an oíche* as ‘strongly nasalised’ (IRW §318). But given his interpretation of nasalisation as nonphonemic and his examples of nasalisation in **ñːəd̃** *an fhaid* and **ñːər̃ːə̃** *i ndéireadh* (IRW §297) it remains to be shown whether all *-n* V- syntagms show the same ‘incidental’ nasalisation as word internally in the dialect of Ring. Cf. 1.291.

Sandhi nasalisation of unstressed vowels caused by nasal vowels (and consonants) has been exemplified in 1.272 and 1.287, further examples are:

| 'gə "ga:l'í: m'ē | ... | ,gə "ma:f'í: m'ē | 869P

go gcaillfí mé go mbáifí mé.

It was argued above that such sandhi was extended to stressed position in the case of the (often clitic) personal pronouns *thú*, *é* and *í*. These pronouns are unmistakably nasalised by an adjacent nasal consonant (regardless of whether or not there is an adjacent distinctive nasal vowel, e.g. *m* in *t'ig'əm' hū: tuigim thú*). It seems that sandhi nasalisation of unstressed vowels in general need not be near to phonemic nasal vowels. This would predict, for example, that the *-í* would be nasalised both in *caillfí Máire* (ma:r'ə) and *caillfí máthair* (mā:hər'). The non-nasalisation of unstressed *u*: in *kir'u: mū:ʳ* [x2] 869P *cuireadh amú* may indicate that the phonetic environment *-r'u:* is not conducive to sandhi nasalisation or that it is blocked by the elided schwa of *ə'mū: amú*.

1.291 Innovative morphophonemics: 70M (< 35E)

Younger speaker 70M, Mairéad Ní Chon Fhaola from An Aird Thoir, has nasalised genitives *nə 'hā:t'ə na háite* and *nə 'hā:rd'ə na hAirde* (her native townland). Traditionally phonemic nasalisation is found in *áit(e)* only. Although her overall use of nasalisation has not been assessed, this particular usage would imply that the older pattern of *áit(e)* has spread through analogy to *Aird(e)* in 70M's use. Thus, in categorical terms for the sake of simplicity, regarding nasalisation in the dialect as a whole there are two new nonphonemic subsystems (i.e. (b), (c)) derivative from the older clearly phonemic use, as well as one innovative phonemic system (i.e. (a)) and one possible innovative morphophonemic system (i.e. (d)). These innovative systems can be set out as follows:

- (a) phonemic contrast of nasalisation in environment without nasal consonant but spread beside nasal consonants,
- (b) nonphonemic spread of nasalisation from a nasal consonant across word boundary (no nasalisation elsewhere),¹
- (c) no significant spread across word boundary (no nasalisation elsewhere),
- (d) possible morphophonemic retention (perhaps confined to lexemes *áit*, *Aird* or to the phonotactics *n ā:-* > *nə hā:-* or the like).

One should recall that within each subsystem conditions such as the specific lexical vowel in question are no doubt of varying relevance, depending on individual speakers, etc. For example, a speaker might have (b) spread with /a/ (e.g. *er' ən ā:səl ar an asal*, *ən ta:səl an t-asal*) but (c) no spread with /i:/ (*ən i:hə an oíche*, *nə hi:hə na hoíche*). This type of variation remains to be surveyed. To return to the five systems, one can tabulate, for example, with *áit*, *Aird*:

	<i>an áit</i>	<i>na háite</i>	<i>an Aird</i>	<i>na hAirde</i>
old contrast	ən ā:t'	nə hā:t'ə	ən a:rd'	nə hā:rd'ə
(a) contrast, spread	ən ā:t'	nə hā:t'ə	*ən ā:rd'	nə hā:rd'ə
(b) spread	ən ā:t'	nə hā:t'ə	*ən ā:rd'	nə hā:rd'ə
(c) no spread	ən a:t'	nə hā:t'ə	ən a:rd'	nə hā:rd'ə
(d) morphophonemic	ən ā:t'	nə hā:t'ə	*ən ā:rd'	nə hā:rd'ə

¹ Thus (a) and (b) contain incidental spread, cf. 1.289 p. 309 n. 1.

I have no nasalised example of the specific nominative **ən ārdʰ* *An Aird* but given examples such as *ən ærdʰ* **72N** *an fhad* for older *ən ærdʰ* it is very likely that **ən ārdʰ* *An Aird* is common. Representative speakers of the four innovative types are: (a) **35E**; (b) **72N**; (c) **60M**; (d) **70M** (only speaker noted with possible (d) use). It is noteworthy that **35E** (1.315, 1.346) is **70M**'s father; in fact an innovation directly from (a) use to (d) use would involve the minimum amount of surface phonetic change. It is, however, possible that **70M** nasalises *ɑ*: in these or a few limited lexemes in all environments in which case the nasalisation would be classified as phonemic, or that she nasalises /*ɑ*/ in limited phonotactic environments (rather than syntactic environments) in which case the nasalisation would be classified as allophonic. The allophonic interpretation seems unlikely given her non-nasal *á* in *áirthid*, *páirteach* and *láthair*. Clearly, the phonemic interpretation needs to be checked against tokens of the lexemes *áit* and *Aird* from **70M** without the article.

Nonphonemic or paralinguistic use, speech setting

1.292 Speech setting

In this section the concept of underlying speech setting is introduced. In the community as a whole there is a contrast between a neutral or oral speech setting and a nasal speech setting. The speech setting is oral when the velum is raised throughout the stream of speech, unless a segment is phonemically nasal, or adjacent to, or undergoes spread from, a phonemically nasalised segment. In a nasal speech setting, the stream of speech is nasalised, i.e. the velum is lowered, even when no phonemically nasalised segment is present. Speakers vary in their use of the nasal setting both with regard to frequency and degree of nasalisation, and with regard to its stylistic or discourse functions. It appears a nasal setting may be used to add negative connotations such as disdain to an utterance (also 'complaints' ITM §298, cf. lexicalised nasalisation in the Scottish Gaelic interjection *a Dhia!* (*a dhiamh!* Ó Maolalaigh 1996: 187; 2003a: 116)), as well as functioning as a device for backgrounding informational content in narrative. Nasal or oral setting is also relevant for individual or network speech habits. A nasal setting and switching in and out of a nasal setting is common for some speakers whilst others use it much less or perhaps to no significant extent. Non-phonemic nasalisation will occur by definition when a speaker switches from a neutral setting to a nasal setting. An expanded nasal stretch of speech may sometimes be triggered by nasal consonants, although in other cases there may be no obvious segmental trigger.

1.293 Clitics

Interaction between nonphonemic setting nasalisation and phonemic nasalisation may be complex. I shall present a brief exposition of this complexity, for practical purposes confining the account for the most part to the usage of only five speakers. Apart from the three oldest speakers (**852S**, **866E**, **869P**)¹ the others were chosen at random as representative 'setting nasalisers' (**892M**, **894C**, **21Pt**).

¹ Another old speaker's (**852Sb**) recording is less clear than the recordings of these three speakers, although distinct conservative nasalisation is evident.

The preceding nasal consonant can be taken to be the trigger for nasalisation of clitics, which often occur phrase-finally, e.g. (small capitals)

... *ogəs* *ʃe:* 'p'i:n' *эг'ə* | **866E** *agus sé pínne Aige,*
| *ogəs ukrəs ə* 'yohən' *ēf'* | **866E** *agus ocras a dhóthain AIR.*

There are examples of a nasalised clitic flanked by nasal consonants !(Aln)**11C**:

nur 'k'e: n'i: 'si:l'tə 'xə:s ən mə 'f'i:n' *hū* n 'trə: ʃo 'gi:h er' 'uəgn'əs 'a:n |
Nó cén ní saolta a chas in mo linn THÚ an tráth seo dh'oíche ar uaigneas ann?

These instances are very similar to, for example, *f'ær mā hū*: | **894C** *fear maith thú* and *kluəs 'wāh ,ēf'* | **866E** *cluas mhaith air* cited above (1.283, 1.273) to demonstrate the (lexicalised) perseverative spread of phonemic nasalisation. The frequent occurrence before pausa in these examples leads us to another important aspect of nasalisation. I shall argue that, in addition to the preceding nasal consonant, the trigger for nasalisation in such instances may in fact be the prepausa position.

1.294 Spontaneous prepausa use

The primary paralinguistic use of nasalisation that is found in the two oldest speakers sampled is the occurrence of nonphonemic nasalisation before pausa. This important feature of nasalisation in the dialect can be classified at the interface between phonology and speech setting. It can be interpreted as a return by the speech organs to the nonspeech setting of the lowered velum which is appropriate in silence (i.e. at pausa).¹

Two (possible) instances of nasalised prepausa schwa from the short recording of Seán 'ac Con Raoi, **852Stn**, one of our two oldest audio-recorded speakers, are:

dhe rí na nGiúdaíthe *ŋ u:di:ə* | ... *ar chuile strainséara*. 'strænʃe:rə | .

(There are two unclear examples of what sound like final *n* added in unstressed position phrase-medially in *rí na nGiúdaíthe* *ŋ u:di:ən* *leis* and *dhá ndéantá* 'n'intān *mo chomhairle* **852Stn**. Cf. 13.1, line 4; also, for instance, **866E** including some nasalised prepausa *sí*, 13.2, lines 9, 11, 13.)

Peadar Ó Clochartaigh, speaker **872P**, has instances of unhistorically nasalised prepausa schwa following *g'* and *h*:

| *buəxəl'i* | *eg'ə* | ... *buachaillí aige; trasna thríd an gcarraig* 'gə'rəg'ə | ;
go mbeadh timpiste uirthi orhə | . *Báitheadh ...* (all **872P**).

The nasalisation of the pronoun *é* in the following example may be caused by its position following *g'*:

'v'ehəts 'eg' 'ē: *ax ə* **872P** *bheadh a fhios aige é ach u-*,
contrast *go mba é tús rathasa aige é*. *eg' e* | **872P**.

¹ A strikingly similar secondary development of spontaneous prepausa nasalisation of unstressed vowels, in a lect that already had significant vowel nasalisation, is reported in a dialect of Franco-Provençal in Sampson (1999: 117–8). Jarawara, a dialect of the Madi language (in the Arawá language family of southern Amazonia), does not have contrastive nasalisation on vowel phonemes but there is contiguous nasalisation beside nasal consonants and beside 'h'. In sentence-final position, as well as intrasententially following a predicate before pausa, Jarawara has a prosodic combination of rising tone and 'pronounced nasalization' (Dixon 2004: 18, 28, 530).

The nasalisation in 'eg' 'ē: *aige é* is similar to regular 'ām 'ē: *agam é* (1.284) with g', perhaps in an extension of its use before prepausa ā, optionally behaving similar to a nasal consonant beside é.

1.295 869P

Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire, speaker **869P**, also has prepausa nasalisation, sometimes beside a nasal consonant, sometimes in a non-nasal environment. As with other older speakers, in the environment of a nasal consonant he typically has nasalisation before pausa. Particularly salient is prepausa schwa following a nasal consonant, or following a cluster containing a nasal consonant, e.g.

eg' xul'ə yūn'ā | *ag chuile dhuine*,
 ə d'i:nā nā'nāmā | *ag déanamh a n-anama* (x4),
 | ə xīn'ā | *a choinnigh*; kra'k'ən æ'skən'ā | *craiceann eascainne*,
 v'i n | wā:nā | ... ənə bā:nā | ... i:hā nə bā:nā |
bhí an bhanais ... chun na bainse. ... oíche na bainse (all **869P**).

A case of nasalisation also occurs where there is no immediate nasal consonant present, it contains phonemically oral i: before pausa (perhaps influenced by *trian*) in:

tr'i:n' l'e kahə tauə (l) b'i: | ugəf d'i: | ug'f tr'i:ān | l'e | ... **869P**
trian le caitheamh togha bídh agus díghe agus trian le ...

Nasalisation which does not continue as far as pausa can sometimes occur on v, and possibly f, before i:. There is prepausa rising intonation within the speech unit in:

v'i: fīm fə'd o: s fə'd o: v'i: | **869P** *Bhí sin fad ó is fad ó bhí.*

1.296 892M

Mícheál Ó Coirbín, speaker **892M**, uses nonphonemic prepausa nasalisation frequently. Its function may sometimes be to indicate an unfinished sentence or speaking turn. This is perhaps the basis for nasalisation, which can be accompanied by glottal stop, in the following examples (all **892MARN**):

níl fhios agamsa nach é, nach é, naɣ e', naɣ ē:, an seanathair ... 1671,
 er' ə 'g'ā:n 'heɾ' jē | 1578 *ar an gceann thoir dhe, ...*,
Bhuel, sílim gurb ea, b'ā | agus ... 1499,
 wel' | hūn'āk' m'ē? | gə l'or jē? | h'gus | v'i: fe g' im'əxt 'æN' tr'ē:ān
 | *Bhuel choinic mé go leor dhe agus bhí sé ag imeacht an-tréan* 1014.

In the following examples nasalisation may be collocationally triggered by ní. It is difficult to know whether there is a discourse function of additional negative emphasis in:

- ... agus ní raibh agaibh an t-am sin ach an pota gliomach. **21Pg**
 -Ní raibh. 'N'i: "rō | **892M**
 -Bhuel ... **21Pg**1557; (similarly **892M**1381); and:
 -Balla an Chaid, nach é? **21Pg**
 -Ó! ní hé, ó! 'no', ní hé. Balla — o: N'i: he: | ... N'i: he:ā | 'ba' lə **892M**
 -Mháirtín Uí Cheall(aigh). **21Pg**1581.

1.297 Phonemic analysis and pausa

Because of the complexity of the possible interactions between phonemic nasalisation, contingent nasalisation, prepausa nasalisation and nasal speech setting, a reference token of a given lexeme from a given speaker must be carefully chosen. Obviously tokens before pausa cannot be used as a baseline for phonemic nasalisation from a speaker who has significant nonphonemic prepausa nasalisation. In the case of *cruthaíthe*, for example, in

na rudaí seo cruthaíthe, krihi̯.ə̃ | ... cruthaíthe. křūhi̯.ə̃ | 892M11257

the interpretation will be indeterminate without phrase-medial examples of this lexeme. (Note that the *cr-* cluster may give rise to unhistorical phonemic nasalisation because of the many historically nasalised words in *Cr-* derived from *Cn-*). Indeterminacy is further illustrated by the token of weakly nasalised lenited *maide* in:

ʃin' e: v' i' kiŋ' ai ə 'wā:d' ē̃ | 892M1612 Sin é a bhí ag coinneáil an mhaide.

This can perhaps be taken as an example of phrase-final nasalisation and therefore as nonphonemic. The lexeme *maide*, whether lenited or unlenited, is not phonemically nasalised in the dialect, including other tokens from speaker **892M**, e.g.

en wā'rk ... en wa'd' ə ... wa'd' ə | 892M1337–94

aon mharc ... aon mhaide ... mhaide.

A token of nasalised *mharaigh*, however, calls into question a prepausa nasalisation interpretation of *wā:d' ē̃ | 892M*. Phrase-medial paralinguistic nasalisation seems rare in **892M**'s usage. When, however, nasalisation does occur phrase-medially as in the case of *mharaigh* in

gəɾə 'wā'ɾə ʃe ɛ heŋ' | 892M1100 gur mharaigh sé é féin,

despite the fact that *marbh* and *maraigh* are not nasalised elsewhere by **892M**, one might interpret the nasalisation simply as an instance of phrase-medial nasal speech setting or even as 'incipient phonemic', for **892M** only, and facultatively realised with lenited tokens only. The simplest explanation, however, of the rare nasalisation in *mhaide* and *mharaigh* from **892M** is spontaneous nasalisation in velar or labio-velar contexts (1.309).

1.298 Spontaneous phrase-medial use

Isolated examples of Colm Ó Caoidheáin's (speaker **894C**) use of nasalisation can be even more difficult to classify. Lexemes that can be verified as nasal from other speakers' usage are generally consistently nasalised by **894C**, unless the environment or vowel are obsolescent for him (e.g. *u* as in *cnoc*, *muc*), and as such present no difficulty. On the other hand, his nasalisation is frequent and salient beside nasal consonants. Just as his intonational pitch may rise and fall so too does his use of apparently contingent nasalisation and even spontaneous nasalisation. With regard to phrasal position, **894C** differs from the previous speakers. His contingent and spontaneous nasalisation are most common phrase-medially; they occur with intermediate frequency phrase-finally and are least common phrase-initially. This paralinguistic nasalisation occurs with many vowels. When spontaneous nasalisation covers a stretch of segments it can be taken as an instance of a switch to a nasal speech setting. The following list presents some unambiguous examples of his spontaneous nasalisation (much of his contingent nasalisation is left unmarked).

Spontaneous nasalisation in small capitals (i.e. nasal setting)	
Vowel	Position in phrase
	Medial position in phrase
i:	ugəs p'ɛ:bɾ'ɪ: kã:nt' ə d'ɪ:ðnfɪ: ft'ɪ <i>agus péibrí caint a déanfaí istigh</i>
ɑ:	ugə ʃe: n fã: ɾ'æ:gər ʃe' e' agus sé an fÁTH AR FHReagair sé é
o:	nu: ʏə wɑ:kə ʃe t'ɪəxt ə bō:həɾ e' ən lɑ: ʃo <i>nó go bhfaca sé ag tíocht an bóTHAR é an lá seo</i>
a	xuə n tæhər ser' chuaidh an t-Athair soir ʏə rə n' t'æx d'ɪ:nt eg'ə n' æ:k'ə n 'wɪl'ən' <i>go raibh an tEACH déanta aige in aice an mhuilinn</i>
	Final position in phrase
i	p'ɛ:bɾ'ɪ: kã:nt' ə d'ɪ:ðnfɪ: ft'ɪ ʋ'ed'ɪ:ʃ ə ... <i>péibrí caint a déanfaí istIGH BHeidís ag ...</i>
a	ugəs ə 'gə'log'ən he:n' l'æ:ki:hə st'ãx ə noxt ə x'e:l'ə ... n'ɪ 'jɑ:rnə ʃɪ: 'e:ŋ 'vɫɑ:s er' ə 'bi:nt'ə gus ə 'dɑ:n'əg' ʃɪ: 'ft'æ:ðx a'x potə xur ʃɪ:s er' ə t'ɪn'ə ugəs nə kru:dɑ:n' ə ʏlɑ:nə ugəs iəd ə xur ə brix' ə tr'e:n əgəʃ d'e:ɖ ʃɪ: e <i>agus a gcloigeann féin leagthaíthe istEACH in ucht a chéile ...</i> <i>Ní dhearna sí aon bhlas ar an bpointe agus a dtáinig sí istEACH</i> <i>ach pota a chur síos ar an tine agus na cnúdáin a ghlanadh</i> <i>agus iad a chur ag bruith chomh tréan agus d'fhéad sí é</i> <i> ugəs nəɾ' ə hæ:n'əg' ʃɪ ft'æ:ðx du:ɾt' ʃɪ: m'æ:ni: d'ɪə n'ʃæ ugəs</i> <i>agus nuair a tháinig sí istEACH dúirt sí ' ' mbeannaí Dia anseo,' agus</i>
	Initial position in phrase
e	wẽɪʔ ʋ'ɪ m'ɪx'ɑ:l ək saĩv'ə hæ:nə ugəs ə <i>BHUEL bhí Mícheál 'ac Suibhne cheana agus u- ...</i>

1.299 Analysis

As found in other speakers, nasalisation in phrase-final position often corresponds to mid-rising intonation, indicating noncompletion of the syntactic unit. This occurs in nasalised *istigh* and *isteach* in the examples above, and in *amuigh*, also classifiable as contingent nasalisation, in:

ax d'ɪərhə ʃe ʏən wɪ:nt'ər ə'm'ũ | k'e he' 'he:n' | hul ɑ: dɑ:n'ək' ʃe
'ft'a'x | 894C

ach d'fhiafraigh sé dhen mhuintir amUIGH cé hé féin sula dtáinig sé isteach.

Clearly, this syntactically conditioned paralinguistic nasalisation must be used as a diagnostic in classifying the phonemic nasalisation of words in speaker 894C's lexicon. In this instance, given that *amuigh* is oral elsewhere in his recordings, the nasalisation can be safely classified as nonphonemic. In contrast, *tine* (in the first example with *isteach* above), for example, is not so readily classifiable as many other tokens of *tine* from 894C are nasalised and, furthermore, it is regularly nasalised by older speakers. The use of the nasal stretch in the phrase-initial position cited is noteworthy, *Bhuel bhí Mícheál 'ac Suibhne cheana agus u- ...*. The context is of an introductory sentence to an anecdote. The nasalisation may add a casual backgrounding effect before the central action is presented by the narrator. Furthermore, most of his listed examples of spontaneous nasalisation contain

voiceless consonants, particularly **x** and **h**. These high air-flow consonants are universally associated with the growth of nasalisation or nasogenesis, in particular spontaneous nasalisation (e.g. Ohala 1983 and 1993). Speaker **894C** has extensive nasalisation, both phonemic and nasal setting, in song (cf. 10.38).

1.300 Other speakers

Colm Ó Dubháin, speaker **894Cs**, seems particularly prone to spontaneous nasalisation in (voiced) velar contexts, although his material has been analysed only briefly for this feature. His realisation of *ghabh-* (e.g. | *ŷōhā:šō mā:x ...* **894Cs** *ghothása amach*) is cited above (1.281); he similarly, nasalises *ŷa:* *dhá*, and *ōgōs ūgōs ōgōs* even *ūhōs agus*.

Éamann a Búrc, speaker **866E**, has spontaneous nasalisation in several instances in his recording (covering over twelve printed pages of text, including Sc176–87). This nasalisation seems weaker than his phonemic use. There are instances of *i:* before pausa and of the vowel *u:* in other contexts, e.g.

bhí sé ag siúl fū: | suas, ... gur dhúirt tú go | gə 'rū:rt tū' gə dtiochá go m'iarraidh. **866E**.

Peait Ó Donnchú, speaker **21Pt**, does not have a frequent nasal setting. He has been noted, however, with rare spontaneous nasalisation of *i:* in two instances:

ga: m'ox t'is [sic *t' -*] *mu: a:n* **21Pt** *dhá mbeadh NÍOS mó ann;*
Í ē gī:hō n'æ:s | ... Í ē gī:hō n'æ:s | **21Pt** *LE gAOithe aneas.*

Phonetically these tokens are, again, adjacent to voiceless continuants. Pending further investigation of his recordings, at least four possible interpretations of these instances may be suggested: (a) lexical nasalisation of *mó* and *aneas* is realised on preceding lexically oral *i:*; this seems unlikely given that these lexemes and environments are not nasal in his inventory; (b) *t'is níos* is caused by the denasalisation of the initial consonant; but this does not occur in other instances of denasalisation including his common *d'i: ní*; (c) nasal setting may be limited to the vowel *i:*, perhaps triggered by a following stressed initial nasal consonant; (d) perhaps phonologically similar *i:hō oíche* has had a once-off effect on *gaoithe*.

1.301 Stylistics or speech habits

Old speakers who do not have frequent spontaneous nasalisation and who do not switch in and out of a nasal setting can give the impression of being less homely (*tíriúil*), more formal, or more self-conscious. Speakers **06C**, **11C**, **18J**, for example, have relatively little nonphonemically nasalised vocalic segments, i.e. they have limited spontaneous nasalisation. I have heard all three speakers praised in Iorras Aithneach, and the last two also outside of Iorras Aithneach, for their skill as speakers and personally find their voice (or speech setting) very agreeable and their articulation lucid and clear. Speaker **18J**'s speech was described to me using the Iorras Aithneach idiom of *plánáilte* 'clear' by a native of the area of An Cheathrú Rua. It seems likely that nasal setting, like 'barróg' (1.376 ff.), can be placed, at least for some speakers, on the more informal end of the stylistic range. (For **11C** and **18J** in Wigger 1970: 50, see 1.315.)¹

¹ Cp. MacAulay (1978–81: 85): 'noticeable preference for extending nasalisation is a marker of familial varieties' in Bernera, Isle of Lewis.

1.302 Lexemes

Lexemes which have been noted with nasalisation are classified below according to mostly synchronic phonotactics. Lexemes which contain two conditioning factors are cited in curly brackets, e.g. {*neamh*} with *n-* and *-mh*. Adjoining nasals in most contexts nasalisation is highly predictable (*-n*, *-ng*, *-m*); here orality is the marked category and only non-nasals need be listed (1.278).

It is important that future monographs provide comprehensive lexical inventories of nasalisation. This will aid comparative dialectal studies and more general studies of nasalisation. Such an inventory has been collated and analysed by Ó Maolalaigh (1997: 645–54) for Lewis (based on GL) and East Sutherland Gaelic (based on ESG).

No adjoining nasal consonant, i.e. synchronic unconditioned nasalisation

- ũ *coimhthíoch, coimhthíos, comhartha*
- õ *comhartha, coimhthíos* (based on FFG)
- ã *aiféal(a), ais* in *ar ais* and *le hais*, *aithin* **872P**, *amharc, breath* **06C** (< *brath*), *breathaigh* (by-form of *breathnaigh*), *dathuìl, gea(mh)chaoch, sclafairt* and related forms, *steafóg, tafann*
- ĩ: *aois, aosta* **892M**, *choíchín, oíche*
- ũ: *áfas* **35Eq**, *áiféalta* **35Eq**, *áit, áitiú, áithe, áth, ceannrach* **k'ũ:rləx 21J**, *cláife*, cp. *cláifí* (pl *claimhe*), *Cláifí* **klā:f' i: 852Sb**
- õ: *comh-, comhairle, comhartha, comhrac, (romhaibh)*
- ũ: *ciumhais, (clúdaigh), clúmhach, comh-, comháireamh, comhairle, comhar, comharsa, comhlúadar, comhrac, crúthachan* **06C** (< *crónachan*), *cumha, cumhartha, cumhdaigh, comhla, cumhsclaíthe, dumhach, lúthmhar, romhat, romhthub, tomhais, (udhachta M87), umhlacht, umhlaigh*

Preceding v(ʰ) (< mh generally)

- ĩ *cuimhne, geimhreadh, reimhre, roimh(e)*
- ẽ {*cruimhe*}
- ã *aimhreas, aimhréidh, aimhsigh, amhas, amhdaigh, amhlacán* (< *adhlaican*), *amhlaidh, Amhlaoidh, claimhe* (< *claidheamh*), *claimhséarach, clamhsán, cleamhnaithe, cleamhnas, {cnáimh, cneámhaireacht}, daimhséar, daimhseoir, daimhsigh, damhsa, gaimh, gamhain, (corra) geamh, geamhar, leamh, leamhnacht, mísceamhnaithe, {neamh}, pramhsáil* **20C**, *reamhar, (ro) samh, samhadh / samhóg (caorach), (maca)samhail(t), samhaoín, samhradh, scamhach (iongan), sceaimhínteacht, sclamh, screamh(óg), sleamhain, stramhsach, tamhnach, Teamhair*, cp. *mh'aisce*
(Contrast non-nasalised -v' a- in *Finnbheara f' i: Nv' æ'rə*.)
- õ {*cruimhe*}
- ĩ: *coimhrí, cuimhne, geimhreadh, reimhre, suaimhneas, {gníomh, sníomh}*
- ẽ: *fréamh* (also *fréimh, préimh*)
- ũ: *áibhéil* **05M**, *ámhaillí, cláimhí* (pl *claimhe*), *dáimh, drámh, lámh, rámha, rámhailtí, rámhóireacht, {cnáimh, mámh, námhaid, snámh, smeámh}*
- õ: *Róimh*
- ũ: *fómhar, Róimh, rómhar*
- ai {*daimhsigh*}

1.303 Adjoining nasal(ised) sonorant

Following *cn-*, *gn-*, *mn-*, *tn-* > **kr-**, **gr-**, **mr-**, **tr-**; (n retained in some instances)

ĩ *cnoic*

ũ *cnó, cnoc, cnocán, Cnogaide, Cnogaire, gnotha*

ã *cnag, Cnagaide, cnagaire, Cnagaire, cnaipe, cnaiste, cnap, cnead, cneasta, gnatha*

ĩ: *gnaoi, gnaoiúil, mnaoi, {gníomh}*

ã: *cnáib, conách, gnás, gnáth-, mná, {cnáimh, cneámhaireacht}*

ũ: *cnúddán, gnóthaigh, gnúis, gnúsacht, (gnúscán = grúscán FGB), tnúthán*

Adjoining a nasal consonant

n-

ĩ: e.g. *naoi*

-n, -ng

ĩ: e.g. *aon*

ã: e.g. *ann*

õ: e.g. *brón*

m-

ĩ *mic, Mícheál m'ih-* genitive *Míchíl m'ih-*, (*mil, milis* ?), *moichí* (< *moch*), *muic, muid, muis(e)*

ẽ (*meirbh* ?), *meitheal, Mícheál m'ẽhã:l*

ã *mac, macnas, maidir le 04Br, maircúocht, maistín, (maistireadh ?), maith, Maitias, Maitiú, mapa, mar 11C, 04Br, mara 869P, marc(-áil), marcaí, Marcas, mart, masc, masla(igh), meacan, meach < beach, meadh, meaic, Meaic, meait, Meait, meas, measa, measc, meath-* (e.g. *meathrabharta*)

õ *moch* (nasal noted in **mõhi**: *moichí*)

ũ *moch* and related forms, *moirtéal, mothaigh, muc, muthai(r)lle* (< *muinchille*)

ĩ: *imíthe, Maoise, mí, mí-, Mícheál, míotáisc*

ẽ: *mé, méis*

Contrast
non-nasalised

croca, cruth(aigh)

croí

cráigh, crábh

crúb

(*Con Fhaolaidh 11C*)

braon 11C

arán, Seán

lón 06C

milleadh

moille (< *moill, mall*)

amach, madadh,

maide, maidin,

maidir le, mairg,

mala, malhrat

malairt, mallacht,

(mar ?), mara (<

muir, also Conamara,

Cinn Mhara),

maraign, marthainn,

meala (< *mil*),

mealladh, mear,

mearbhall

amuigh, (Leitir)

Mealláin, mol,

mullach, muráite

maoil, maol, (Rinn)

Mhaoile, Maolra,

maor, Maoras, míle,

mill, millteach,

mítrínach 06C

méar, méid

ā:	<i>Leath-Mhás, má, (Dé) Máirt, Máirtín, (an tOileán) Máisean, máistir(eás), Márta, Mártan, más, Más, mása, máta, máthair, meá (iascach), (Cnoc) Meá, meáchan, {mámh, Mánas, smeámh}</i>	<i>Máire, máirnéalach, Máille(ach), máilléad, mall, meall, meáigh (896P, 11C)</i>
ō:		<i>mamó, mór, móid</i>
ū:	<i>amú, iomú, mó, móta, múch, múille, (Innis) Múscraí¹</i>	<i>múr, murlach</i>
-m		
ũ:	e.g. <i>lom</i>	<i>fúm ?</i>
õ:	e.g. <i>romham</i> (obsolete)	<i>Óimí 11C</i>

1.304 Diachronic

Nasalisation of vowels is derived diachronically in the vast majority of cases from an original adjoining nasal consonant. The diachronic source is generally, but not always, apparent from modern spellings. For instance, it is the variant *ámhaillí* of the headword *ábhaillí* in FGB, corresponding to DIL *ámaill(e)*, which is reflected in Iorras Aithneach *āwāl'i*. There are only a few lexemes with historic *mh* or *cn-* where no nasalisation has been noted: *ku:xtə cumhachta* but *d'æ:ræg kū:xt 00T* *Dearg Cumhacht* name of character in tale; *māk u:l' mac Cumhail*, cp. spelling *mac Cubhaill* by Roscommon scribe from manuscript of 1651 (Ní Shéaghdha 1967: xiv, 10.145), cp. surname *ə ku:l'* (< *Mhac Dhubhghaill* ?); speaker **869P** has *umhal u:l* and speaker **35Eq** claims to have heard oral *u:l umhal* only (perhaps influenced by *cúthal ku:l*) but its derived verb is regularly nasalised *umhlaigh ū:lə; kr'it'ə:l' cníteáil; kr'ug criog* (FGB *cnioḡ*²); *sceimheal f'k'iv'əl*; unstressed particle *chomh xə* in contrast with stressed prefix *comh- kū:-* (but cp. 1.309); *Conchobhar > Cnochabhar >* (genitive) *kroxu:r'; d'i:wín' díomhaoín; an uimhir* (probably a recent borrowing from Modern post-revival Irish). Other words are irregular in other ways, e.g. *o:ra:n amhrán, l' o:n leomhan, domhan, domhain, comhrá*. The words *amhrán, deimhin, domhan, domhain, díomhaoín*, and possibly *leomhan* (perhaps from earlier *leaghmhan*, Ó Maolalaigh: forthcoming), have developed through dissimilation of nasality, at various historical stages, via *abhrán* (for examples of which see DIL s.v. *amrán*, and Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 127); for anomalous *abh-* > *o:* one can suggest influence of *óráid* and *orrtha*, and compare *leaghmhan*), possibly **leobhan, *dibhin* (note *ei > i* because of nasal), **dobhan, *dobhain* (recall that *doimhne* with *-vN-* corresponds to the historical medial palatal *bhn* rather than *mhn*), and **díobhaoín*.² Cp. *damhán allaidh du:a:n ~ du:wə:n ~ duvə:n a:lə*. Note also *liamhán* (sometimes spelt *liabhán*) which has by-forms *l' iəvə:n, l' i:və:n, l' iəmə:n, l' i:mə:n*. Irregular also is *tomhais > te/iʃ*, in contrast with regular *tū:ʃ*, with phonological contrast and semantic differentiation. Cp. oral *coimhling kaivl'ənt'*.

¹ Given optional vowel raising in the personal name *mō:rN'ə mu:rN'ə bu:rN'ə Moirne*, it may be that *Moirne* was once nasalised. On the other hand, *u:* may represent (contamination with) the personal name *Muirne*, which is apparently the analogical source of the palatalisation of the medial cluster in *Morna > Moirne*.

² This phenomenon is termed 'misassignment of nasality to an adjoining segment' by Hamp (e.g. 1986: 138).

1.305 Lack of stress

If the first element of place-name **du: jī:hər'**, etc., contains *dumhaigh* (1.25), there is no trace of nasalisation. It was perhaps lost in the weaker stress of prequalifier position. Similarly, nasal **ī:hə oíche** contrasts with oral **i:l' oíche Fhéil**, reduced in weak stress, in speaker **04B** (1.336). Historically unstressed *mh* shows no vowel nasalisation, with three exceptions: otherwise irregular *claidheamh* > **klāv'ə** and **klā:f'ə** (also in the phrase *seacht gcathair na Cláifí f'a'x gahər nə klāf'i*: **852Sb**(TS127), i.e. a large number of people, transcribed in *go sheach' gcatha na Cráifí* (sic) **852Sb**(TS125); also derived *lúthmhar* **lū:fər** ~ **lū:nfər**, cp. *lúfar* **869P** (similar to, for example, *aithmhéala*); derived *dathamhail* **dāhū:l'** **866E** (and his nephew) **13P**, **dā:hu:l'** **889P**, heard as only oral from other speakers: **dāhu:l'**.¹ With *lúthmhar* one can compare metathesised *mh* in *admhaím* > *amhdaím* **āvdi:m'** ~ **amdi:m'**, also *teagmhaigh* > **taŋgə**; and *cagnamh* > *cangailt* is also noteworthy. Other derivatives show no nasalisation, e.g. *bláthmhar* > *bláfar*, *caithmheach* > *caifeach*. Perhaps **lū:fər** ~ **lū:nfər** has lost its association with *lúth* and the old nasalisation of *-mhar* has been retained; influence of, or confusion with, *lonnmhar* is also possible. Cp. *áithe* **a:nhə** **21J** (only), etc., (1.235). Similarly, the association between *dath* and *dathamhail* may be weakened allowing the retention of the nasalisation of *-amhail*.

The development of nasalisation in by-forms of the verb *breathnaigh* with **br'ānhə** and **br'āhə**, may be directly a result of the loss of medial *n*. Loss of *n* could come about either through dissimilation in *breathnaíonn* or through cluster simplification in discourse reduction (with further reduction to **əhə**, etc.) or through a combination of both processes. On the other hand, historical *breathaigh* may be the source of **br'ahə**, which was subsequently nasalised by analogy with **br'ānhə** *breathnaigh*. The verbal noun *brath* is generally **brah** but speaker **06C** has **br'əh** presumably influenced by **br'əhə** *breath(n)aigh*. Similarly, nasalisation in the verb *aithin* **ə:hōn'** **872P** came about either through analogy with **ə:n'hə** *aithnigh*, *aithne* or through spread of nasalisation from the unstressed syllable or through a combination of both influences. Compare what seems to be an instance of *n*-loss in this verb:

K'æl nax nəhi:n' jib' m'e 04B *ceal nach n-aithníonn sibh mé?*

The *n* may have been lost through haplology in this instance. Other examples of *aithnigh* noted from speaker **04B** retain medial *-n-*.

1.306 Exceptions

Nasalisation in the feminine vowel-initial nouns *áit*, *áithe*, *aois*, *oíche* is a result of phonemicisation of the perseverative nasalisation from the preceding feminine article *an* (cp. Pedersen 1909: 386; IAIM §1584). Lenited following adjectives, especially *maith*, may also have been a contributing factor.² These four nouns

¹ Also attested nasalised in Árainn (An tOileán Mór): **lū:fər** *lúthmhar*, **dāwəl'** *dathamhail* (Pedersen 1909: 409, 386). Instances of the raising of historically nasalised *a* are found in East Galway, e.g. *cnaipe* **kröp'ě** SIDIII 37.221, cp. *claidheamh* SIDI.265 **klōv'ě** 38, **klōf'**? 34. Historical nasalisation may also be the cause of the raised vowel in *dathúil* **dohu:l'** near Galway city (Tom Kelly, Baile an Phoill, Paráiste an Chaisleáin Ghearr).

² I take this as a secondary possible conditioning factor. Hamp (1986: 138) gives precedence to this factor in his claim that the unexpected nasalisation in *oidhche* 'must have developed in the nexus

have an optimal phonotactic structure for nasal vowels, a long vowel followed by a voiceless consonant (cf. Ó Maolalaigh 1997: 649–51, 654). Two of them are also among the most common vowel-initial feminine words (without syllable rhymes in nasal consonants) in the dialect, if not the most common (cp. Wigger 2004: II 552–9 (number of tokens in transcribed conversations from neighbouring Ros Muc speakers): *áit* (374), *oíche* (244); also *ais* (79, see further below), *áithe* (9), *aois* (9)). Three, *áit*, *áithe*, *oíche*, are regularly nasalised, *aois* is nasalised by less speakers (866E, 869P, 894C, 12S). Similarly, the derived adjective *ao(i)s* > *ĩ:stə* 892M2464 *aosta* is nasalised by some but not by others, e.g. *ĩ:stə* 11C1005. The less common noun *áth*, historically masculine, but mostly feminine in our dialect, was also noted nasalised in *ən ā:* 892Mtn *an áth*. Cp. also the place-name *ə tũ:hə l'ækəx* 892M, *ən ā:hə l'æk'rəx* 11C *an (t)Áth Leacach* or *an Áithe Leacrach*. Also nasalised is the noun *áitiú ā:t' u:*, related to *áit*. With *áit* contrast non-nasalised *muráite*, e.g. *ə wura:t'ə* [x2] 04B *an mhuráite*, and the non-nasalised verb *áitigh*, historically derived from *áit*. Although *choíchin* (< *co oidhche*) is nasal for 12S (perhaps by contingent nasal spread from unstressed *n*), it is recorded with an oral vowel from 894C and 11C, both of whom have *oíche* regularly nasalised.

In *er' āf* *ar ais*, with nasalisation deriving from earlier *ar n-ais* (cp. also *ar m'ais* with 1sg possessive), there is nasalisation in the speech of only a few speakers: 04B for example is recorded with oral *er' āf* only, whereas his son, 35E, regularly has *er' āf* / *ēr' āf*, as do 866E, 869P, 889P, 894C, 11C and 21Jc. Similarly, *l'ē hāf* 872P *le hais*, also *l'e: mā:f* 894C *le m'ais*. (Speaker 35E has *l'e āf*, *l'e hāf* in hesitant speech: *leagthaí le*, *le ais*, *le hais na*, *na crosóige* 35E7690. There is the added complication of frequent spontaneous nasalisation in 35E's speech.) Nasalisation occurs across the (historical) word boundary also in *ə wāf'k'ə* *a mh'aisce* from original *dar mo bhaisteadh*. It has a contracted by-form *āf'k'ə*, e.g. *s āf'k'ə mə l'e:ŋ 'g'e:ər* | 11C *Is 'aisce mo léan géar ...*. Another feminine noun *udhachta* was recorded as *ū:xtə* M87; compare the spelling *umhachta* DIL s.v. *umachta*.¹ Nasalisation is general in *rádbaile* DIL, *rámhaille* FGB *rā:wəlt'i:* also *rā:vərt'i:* 23C. Nasalisation in *áibhéil* (< *aidhbhéil*) *ā:v'e:l'* was noted from speaker 05M only (in *'p'i:fi:n'* | *'ā:v'e:l'* 05M *písín áibhéil*); if this has a sandhi source of nasalisation, it may have developed in collocation with *déanamh*, i.e. *ag déanamh áibhéil*, which is probably more common than use with the article. The word is commonly spelt with *mh*, e.g. DIL s.v. *aidbéil*, also in the folklore transcription *áidhmhéaltas* 894C9. This spelling resembles the (optional) nasalisation in *ā:f'e:ltə* 35Eq, *ā:f'e:ltəs* 889P *áiféalta(s)*, a word related to both *adhbhal* and *aithmhéala*. Cp. *ā:fəs* 35Eq *áfas* (< *sámhas* FGB). Feminine noun *an uair* and conjunction *nuair* are regularly oral *ən uər'* and *nuər'* but adverbial *an uair sin* 'then', with addition of the voiceless (nasalised) consonant (and depalatalisation of *r*), is (optionally) nasalised in *ən 'ūōř jūn'* 892M (13.7, line

oidhche mhath'. This is not supported by the evidence of perseverative sandhi. Cf. Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 110–3).

¹ *udhachta* may be added to the examples listed by Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 113 (a)) among those words originally nasalised by preceding *n* (of the feminine article) in Gaelic dialects. In *l'e bās oī: uxtə gəs ar'hi: mǎx'* *le bās ola ongachta agus aithrighe maith*, S. de Búrca (1958–61: 110, n. 14) informs us that the *u:* in *uxtə* is nasalised by the storyteller from Tuar Mhic Éadaigh, Co. Mayo. It seems better to derive *ū:xtə* here from *udhachta* (and understand it as 'will') rather than unattested **ongachta* (suggested by S. de Búrca to be related to *ungthacht* 'unctuousness').

10), **n** 'ūāīr̥ j̥īn' **21Pt** (13.19, line 47). Nasalisation in *abhainn*, and particularly *an abhainn*, will be discussed below (1.326).

1.307 Further exceptions

There is remarkable nasalisation by speaker **872P** following *nó* in the set phrase:

'ku:g'ər nū: 'hēj̥ōr̥ | **872P** cúigear nó sheisear.

Notably, *sheisear* (with lexicalised lenition following *nó*) contains two voiceless continuants.

In contrast with the originally perseverative sandhi base of the examples discussed thus far, the example of anticipatory nasalisation in the phrase *d(h)ó nó trí* occurs only when the nasal consonant trigger is present, e.g.

dū: nō: 'tr' i: gə 'f' i:n' āxi: **869P** dó nó trí dhe phínneachaí.¹

The development of a nasal vowel in *adhlaican* (from OIr *adnacul*) ā:vləka:n **25M**, a:vləka:n **M**, with by-forms ā:nləka:n **11C**, a:nləka:n **892M**, *anlacan* FFG, is comparable to that of *claidheamh*, where there may be interaction between a nasal consonant and the dental fricative *dh*. The place-name currently spelt *Inis Treabhair* in'əʃ dr'æ:vər' was spelt 'Inistreawain' and 'Inyshtrevane' in (a copy of an original of) 1585, 'Inish Tawer' in 1641 and 'Inniscrevar' in 1626 in English documents (Freeman 1936: 53, 56; Hardiman 1846: 311, 404; T. S. Ó Máille 1952–4: 28). The second element, now spelt *Treabhair*, may be a reflex of the root *creamh* 'garlic'.² The low vowel **a**, which has the greatest incidence of nasalisation in the lexicon, and the large *amh*-class of words were probably contributory factors to the development *cabhlach* > *camhlas* S (from my early notes), as was perhaps a conservative **av** pronunciation in the conjunctive phrase in which *camhlas* has survived. There is apparently an intrusive *mh* in *agús* > *amhgús* **894C2** (1.235). The word *tafann* is generally nasalised (cf. SIDI.11), as is the borrowing *steafóg* in **04B**'s and **11C**'s speech (in tale run).³ Both words have a favourable environment for spontaneous nasalisation: voiceless initial and low vowel followed by a voiceless fricative. Nasalisation would not be surprising in

¹ As well as anticipatory nasalisation, assimilation, or analogy, between the vowels of *dó* **o**: and *nó* **ō**: ~ **ū**: may also be involved. Cp. **ku: nū: fē: gə cúig nó sé dhe**.

² If either of the spellings *Treabhair* or, as suggested by T. S. Ó Máille (1952–4: 28), *Creabhair* (accepted by M. Ó Conghaile 1985: 110–3) are etymologically correct its nasalisation could be explained as a phonotactic development. It might be an example of conservative retention of intervocalic *bh* because of its place-name status. The retention of intervocalic *bh* (or even *gh* > **w**) is recorded in Cois Fharraige in the toponym *Baile na mBrobhach* (ICF §529) with regular **ba:l'ə nə mraux** but also ... **mrowəx**. Apart from the borrowing *fabhar fawər*, all instances of **v** between short vowels (cp. **av** ~ **av**, 1.10) are in fact nasalised (**ṽ**) in the Iorras Aithneach dialect, and West Cois Fharraige, including in *Innis Treabhair*. Intervocalic **v** in **dr'avər** may have been regularised to conform to the normal pattern, i.e. to **dr'āvər**. Another possibility is that the earliest spellings in 'n', e.g. 'Inishtreawain', reflects accurately the earlier pronunciation **treabhain*, which was changed to *treamhair* through reassignment of nasalisation (perhaps influenced by *creamh*). T. S. Ó Máille (1952–4: 28) gives **in'is' t'r'awər**, **in'is' d'r'awər** as the local pronunciation. He does not mention nasalisation nor does he discuss the apparent genitive singular in his proposed form *Inis Creabhair* 'Gadfly Island'. If from *creamh*- or *creabh*-, the change to **-fd'**- may resemble neighbouring **ro fǵ'id'ə Ros Cíde** (perhaps < *Ros Tíde*); compare also Connacht *treabhar* Dinn s.v. *creabhar*. The alternation of **t' ~ k'** and **d' ~ g'** is well established in nearby Ros Muc and particularly prominent in *sc* and *st* clusters (1.407). Cp. *Crois Dreamhair*, *Cois an Treabhair* 'Cushatrower' Rob.73.

³ Related Scottish Gaelic *steafag* (Dwelly 1977, s.v.; oral in Dieckhoff 1932, s.v.) has a variant spelling *steamhag* (Black 1999: 282). Cp. *streabóid*, *streabóg*, *stramóid*, *streabhóg*, *streamhóg*, etc., < 'strumpet' (via Scottish Gaelic) in T. S. Ó Máille (1964–6b: 96–9); cp. *steafóg girsí* FGB.

this feminine noun: *an abhóg*.¹ Other examples of unhistorical nasalisation have been noted from idiolects only: **krūst̪i**: 46.260 *crústaí* but also **krūst̪ə** 46.261 influenced perhaps by words in *cn-*. The verbal adjective of *báigh*, i.e. *báite*, literally ‘drowned’ but used as an indefinite adjective and adverb meaning ‘every, completely’, is nasalised in both tokens noted from speaker **894C**’s recordings:

bə jeɪɾd ə v̥i: | ən t̪a:m ʃi:n̥ | ɣə k̪i:n̥t̪ə | eɾ əˈxil̥ə ɣun̥ə b̪a:ˈt̪ə |
dr̪a:ɾ əgəs b̪a:n̥i:n̥ |

badh éard a bhí an t-am sin go cinnte ar achuile dhuine báite, drár agus báinín;

v̥i: ˈn̪aːp̪əɾ̪u:n̥ ˈl̪a:n̥ ˈb̪a:t̪ə | *bhí a naprún lán báite.*

As far as I know, *báite* has not been recorded elsewhere in this meaning or with nasalisation. It is noteworthy that nasalisation in this instance functions as a device of semantic distinction or semantic split. Perhaps the adverbial usage has been extended from *an saol báite* (Dinn s.v. *báidhte*) and the nasalisation, if not in some way expressive, from *an saol láimhe*, both of which may be translated as ‘the whole world’. One is reminded of the unhistorical nasalisation in Scottish Gaelic *uamhas* and *uamhasach* (corresponding to Irish *uafás(ach)*), which also have indefinite pronominal, adjectival and adverbial functions.²

1.308 Exceptions through rhinoglottophilia

Other unhistorical instances of nasalisation seem to have a more purely phonetic basis and may be difficult to distinguish from spontaneous nasalisation or nasal setting (1.292). Speaker **872P**, for example, has two main environments where voiceless velars contribute to unhistorical nasalisation. Both his tokens of *an Clochán* are nasalised in his recording:

ən ˈt̪a:m ʃi:n̥ ēɾ ə ˈɡl̪oːx̪i:n̥ | **872P** *an t-am sin ar an gClochán,*
*dhen Chlochán x̪l̪oːx̪i:n̥ siar **872P**.*

This is not simply a case of anticipatory nasalisation, as evidenced, for example, by his oral vocalism in **kos̪a:n** **872P** *cosán*, although nasalised unstressed *-án* is no doubt a contributory factor. The other environment which shows the influence of rhinoglottophilia is the stressed syllable **kah-**, **xah-**.³ The surname *Cathasach* and the verb *caith* are generally oral for **872P** but both are sometimes nasalised:

| x̪ãh̃əd̪i:ʃ ˈt̪aːnəx̪t̪ l̪e ... | **872P** *chaithidís fanacht le ...*,
caithfidh, c(h)aithfeá, caithfaí ... c(h)aithfeadh kahə kahə kafi: ... | k̪ãh̃əx̪
| dhá mhaide a bheith ... **872P**,

Seán Ó Cathasaigh ō: k̪ãh̃əx̪ə agus m’athair **872P**.

Cf. voiceless context of nasalised tokens of *leat*, *as* and even in voiced context *dearg*, *bhí* **852S** (13.1, lines 14, 10, 13); *h* in *na hAirde* **70M** (1.291); *dreatháracha*, *faoi* **866E** (13.2, lines 27, 28); voiced *leaba* **05M** (13.13, lines 29, 32).

¹ Note also the transcription *athmhóg* **875T1**, for general **awo:g** *abhóg*, apparently indicating ***āfo:g** or ***āvo:g**, or perhaps simply reflecting the spellings *athbhóg*, *amhóg* Dinn s.v. *adhbhóg*. Cp. 14 *afróg* and FFG20.

² Cp. ‘Similarly, a vowel may be nasalized in certain onomatopoeic adverbs to convey a vivid quality to the action’ (Matisoff 1975: 280).

³ Cp. nasalised *caith(eamh)* in Donegal and *caith(eadh)* in West Scotland (Ó Maolalaigh 2003a: 110–1; Quiggin 1906: 65, 206, 224).

1.309 Exceptions in velar contexts

Speaker **894Cs** regularly has nasalisation of *dhá* ('two', 'if', verbal functor) as *ŷɑ:* and *ŷã:*, e.g. (all **894Cs**)

ŷã: ha:rənt' | dhá tharrait,
| ŷɑ: xahir' | ... ŷɑ: f'eɫu:r klũ:wĩ: dhá chathaoir ... dhá pheiliúr clúmhaí.

Similarly, speaker **11C** has occasional nasalisation of *dhá* 'two', e.g.

wuəl' fe 'ŷã: 'wos fi: 'x'e:l'ə bhuail sé a dhá bhos faoi chéile;
bean agus dhá ŷã: ghasúr aige; also ə 'ŷã: 'gu:l a ndhá gcúl (all **11C**).

Contrast non-nasalised *an dá dɑ: theach* **11C**. Similarly, the conjunction *ach* is frequently nasalised by **11C**, and *agus* is frequently nasalised by **894Cs**. Cp. *ŷõ 'fadə ... kō 'fɑ:də c(h)omh fada* **894Cs** (13.9, lines 12, 15).

With the velar consonantal environment and low vowels of *Chlochán*, *ca(i)th*-, *dhá* and *ach* one can compare a more erratic nasalisation in the labio-velar and low vowel *wa-*, *wɑ:-* onsets, noted in:

wã:d'ē | 892M mhaide, wã:r̥s̥ 892M mharaigh (1.297; cf. 13.7, *(bh)farraig*
 lines 7, 9, *bhfascadh* line 13);
| tr'i: wã:rə | 894Cs trí bharra; wã:ft'ədər 04B bhaisteadar;
gə w̃'a:kə 18J8846 go bhfaca; | fi: 'wã:r̥s̥ | 869P faoi bhás.

The examples where *wa-*, *wɑ:-* are followed by voiceless consonants can be described in terms of rhinoglottophilia. It seems, however, that the context of voiced onsets in either velar or labiovelar continuants followed by a low vowel can effect nasalisation.

1.310 Early errors, understanding and perception

It is appropriate to present here my own early errors and shortcomings and to record the development of my awareness of the feature of nasalisation in the Irish of Iorras Aithneach. Based on my study of the Connacht monographs, particularly ICF, I was at first quite deaf or insensitive to nasalisation. In 1994 I was struck by nasalised *wã:rt'i:n' Mháirtín* and *wã:ft'ər' mháistir* in **19P**'s speech. This speaker's phonemic nasalisation is far more limited than that of his sister Máire (**16M**) and her husband Seán (**12S**), with whom I had lived and worked over the years; but I had been oblivious to their use of nasalisation. Perhaps the less frequent occurrence of nasalisation in **19P**'s usage was perceptually more salient to me at that time than the omnifarious and pervasive nasalisation of the older speakers. Only in 2001, well after my doctoral dissertation (1996) was completed, did I grasp the overall character and significance of nasalisation adjacent to nasal consonants. In the present monograph when I sometimes refer to my early notes on nasalisation, I refer to notes made in the period 1994–2000 when my understanding and perception of nasalisation particularly beside *n* and before *m* were still inadequate. These early notes will need to be revised in the future but they are nonetheless presented, and indicated as such, in some of the data below, as an example of one specific perceptual analysis. Even now much of the material in audio recordings of older speakers has yet to be investigated for specific lexemes. In particular, the mechanisms of nasal loss, which are sketched below (1.322 ff.), will need further investigation.

1.311 Previous descriptions and inconsistencies

Many previous analyses of nasalisation in Irish have been somewhat defective and much remains to be investigated. Although independent nasal vowels, nasal vowels adjacent to nasal consonants, sequences of nasalised vowels, and contiguous nasalised vowel plus nasalised consonant were all recognised early in the twentieth century (in Quiggin (1906), Ó Searcaigh (1925) and Sjoestedt-Jonval (1931) for Irish, and in Dieckhoff (1932) for Scottish Gaelic, as well as in Pedersen (1909: 386–7) for both Irish and Scottish Gaelic), subsequent interpretations were sometimes faulty. The early studies are all deficient or uncomprehensive in other aspects of their description of nasalisation. The break in continuity in the accuracy of description of Scottish Gaelic nasalisation can be seen in the deficiency of Borgstrøm's description of 1937 as demonstrated by Oftedal in 1956; in fact Oftedal presented an analysis which resembled earlier work on Irish and Scottish Gaelic. The analysis presented here is indebted in particular to Ternes (1973: 123–42). Chronologically the error of classifying all vowels beside nasal consonants as incidentally nasal and therefore nonphonemic has occurred four times, as set out in the following selection of publications. It is little wonder that Oftedal described 'nasality in vowels' as 'one of the most elusive features of Lb. [Leurbost] phonemics' (1956: 40); for 'Leurbost' we can read 'Gaelic'.

Year published	Author	Place	Analysis of $\tilde{v}N$
1906	Quiggin	Donegal	✓
1909	Pedersen		✓
1925	Ó Searcaigh	Donegal	✓
1932	Dieckhoff	Glengarry	✓
1937	Borgstrøm	Barra	✗
1944	Ó Cuív, IWM	Cork	✓
1945	de Bhaldraithe, ICF	Galway	✗
1956	Oftedal, GL	Lewis	✓
1958	S. de Búrca, ITM	Mayo	✗
1968	Mhac an Fhailigh, IEM	Mayo	✗
1970	Wigger	Galway	✗
1973	Ternes	Wester Ross	✓
(1975 PhD)	Nilsen	Galway	✗
1978	Dorian, ESG	Sutherland	✓
1989	M. Ó Murchú, EPG	Perthshire	✓

Connacht

The description of nasalisation in $\tilde{v}N$ sequences in Connacht Irish has been particularly inaccurate. When this inaccuracy is corrected the true value of the descriptions can be appreciated. All three Connacht monographs (ICF, ITM, IEM), published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, interpret nasalised vowels adjacent to nasal consonants as incidental and therefore nonphonemic, leading to internal inconsistencies in their analyses. It seems probable, and hardly surprising, that the complexities of change, variation (and possibly prepausa nasalisation and nasal speech setting which are found in our dialect), as well as

the more advanced loss of nasalisation in Cois Fharraige and Tuar Mhic Éadaigh, led in part to these inaccuracies.¹

1.312 The Irish of Cois Fharraige, ICF

In *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge Co. Galway* §240 (ICF) it is not obvious whether the use of vowel nasalisation ‘adjoining a nasal’ consonant is to be taken as incidental or phonemic. Given the description in §§238–39 and my own discussion (c. 1995) with Tomás de Bhaldraithe about nasalisation, I take it that his interpretation in cases such as [m̥i:] *mí* is that [i:] is subphonemic. This in turn leads him to notate the lenited form always as /v̥i/ *mhí*, both in ICF and GCF. This constitutes one of the major weaknesses in the overall phonemic analysis presented in ICF. The patterns of nasalisation of Mícheál Ging, ICF’s main informant, as set out in ICF §238 ‘are those common to the younger generation’. The presentation would lead one to believe that nasalisation is strictly predictable and therefore nonphonemic. The description seems quite complex, however, and the lexemes given as examples, all of which are arguably phonemically nasal in Iorras Aithneach, lead one to doubt the accuracy of the ICF analysis. For instance, the purpose of description (ii) ‘in final open position after a velarised bilabial nasal, in the case of *a:*’ is apparently to include a single lexeme *maith*. Lenited *mhaith* is, however, not considered, nor are cases of non-nasalisation adjacent to nasals such as *mór*, *maide*, *lón*, *nuair*, etc.

Given the advanced state of the loss of phonemic nasalisation in Cois Fharraige, at the time ICF was written, it is understandable that such a mistake could be made. Indeed, only six instances of nasal vowels are found in the material from point 40 SIDi–III (both of Wagner’s Cois Fharraige informants were previously consulted as informants for ICF, including Mícheál Ging). These six instances are all adjacent to a nasal consonant. Three, with vowels before lost or orthographic *mh*, from a conservative standpoint might be marks of phonemic nasalisation: **daũnsə** Mp 191 *damhsa*, **m̥i:** **nə səũnəx** q 904 *mí na Samhna*, **kũ:n:** q 494 *comhnaidhe*; two others may well be incidentally nasalised: **bũgã:n** Mp 46 *bogán*, ‘**an̥reĩn̥**’ q 910 *an-righin*; for **sən aũĩn̥** q 1162 *san abhainn*, see 1.326. Again, from a conservative standpoint one might interpret this rare use of nasalisation evidenced in point 40 SIDi–III as a low-yield phonemic marker limited to a nasal consonant environment, which is in near-merger with all vowels (both historically nasal and oral) neighbouring *n*. All six instances fall outside of de Bhaldraithe’s description of Mícheál Ging’s nasalisation (ICF §238), which, if *a:* is interpreted as a short vowel, consists of (i) nasalised final short vowels following (most) nasal consonants and (ii) nasalised vowels between nasals. They do, however, fall within the nasalisation of ‘some of the older generation ... when adjoining a nasal’ (ICF §239–40) so that it is tempting to attribute them to Wagner’s other informant, Seán Ó Tuairisc, who was about fifteen years Mícheál’s senior. In detail, however, the three possibly phonemically nasalised instances consist of vowels before a lost or orthographic *mh* preceding nasal consonants; interestingly, no such words are included in ICF §238–243. It may be that the orthography containing *mh* led Wagner to expect nasalisation here and that contingent nasalisation was present but not perceived in other instances. If

¹ Stockman’s (IAIM p. 347, cp. vii) description of nasalisation beside nasal consonants is not specific regarding phonemic status.

these tokens are Seán Ó Tuairisc's, de Bhaldraithe's description of Mícheál Ging's usage may stand.

Two further items are of interest: Mícheál's general 'speech-habits [being] of the older rather than the younger generation' (ICF, x) contrasts with his use of nasalisation (this is, of course, nonproblematic); in the context of variability in nasalisation, it is noteworthy that the example of a diaphone presented in ICF §13 is $\tilde{a}:$ ~ $a:$.

Given the many examples of phonemic nasalisation in ICF §§241–244 and the minimal pair $\tilde{a}:$ *áith* vs. $a:$ *ád* in de Bhaldraithe's interpretation, it is likely that nasal-initial $m\tilde{a}r'i:n'$ *máithrín* (< *máthair* + *ín*) vs. $m\tilde{a}r'i:n'$ *Máirín*, although morphologically complex, is also a minimal pair in Cois Fharraige. (Note de Bhaldraithe's transcription of *aimhreas* as $\tilde{a}e:vr'əs$ $\tilde{a}e:vr'əs$ (1956–7a: s.v.). In de Bhaldraithe (1942, 1944, 1945–7a) no indication is given of nasalisation in, for example, *aimhréidheas* and *rámhóireacht*.)

As in all previous dialect monographs published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, there is no explicit distinction in ICF §§238, 240 between (a) 'after a nasal' or 'adjoining a nasal' within the same morpheme and adjoining nasal consonants separated by (b) a word boundary or (c) a morpheme boundary or (d) nasal consonants employed in eclipsis. Strictly speaking, the vowel in *dónn* and in *mbó* should be nasalised according to the simple qualification 'adjoining a nasal'. The importance of morpheme boundaries, however, has been illustrated above (1.279 ff.).

1.313 The Irish of Erris Co. Mayo, IEM

That the analysis of nonphonemic status of all nasalised vowels beside nasal consonants does not fit the facts is again evident in *The Irish of Erris Co. Mayo* (IEM):

- (1) The only examples of / \tilde{e} / given in §79 are $m'ē:rə$ ~ $m'e:nrə$ *méanra* and $m\tilde{e}:r$ *mo mhéar*, the first of which, in particular, is a striking candidate for phonemic nasalisation adjoining nasal consonants; in §83 all examples except *áit* have nasal consonants next to [\tilde{a}] but at least three of these are phonemically nasal in other dialects: *Mártan*, *máthair*, *Dé Máirt*.
- (2) In §381 it is stated that 'stressed *omh* > \tilde{o} : normally' with examples such as $k\tilde{o}:r'l'ə$ *comhairle* but in the same list all examples adjacent to **n** are given as \tilde{o} : only. It is most likely that *comhnaidhe* actually yields $k\tilde{o}:n'i:$, *Domhnall* $\tilde{d}\tilde{o}:n\tilde{a}l$, etc., and that pairs with alternating **n** may retain nasalisation in variants with *n*, so that $k\tilde{o}:l'i:$ *comhla* alternates with $k\tilde{o}:nli:$ although IEM indicates only $k\tilde{o}:nli:$.
- (3) $n'āw$ *neamh* in text 425 and 453, $mīx'ə$ *moiche* in text 649 and $mā:hər'$ *máthair* §392 (vs. $mā:hər'$ §509) are contrary to the phonemic interpretation offered by IEM but are obviously correct.
- (4) The treatment of *mh* is confused. In §483 *mh* is claimed to yield a nasal fricative but this can hardly be so in all cases of initial *mh* and no nasalisation is accurately indicated in some examples in IEM, e.g. $g\tilde{a}n$ wel' *gan mhoill* in §486(iii), $m\tilde{a}$ $v'axən$ *mo mheadhachan* §495(ii). (In Iorras Aithneach, *moill(e)* is not nasalised, whereas *meáigh* / *meáchan* shows variation; see 1.303.) The general impression from IEM, however, is that initial *mh* nasalises the following vowel, i.e. *mV-* > *mhṼ-*, e.g. $m\tilde{o}r(')$ *mó(i)r* vs. $w\tilde{o}r(')$

mhó(i)r §537 also **wō:r'** *Mhóir* p. 68–9 lines 58–9; **mak** *mac* §207 but **ə** **wāk** *a mhac* §491; **e:n wāx'** *aon mhaith* §§486, 539, **gən wāx'** *gan mhaith* §486(iii) and, immediately following, **gən ma nɑ: mi:n'** *gan maith ná maoin*; **m'i:sə** *míosa* text 654 but **v'is** ... *mhíosa* text 933, **mīx'i:m'** *moithighim* text 625 but **wīx'ə** *mhoithigh* §306. IEM resembles the interpretation of Tomás Ó Máille (1927a), where all cases of *mh* are transcribed as *ṽ*. Although nasalisation in cases of lenited *m* may indeed be more frequent in Erris Co. Mayo than in the nonlenited environment as is the case in other dialects, a general nonlexicalised categorical rule of the type indicated cannot be accepted, particularly in view of examples such as **mīx'ə** *moiche* noted earlier. Perhaps Mhac an Fhailigh's faith in this spurious rule led him to further misinterpret his data by notating nasalisation where other evidence suggests it is (phonemically) absent. Lenited *Mháire* is notated as **wā:r'ə** in §486(ix) and text 910 but this lexeme has not been noted as phonemically nasal in any other description of Irish. Similarly, I am not aware of any genuine attestation of /**wō:r'()**/ *mhó(i)r* §537 in Connacht. Further items with nasalisation in IEM, but not noted by me as phonemically nasalised elsewhere, are **wādr alə** *mhadradh allaidh*, **wīr'ə** *Mhuire* §81 (also **wād'ə (rā:wə)** *mhaide (rámhā)* text 790 but **mad'ə (rā:wə)** §280; **wārə** *mharaigh* text 352, both of which were only heard once with nasalisation in Iorras Aithneach (1.297, perhaps the **wa** context is of significance for unhistorical nasalisation in IEM tokens also). Although the allophone of **w** is not described preceding **n** it is likely to be at least sometimes close to a semi-vowel so that for example **hl'āwni:** *shleamhnaigh* §182 may perhaps yield [hl'āūni:], another potential case of nasalisation adjacent to a nasal consonant.

- (5) A further point not discussed in IEM is the noncategorical use of nasalisation, yet there are, not surprisingly, some examples of facultative use: **grā:s gnās** §440 vs. **grā:s** text 427. Cp. **wād'ə rā:wə** *mhaide rámhā* text 790 vs. **wād'ə** *mhaide* text 332.
- (6) Although **iā**, notated as **iə**, is not given in the inventory of nasal vowels it is transcribed in **kl'iəwin'** *cliamhain* §93 and **ə'r'iəw** *ariamh* text 359.

With regard to suprasegmental nasal spread, the description in IEM is rather limited: it describes an apparently categorical spread of nasalisation to **f f'** §§133–4, **w v'** §§135, 138, 208 and **r** §209 when adjacent to nasal vowels. Many other additions to the description and inventory of nasal vowels in Erris Co. Mayo could be made and an analysis of recordings for nasalisation in this dialect would doubtless be rewarding. The rich material collected in Erris by Wagner for SID substantially supports my partial reinterpretation of the evidence. Contrast for example **wārə** *mhara* IEM §147 with point 56 **wārə** *mhara* q 1050. Compare also IEM §147 **ā:x'** *áith* with Mp 263 *áith aoil ā:i:x'i:l'* points 55a and 56, **ā:i:x'i:l'** point 57; similarly, *oidhche* is non-nasal in IEM but nasal in point 56 q 896, 915–6, 1032, 1043 and Vocab (non-nasal q 801). The diphthong **āū** is also attested, including next to nasals, e.g. point 56 *leamhnacht* q 68. Interestingly, un-historical **āū** occurs in *leabhar* Mp 257 (= q 1032), not nasal in IEM, and *fabhrach* q 1104, not listed in IEM.

1.314 The Irish of Tourmakeady, ITM

In *The Irish of Tourmakeady* (ITM) there is no discussion of phonemic nasalisation of vowels adjacent to nasal consonants and no example of such phonemic nasalisation is given. It is worth noting that the nasalisation of the fricative *v* from *mh* is described as occurring ‘erratically’ in §137, but ‘regularly’ by ‘some speakers ... in certain words’ in §296. Note further that *mh* is described as ‘a former nasal’ in the former paragraph but taken as a phonemically nasal consonant *ṽ* in the latter. These two inconsistencies seem to be the result of the noncategorical use of nasalisation and the choice between segmental and suprasegmental realisations, and the choice between the actual segmental placement of nasalisation. It is interesting that S. de Búrca, the only native speaker of Irish to describe his dialect in a modern monograph, gives no clear analysis of nasalisation. Cf. 1.324 ff. and 1.306 (p. 321 n. 1).

1.315 Iorras Aithneach, Wigger (1970)

Wigger (1970: 50) claims that nasalisation is ‘lexikalisch als auch kombinatorisch bedingt (Nachbarschaft nasaler Konsonanten)’ (‘lexically as well as phonotactically conditioned, in the vicinity of nasal consonants’). It is not surprising that he should perpetuate the erroneous interpretation of the three Connacht monographs discussed above. He further claims that, in the context of nominal morphology, nasalisation is ‘jedoch für keine der Regeln relevant’ (‘not relevant for any of the rules’). The inventory of nasal vowels in each individual speaker’s idiolect is, however, relevant to the nominal morphological rules, in as much that, for example, nasal *krūk* *cnoic* may alternate with non-nasal *krik’* *cnoic* if *i* is less productive in, or absent from, the speaker’s idiolect. This is actually the case in the transcribed tokens from SID.46: *gnōk* 967, *krōk* Mp 245 vs. *kr.ik’* 958, 1078, *krik’* VI. Similarly, with non-nasalised *iə* vs. nasalised *ē*: or *ā* in: *m’iəs* *mias* but *m’ē:f* *méis*; *kl’iəwən’* *cliamhain* but *kl’ē:vnihə* *cleamhnaíthe*. Other words may have phonemic nasalisation in only some of their inflected forms, as in Scottish Gaelic, and this is particularly so in the case of some irregular verbs in Iorras Aithneach. Nasalisation is also morphologically relevant in inflected *li:ntə* *laonta* in contrast, for example, with the (monomorphemic) root in *L’i:n(tə)* *líon(ta)* (1.279) and in derived *dathúil* *dāhu:l’* and *lúthmhar* *lū:fər*.

On a point of detail of description, Wigger claims that only two of the speakers in his survey, my **11C** and **18J**, have phonemic nasalisation. In my view his claims need to be revised. His other two speakers, my **892M** and **35E**, do in fact have phonemic nasalisation as would be expected particularly from the former’s date of birth. The difference between the two speakers classified by Wigger as having phonemic nasalisation and those classified as being nonphonemic can be seen nevertheless to be significant. As stated above (1.296, 1.297, 1.309), speaker **892M** has frequent prepausa nasalisation and perhaps occasional spontaneous nasalisation (e.g. in *mharaigh*). Speaker **35E** frequently nasalises in historically aberrant contexts, both beside nasals and spontaneously (particularly low vowels beside voiceless fricatives). He has, however, greater phonemic nasalisation than is usual for his age-group. In contrast, speakers **11C** and **18J** (1.301) do not use prepausa nasalisation or nasal setting to any great extent. The point is that Wigger’s classification was erroneously based on unhistorical or spontaneous nasalisation and phonemic nasalisation being mutually exclusive in a given

speaker. It is likely that the complexity of nasal setting was a factor in the errors of other Connacht monographs.

1.316 Bun a Cnoc, Nilsen (1975)

Nilsen's brief description of nasalisation is valuable (1975: 47–8), particularly with regard to his examples and his dating of the rapid loss of the feature, but misleading (following ICF §240) in that there is an over-generalisation of the status of nasalisation beside nasal consonants, including *mh*, claiming that 'all stressed vowels next to nasal consonants are nasalized'. All the examples given by Nilsen, however, seem accurate given that they are phonemically nasal in Iorras Aithneach.

1.317 Munster

Nasalisation in Munster is well described in Sjoestedt-Jonval (1931) and *The Irish of West Muskerry, Co. Cork* (IWM), including fascinating, but brief, descriptions of the process of loss which are reminiscent of my own experience in Iorras Aithneach. The description in IWM seems very accurate and plausible and in particular both loss of high vowels and apparent lexical conditioning find parallels in Iorras Aithneach as will become evident in the following discussion (1.322 ff., also in ICF §§238–245). According to Ó Sé (GCD §§6, 16) phonemic nasalisation in Corca Dhuibhne (West Kerry) is moribund, being found in certain speakers born before 1910. All long vowels except *e*: can be nasalised (in a small group of words) but the only short vowel reported with phonemic (independent) nasalisation is *ā* (in only one lexeme). Beside a nasal consonant, nasalisation is reported in the following sequences only: *mā:* (*máthair*); *ū:n'* (*uamhain*); *āun* (*Samhan, crann*); *āum* (*seomra*); most of which have flanking voiceless consonants.

The noncategorical use of nasalisation is clear from R. B. Breatnach's description in *The Irish of Ring, Co. Waterford* (IRW §§294–300 and footnotes 1 and 2) where he claims that the 'erratic use of nasalisation [...] cannot be regarded as a regular and essential part of the system of vowel-sounds used by any speaker I know.' This 'readily observed' usage 'on the part of many speakers' may in fact be what we have termed spontaneous nasalisation or nasal setting. Cp. /*ā*/ *thá* (Waterford) in O'Nolan (1934: 1). Breatnach therefore gives no example of *samhradh* with nasalisation. The question remains whether such instances as *taūra* SID1.231 *tsamhraidh* are just as 'erratic' as *er'ə baūl ar ball* noted by Breatnach. The erratic usage may be the last realisations of a (near-)merger of nasalised and non-nasalised vowels. In response to query, any opposition would probably not be forthcoming, although an analysis of recorded speech would determine whether we are dealing with near-merger or use of spontaneous nasalisation or nasal setting. Whatever the final analysis, Breatnach's view that 'erratic use of nasalisation [...] in a number of instances in which this occurs, [...] seems to have attracted undue attention and to have given rise to popular theories' does not hold true for Irish dialects in general.

Sommerfelt's (1949: 418) reading of the descriptions of nasalisation in IWM, ICF, and IRW is surprisingly far off the mark. It is surprising from an important early author of language change and from an author who had himself accurately described nasalisation in Irish. His error is primarily a result of his apparent

superficial equation of ‘irregular’ with ‘not phonematic’. He concludes that nasalisation ‘is not phonematic’ ‘in the three dialects’ ‘neither is it in Donegal’ (an over-generalisation) and adds that ‘it would be interesting to know if it is so in any Irish dialect at the present time’.

1.318 Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann

The information about nasalisation to be gleaned from folklore transcriptions in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann is on the whole disappointing. This contrasts with the often high quality information in folklore transcripts pertaining in particular to segmental phonology, morphology and syntax. Given the complexity of nasalisation for trained linguists it is little wonder that folklore collectors were less than precise in their transcriptions. The main shortcoming, from the viewpoint of consistency and phonetic accuracy, in the notation, was the lack of any clear diacritic to denote short nasalised vowels.¹ Long nasalised vowels are often indicated by a circumflex, e.g. *fréû* **866ESemr** (for *fréamh*), *lâimh*, *lâû*, *lâiv* **866ESemr** (for *lámh*, *láimh*), *smeâmh* **869P2**, *chônáí* **875T1**, *trathnôna* **875T1**, *rôt* **!894C6** and *rût* **866ESemr** (for *romhat*), *cúlódar* **866ESemr**, *gon chûirsean* **!869P2** (for *comharsan*), *lánûin* **869P2**. A rare example of the use of the circumflex to indicate what is in my analysis a short nasalised vowel is *corra geamh* (*geoû*) **866ESemr** (indicating a diphthong(al) *g’au*, i.e. */g’aw/* or */g’ãw/*). Even within the context of long vowels, nasalisation is marked with no great consistency, so that the lack of a circumflex cannot be taken as evidence for non-nasalisation. The large amount of redundancy of nasalisation beside nasal consonants (except following *m-*), where, as pointed out above (1.278), oral vowels are in fact the marked category, obviously rendered the use of the circumflex largely redundant in this environment and may have hindered a more consistent marking of independent nasalisation. I have noted the circumflex on unhistorically nasalised words *áit* and *óiche* only. Not surprisingly, the circumflex tends to be used where nasalisation would be expected from the spelling. The transcription is, no doubt, erroneously based on the spelling in *côrá* **852SbTS142** (for general *comhrá* **korã**) and *c(h)ô* **852SbTS148**, etc. (for *chomh* **xə**). Cp. *sola sũm sãm* **866ESemr**⁴⁴ ⇒ *solã sũ:m sãm* meaning, or related to, *trian le soirm* [< *toirchim*] *suain agus sámhchodlata* **866ESc128.25**, *trian lé suan sámh storchollata* **852SbTS121** (also as adverb *chaitheadar an oíche sin sũm sám go leor* **866ESc75.39**; cp. noun *‘sũ:v* *‘sã:v* **35E**, *sú(i)m sá(i)m* (FGB *sũm sám*; 1.92), and doublet *subhach sáitheach* > *súch sách*, e.g. *bhíodar sughach sáthach suaimhneach uaidh sin amach* **B19.60**). This does not mean, however, that the transcriptions are of no value. The usefulness of the positive evidence is beyond doubt: they indicate, for example, higher register *ô*, e.g. *rôt* **!894C6**, in contrast with general vernacular *ũ*: (10.7, although the vowel quality of *ô* is not always accurate, e.g. *côirle* **852SbTS128** actually *kũ:rl’ã* **852Sb** in the corresponding recording (as in *chûirle* **852SbTS140**)), and they indicate nasalised tokens of rarer words such as (*cuaille*) *comhraig*, e.g. *cuaille cûrhaic* **875T1**, *cûraic* **866ESemr96**, and *Croc Meã* **!869P2.450**.

¹ Similarly, there are no certain examples of nasalised short vowels in the phoneme inventory presented by O’Nolan (1934: 1); only long vowels and two diphthongs: */ã:/ lámh*, */õ:/ cómhgar*, */ũ:/ cumhrtha*, */ẽ:/ séimh*, */ĩ:/* (presumably Munster *n’i:*) *nimhe*, */ã:/ thá* (Waterford), */aũ/ samhradh*, */oũ/ Domhnach*.

1.319 Scottish Gaelic, Ternes (1973)

It is worth mentioning that I have frequently noted tokens of nasalised schwa in Iorras Aithneach as well as in the Scottish Gaelic of a middle-aged speaker Ailean Domhnallach from Glenuig, Moydart, and in the returns in SGDS, as can be seen below (1.349). This point of detail, although relatively minor, is the most significant contrast I have found in my research with the description of Applecross Gaelic in Ternes (1973: 135). The higher proportion of nasalised realisations in tokens of lenited *mh-* as against nonlenited *m-* was mentioned in the discussion of IEM and is shown below for speaker **04B**'s usage in my earlier notes where *mhṽ-* >> *m̃v-* (1.335 ff.), also for **16M** (1.339, Table 1.19) and for SGDS (1.351). It is worth stressing here that my claim is that higher proportional nasalisation in the lenited environment may not only be a feature of (the analyst's and speaker's) perception but also of actual production. Contrast Ternes' (1973: 137) emphasis on perception here, a claim which is, however, corroborated by both Wagner's imperfect perception and my own erroneous earlier perception (1.329 ff., Table 1.14).

1.320 Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects, SID

The indication of nasalisation in SID beside nasal consonants, particularly other than *m-*, is inconsistent and any negative evidence in this environment (i.e. where nasalisation is not indicated) in dialects that are known to have independent nasalisation cannot be taken as phonetically reliable. In brief, the lack of nasalisation of *gaineamh* in transcriptions such as **gā:n'ě**; **ga:n'ě** **ērə** 'trə 46.1076 *gaineamh*; *gaineamh ar an trá* cannot be taken as reflecting accurately phonetic reality. They do, on the other hand, tell us a lot about overall interdialectal realisation, perception and transcriptional practice. To verify the value of SID in this respect, one need only compare the rare nasalisation and raising of *á* in *arán* Mp 76 (in conservative use phonemically oral in my analysis), with common nasalisation and raising in Co. Galway, in particular, in *crann* q 968, *gann* Mp 89, *cráin* q 110, 114, all of which are phonemically nasalised in Iorras Aithneach. Cf. 1.277 (p. 298 n. 1) and 1.330.

1.321 Explanation

From this review of nasalisation in dialect descriptions and given the evidence of Scottish Gaelic it is highly likely that there was at one time phonemic nasalisation beside nasal consonants in the whole Gaelic area. Lexemes such as *máthair* were at an earlier stage most likely nasalised in most if not all areas. It is important to seek an explanation for the misunderstanding of the nasal consonant environment by phoneticians. In a dialect like that of Iorras Aithneach with facultative use of nasalisation, the pronunciation can be auditorily unclear and confusing for the analyst. It is also possible that the nature of Gaelic nasalisation in general, often weaker or more diffuse than the well-known nasalisation of standard French, caused the defective interpretation in the Connacht monographs where the erroneous equation was made between weak or even noncategorical realisation and nonphonemic status.¹ As I have shown, spontaneous nasalisation and nasal speech setting can occur with speakers who have phonemic nasalisation. Such use leads,

¹ Cp. p. 349 n. 1.

of course, to difficulties in phonemic analysis and leads to further complexities in the status, variation and loss of nasalisation.

1.322 Variation and patterns of use and loss¹

The inventory of nasalised vowels, and their distribution over various phonological subclasses of lexically nasalised words, will be discussed in this section based on the use of individual speakers. A questionnaire list of nasalised words was made out, containing most of the words which are given in 1.302 ff., and in most instances speakers were asked for their citation form, often translating the English equivalent. This list covers all of the phonological subclasses (*n*-, *-n*-, *-mh*-, a subclass of which is *(-)-amh*-, unconditioned nasalisation, etc.) and was used both in the field survey and as a check-list when listening to audio recordings. The swift, step-by-step decline of nasalisation through the nasal vowels and their contexts can be readily seen. Some preliminary quantitative analysis has been carried out, but more detailed investigations with surviving speakers are needed (including multivariate analysis). As mentioned above (1.274) some of the oldest generation are quite consistent in all subclasses. On the other hand, a typical younger speaker may have no substantial nasalisation outside of the subclasses containing stressed *(-)-amh*- and initial *má*-. Nasalisation is nonphonemic in the dialect of the vast majority of speakers born after 1940 and of many born after 1930. A few speakers born in the 1950s have nasalisation of **a** only, e.g. *samhradh sā·vra* 53H. The youngest speaker who has nasalisation, in **a** only, was born in the mid-1970s. Only a minority of speakers from the western part of Iorras Aithneach (An Aird Mhóir to Leitir hArd, perhaps also Glinsce) born between 1920 and 1930 have no phonemic nasalisation; speakers from this West Iorras Aithneach area born before 1920 as a rule do have nasalisation. I shall deal first with diphthongs, the most limited vowels with regard to nasalisation.

1.323 Limited status of diphthongs

As is indicated above (1.269, 1.275 ff.), the diphthong **ia** does not occur independently nasalised; *ariamh*, *m(h)ias* and *cliamhain* all have oral vowels, although the last two have inflected forms with nasalisation, i.e. **m'ias** *mias* > **m'ē:f** *méis*, and **kl'ia·vən'** *cliamhain* > **kl'ā·vni:hə** *cleamhnaíthe*. Two words, *mian* and *trian*, have nasalised by-forms in **i:** (generally in prepalatal environment): **m'i:n'** and **tr'i:n'**. Phonetically nasalised **ia** is, however, found through nasal spread, e.g. **kūhīāx** 18J *coimhthíoch*; **nū:iaxt ... nū:iaxt ... nū:ēāxt** 18J8015-7, **nū:ēāxt** 11C *nuaíocht* (with unstressed **ia** > **ea**). A strongly nasalised token of **yr'ia** 11C *ghrian* may, however, be phonemic for this younger speaker. His nasal **yr'ia** 11C is distinct, for example, from regularly oral **bl'ia** *bliain*, **blianta** 11C *blianta*. On the whole, however, there is little evidence for nasalised **ia**; nor does **ua** occur independently nasalised. Contrast nasalised **sī:v·əf** 04B *suaimhnis* with non-nasalised **suəv·əs** *suəvr'əs* 04B *suaimhneas*. On the other hand, a clearly nasalised **uā** occurs before a nasal in **sūān** 11C *suain*, **b'ā:n** *biorán* 11C *biorán suain* in contrast with oral **nuələ** 11C

¹ Cp. for Ulster: 'Táthar ag cailleadh na srónachta i nGaedhilg an aosa óig.' (Ó Searcaigh 1925: 46 (cf. also 60), i.e. 'Nasalisation is being lost in young people's Irish').

Nuala, **nuər'** 11C *nuair*. The only diphthongs noted with independent nasalisation are **aũ** and **ai**. Occurrences of **aũ** are limited to the idiolect of Wagner's informant (SID.46) — which we can interpret as **aŵ** — and nonvernacular use. This **aũ** corresponds mostly to a general Iorras Aithneach **āv** ~ **āṽ** reflex of historical *-amh-*. In SID.46 there are also three (non-*amh-*) examples in the environment of a nasal consonant. Nasalised **ai** is even rarer. In independent nasalisation it is probably confined to nonvernacular use and, adjoining nasals, it is found in the prenasal environment, in SID.46, for example, in two lexemes: *claonamharc* and *téann* (1.328, cf. 1.281).

1.324 Occurrence of **aũ** in SID.46

Table 1.11 presents realisations of *(-)amh-* and other words with **aũ** found in SID.46.

Table 1.11 *-amh-*, nasalised **aũ**, **āu** in SID.46 and IA norm

SID.46 (au)	SID.46 (av)	community norm ¹
Realisation: aũ	āw or āṽ	āv or āṽ
daūsə Mp 191 <i>damhsa</i> ² taūrə Mp 231, 904 <i>tsamhraidh</i> ³	dāvsə 696 ² cp. sa:ūrə ... tā.ūr.ə 905 ³	dāvsə sāvrə
Realisation: aũN	āvn	āv or āṽ
k'ŋ'āunəs 689 <i>cleamhnas</i> l'āunəxt Mp 20 <i>leamhnacht</i> ⁴ saūnə 904 <i>Samhna</i>	l'āvnəxt 61, 68 ⁴	kl'āvnəs l'āvnəxt sāvnə
erə gaūntər 758 <i>ar an gcabhtar</i> daū'n Mp 109 <i>domhain</i> sən āum' 1162 <i>san abhainn</i>		
Realisation: auN	av	āv or āṽ
ŋ'auənəxt <i>leamhnacht</i> s.v. <i>ancart</i> k'ŋ'auinihə <i>cleamhnaíthe</i> s.v. <i>cliamhain</i>	avlə s.v. <i>amhlaidh</i>	l'āvnəxt kl'āvni:hə āvlə

¹ Reference here is to the conservative nasalised norm.

² Map 191 often corresponds to question 696 but not in this instance.

³ According to SIDIII xvii, Map 231 corresponds to question 905 but the form for point 46 in Map 231 corresponds to that of 46.904.

⁴ Map 20 often corresponds to question 68 but not in this instance. (Also q 73 and 76 but *leamhnacht* is not cited here in SIDIII.46.)

1.325 *(-)amh-*, **aũ** or **aŵ**

Although **aũ** from *(-)amh-* as found in SID.46 does not correspond to the norm in Iorras Aithneach, this is not the only source which indicates **au** for *(-)amh-* in the informant's speech (my **869P** (and his son)). There are clear indications of diphthongisation in transcriptions of **869P**'s speech in RBÉ:

amhdáil glossed *oudáil* **869P4**, but also *amhdó sí* **869P2** without an *ou* gloss, cp. | **ā'vdi:m'** | **869Pt** *amhdaím*;

leamhnacht glossed *leounacht* **869P5.166**;

reamhar glossed *rou-ar* **869P5.154**, cp. **rā:vər** 63, s.v. *gheibhim*.

It can be noted that the same lexeme may alternate between both realisations for SID.46 and **869P** (RBÉ) as is evident from the cited tokens of *amhdaigh*, *damhsa*,

leamhnacht, *reamhar* (and *samhradh*). The more frequent form in SID.46, however, is **āv** :

-amhaló-	gāvən 19, 20, gāvən' Mp 7 <i>gamhain</i> ; g'āvər 659 <i>geamhar</i> ; rā:vər 63, s.v. <i>gheibhim</i> ; sķā:vəx 454 <i>scamhach</i> ; ʃķā:vo:gi Mp 140 <i>scamhógaí</i> ; ʃl'ā:wən' Mp 63 ʃl'ā:vən' s.v. <i>sleamhain</i> ;
-amhn-	gāvnə 19, 20 <i>gamhna</i> , γā.ynəx <i>ghamhnach</i> ;
Cp. -aimh-	āv' r'əs s.v. <i>aimhreas</i> ; nā:v' r'ě in <i>aimhréidh</i> s.v. <i>aimhreidh</i> .

In SID.46 therefore there is only one non-nasal realisation of *amh* in independent position, i.e. **avlə** s.v. *amhlaidh*; there are two examples before a nasal consonant, i.e. **ʔaunəxt** s.v. *ancart*, **k'ʔaunihə** plural s.v. *cliamhain* (non-nasal in its base form). Note also the nasalisation in related **āf**-words: **klōiən āfərək** (or **klē:ən āfərək**) *claonamharc* 427, and also **ʔā:ʔəŋ** Mp 11 *tafann*. Cp. **ʔ'auər nə ri:t'ə** *Teamhair na Ríte* !ZCP161 **869P**.

The evidence from SID.46 and RBÉ seem to independently support an optional diphthongal realisation for *-amh-* in **869P**'s speech. This evidence can be supplemented by the actual audio recordings of speaker **869P**. In these recordings his *-amh-* class is consistently both nasalised and clearly nondiphthongised (18 tokens in all were noted):

amha(i)s (x9), *amhdaím*, *cleamhnas*, *damhsa* (x3), *reamhair*, *Samhna*, *samhradh*, *sleamhain* **ʃl'ā:wən'**. Cp. *claimhe* (+ nasal, x5).

Furthermore, this *mh* is realised as **ṽ** preconsonantly, and as **ṽ** intervocally. These three points of disagreement, consistent nasalisation, consistent consonantal realisation and consistent allophonic conditioning, lead one to doubt, if not the actual occurrence of **au** in **869P**'s speech, at least its relatively high frequency in SID.46. In fact the transcriptions of *samhradh* as **sa:ūrə ... ʔā.ūr.ə** 905, which we can transcribe as **sa:ṽrə ... ʔā.ṽrə**, would imply that **taūrə** Mp 231, 904 might be transcribed as **taṽrə**, and so perhaps other instances. Indeed, Wagner has a note to Map 191 *damhsa* **daūsə** concerning our point 46 (and point 48) that “‘ū’ in ‘damhsa’ is consonantic”. This I would also transcribe as **daṽsə**. (Interestingly, there are two instances of **āw** in *tsamhraidh* Mp 231 from neighbouring points 45 and 47.) Speaker **869P**'s two recorded variant pronunciations of *amh* before a consonant are of significance here. In a narrow transcription, he has **dā'ṽs̃ | damhsa** but also **dā'w̃s̃ | damhsa** and **šā:w̃³rə | samhradh** (all **869P**). In the last variant of both words the duration of the friction is quite short and could easily be missed in an impressionistic transcription from ‘live’ speech. It is this variant, I suggest, that Wagner transcribed in Map 191 and question 905.

The development of my own transcription is of relevance here. Speaker **05M** has regular **[āw]** or **[āu]** realisation of *-amh-*. This I initially transcribed as **āū**, which is at least impressionistically accurate, but it can be differentiated from the true /**au**/-diphthong. The phonological diphthong has a more centralised and shorter first element and more salient second element. It is likely that **āū** in SID.46 and *ou* in **869P**'s RBÉ material for *-amh-* are notationally ambiguous rather than evidence of actual merger with the true /**au**/-diphthong. On the other hand, one must also bear in mind the possibility that Wagner's informant(s) may have produced more **au** in query than in vernacular (and story idiom), **au** perhaps having higher register and/or nonlocal status. The discussion of **āī** in song from SID.46 is pertinent here (1.328).

1.326 Before nasal consonant, *aũN*

As with other instances of nasalised diphthongs before nasal consonants, the interpretation of nasalisation in *domhain*, *san abhainn* and *cabhntar* in SID.46 (Table 1.11) is problematic. Given the marginal status of independently nasalised *au* (and other diphthongs) tokens of nasalised *au* beside nasal consonants may be best interpreted as incidental nasalisation in most cases. One can look to the evidence of other dialects as an aid here. Nasalisation of *daũ³n'* Mp 109 *domhain* occurs in SIDi in a relatively contiguous, though limited, coastal area (points 46, 52, 54, 55, as well as two points in Ulster) and may well be interpreted as genuinely phonemic in dialects that have the possibility of contrast in this environment. As noted in the discussion of the historical phonology of *mh* (1.90), *omh* regularly yields *ũ*; so that the nasalisation in *domhain* is due, not to medial historical *mh* which probably became **dobhain* in nasal dissimilation (1.304), but to the final *n* which follows the vocoid (which underwent compensatory lengthening or diphthongisation).

Nasalisation in *sən āum'* 46.1162 *san abhainn* could be taken as an indication of a combination of perseverative and anticipatory nasalisation: contrast non-nasalised *qu¹n'* Mp 280 *abhainn* and *ta: aun'* 46.48 *tá abhainn*, and *eg' au¹n' wo³r' | 869P ag Abhainn Mhór*. (Cp. phonologically similar in *Éirinn* above, 1.289.) A perseverative interpretation is perhaps supported by the transcription *āu*, with the tilde on the initial element of the diphthong, which contrasts with the more usual practice in SID, i.e. *aũ*, with the tilde on the second element, cf. SIDi xxiii. It should be noted that *abhainn* is regularly nasalised in Donegal and other Ulster dialects (e.g. SIDi.280, four points in Donegal; Tory, J. N. Hamilton 1974: 231; Armagh, Sommerfelt 1929: §161) and in many Scottish Gaelic dialects (e.g. SGDS 2, 3, 4).¹ Nasalisation of the lexeme *abhainn* in Connacht may be confined to post-nasal sandhi position. We should also note the genitive nasalised token from SIDIII q 1075, point 43 *bruəx nə hāiv' n' ē bruach na haibhne*. The example from SID.46.1162 may therefore be a case of morphophonemic nasalisation in the syntagm *-n V-*.

Based on SIDi–III, nasalisation in *abhainn* ~ *-n abhainn* in Connacht and Co. Clare can be investigated: *abhainn* (Mp 280), genitive *na habhann / haibhne* and plural *abhantracha, aibhneacha*, etc., (q 1151) and the phrase *(in)san abhainn* (q 1162, also sometimes *an abhainn* 1151); in some cases the vocabulary section was also consulted. Table 1.12 presents these data from SIDi–III for nasalisation of *(-n) abhainn*. Without preceding *-n*, in Mp 280, only two points have nasalisation (= +). With preceding *-n*, in q 1162, six points have nasalisation, whereas nineteen have no nasalisation (= Ø) and a further four without the preceding *(in)san* have no nasalisation (= h/a/o-Ø). Other points have no information (= -). Note also that *domhain* Mp 109, phonologically similar to *abhainn*, is nasalised in Connacht in four points and exclusively oral in Co. Clare (with the *ai*-diphthong). In short, *domhain* (with *au*-diphthong) scores 4/36, *abhainn* 2/42, *san abhainn* 6/25.

Overall, the evidence, although limited, is at least supportive of the possibility that the existence of nasalisation in *abhainn*, *na habhann*, *na haibhn-* may imply nasalisation in *((in)san abhainn)*, but not vice versa. This lends support to the hypothesis of morphophonemic or sandhi nasalisation in *-n abhainn* in Connacht.

¹ This knowledge might have influenced Wagner's transcriptions in Connacht.

To verify this hypothesis, however, *-n abhainn* would, at least, need to be compared with other instances of **au** flanked by nasal consonants, both word internally and across word boundaries and eclipsis, e.g. *domhan* vs. *i ndomhan*, *deamhan* (**d'aun** by-form) vs. *i ndeamhan*.

Table 1.12 *abhainn* Map 280, *san abhainn* SIDII–III q 1162

	Mp 280 <i>abhainn</i>	q 1151 genitive	q 1151 plural	q 1162 <i>san</i> ~		Mp 280 <i>abhainn</i>	q 1151 genitive	q 1151 plural	q 1162 <i>san</i> ~
22	∅	au-∅	au-∅	h-∅	43a	–	–	–	–
23	∅	au-∅	au-∅	∅	44	∅	–	ai-∅	–
24	∅	au-∅	au-∅	∅	45	∅	–	ai-∅	–
25	∅	au-∅	au-∅	–	46	∅	–	ai-∅	+
26	∅	–	–	a-∅	47	∅	–	ai-∅	–
27	∅	–	–	∅	48	∅	–	–	–
28	∅	–	ai-∅	∅	49	∅	–	o-∅	∅
29	+	–	–	+	50	∅	–	e-∅	–
30	∅	–	–	–	51	∅	o-∅	o-∅	∅
31	∅	–	–	–	52	∅	–	–	∅
32	∅	–	–	∅	53	∅	au-∅	au-∅	h-∅
33	∅	–	o-∅	∅	54	∅	–	au-∅	–
34	∅	au-∅	au-∅	∅	55	∅	–	e/o-∅	∅
35	∅	–	o-∅	–	56	∅	–	o-∅	∅
36	∅	o-∅	e-∅	∅	57	∅	au-∅	au-∅	∅
37	∅	–	e-∅	+	58	∅	au-∅	o-∅	∅
38	∅	au+	o-∅	+	59	∅	o/au-∅	o-∅	∅
39	∅	–	ai-∅	–	60	∅	–	–	∅
40	∅	ai-∅	ai-∅	+	61	∅	au-∅	o-∅	∅
41	∅	–	au-∅	∅	62	+	–	e-∅	∅, +
42	∅	ai-∅	ai-∅	∅	63	∅	–	–	o-∅
43	∅	ai+	ai-∅	–	64	∅	–	–	–

One can summarise the relevant points which show nasalisation (in bold in Table 1.12) as follows:

Point	<i>abhainn</i>	<i>na habhann</i>	<i>na haibhn-</i>	<i>((in)s)an abhainn</i>
29	+			+
37	∅		∅	+
38	∅	+	∅	+
40	∅		∅	+
43	∅		∅, +	
46	∅		∅	+
62	+		∅	∅, +
Total	2/7	1/1	1/7	6/7

1.327 *ar an gcabhntar*

The nasalisation in **erə gaüntər** 46.758 *ar an gcabhntar* is perhaps best interpreted as anticipatory subphonemic nasalisation. On the other hand, nasalisation may be phonemic in this word given the voiceless environment (**k-nt**) which is

conducive for nasalisation and where nasalisation is doubtless perceptually more salient. Only two other points in Connacht, 43 and 50, show nasalisation in their response in SIDII–III as set out in Table 1.13. (Ø = no nasalisation, + = nasalisation, – = no information, o- u- ú- = stressed vowel other than **au**-diphthong.)

Table 1.13 *ar an gcabhtar*, SIDII–III q 758

22	ú-Ø	33	Ø	43a	Ø	54	–
23	Ø	34	Ø	44	Ø	55	Ø
24	ú-Ø	35	o-Ø	45	Ø	56	Ø
25	Ø	36	o-Ø	46	+	57	Ø
26	–	37	u-Ø	47	Ø	58	Ø
27	–	38	Ø	48	Ø	59	Ø
28	u-Ø	39	Ø	49	Ø	60	Ø
29	Ø	40	Ø	50	+	61	Ø
30	–	41	ú-Ø	51	Ø	62	<i>condas</i> Ø
31	Ø	42	Ø	52	o-Ø	63	–
32	Ø	43	+	53	Ø	87	–

Nasalised **āi** also occurs when Iorras Aithneach speakers, with vernacular **āv**, imitate diphthongising dialects, as discussed in the following paragraph.

1.328 Occurrence of **āi**

Nasalised **āi** is rare. It occurs in song in **yaiv'fə** 46II.1d *dhaimhsigh*, which is the only independently nasalised token of the diphthong noted, the usual form of *daimhsigh* in Iorras Aithneach being **dāvfə** ~ **dām̄fə** (1.92). The use of the diphthong may well be related to register, especially in the context of a song. Speaker **869P**'s forms of this verb transcribed in RBÉ are *ndaimseoinn* !2.513, *dhaimsi sé* 4.398, *daimhsíthe* and *dhaimhs-* 5.240 with no added or superscript 'y' which is usually used to indicate the **ai** diphthong in this environment. These may represent **869P**'s vernacular forms **dām̄fə** ~ **dāvfə**. The implication is that low register **ā** is realised in song with diphthongisation and retention of nasalisation on the otherwise seldom nasalised diphthong. This retention of nasalisation in nonvernacular diphthongisation is in fact what happens in the case of other speakers. For example, speaker **24Mr**'s vernacular pronunciation of *samhradh* is the usual **sāvrə**. In her imitation of the eastern Conamara realisation she produced **sāūrə**; she was otherwise not recorded with **āi**. (This phenomenon is in part suggestive of the nonsegmental independent nature of nasalisation.)

In the case of **klōiən āfərk** (or **klē:ən āfərk**) 427 *claonamharc*, nasalisation in *claon-* may be a result of nasal spread in compounds, in this case from *amharc*, as seen above in other compounds (1.271). There seem, however, to be quite a few instances where nasalisation occurs on separate words which are close together in SID.46. This suggests that we may be dealing with perceptual or transcriptional phenomena rather than distinctive phonetic reality (but cf. the discussion below of *comhairle mhaith* in 1.342, Table 1.20). Phonemic nasalisation would nonetheless be expected in monophthongs here especially given the voiceless environment. The near-monophthongal by-form **klē:ən** (arguably /**klē:n**/) is therefore pertinent here. As with **au**, given the lack of independently nasalised **ai**, the functional load in monomorphemes seems very low.

The case of **aĩ** nasalised across a morpheme boundary in *téann* (verb *teighre*) was described in 1.281 and appears in SID.46 in **ma: hēĩn tu:** 1159 *má théann tú*. The conjunction **mā:** *má*, although not marked nasal anywhere in SID.46, is in fact nasalised in speaker **869P**'s usage and generally in Iorras Aithneach. It is interesting that, as in the case of *claonamharc*, nasal **aĩ** is indicated by Wagner on *théann* in the context of another phonemically nasal vowel (*má*).

1.329 SID.46, 869P: Pádraigín Mhacaí and his network

The realisation of nasalisation in the (audio-recorded) speech of Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire, **869P**, is generally suprasegmental so that, despite its perceptually weaker intensity in comparison with, for example, speaker **11C**, it is generally audible without too much difficulty. Where it is not suprasegmentally realised or realisable it may be quite subtle. Splicing a nasalised vowel in the play-back mode of a good-quality cassette-player from its consonantal environment can, however, facilitate perception and interpretation. Wagner did not have this luxury of course when transcribing from speaker **869P** in SID.46. It is likely that this weakness of realisation created some 'difficulties' of transcription for Wagner, which we will attempt to supplement in what follows.

The range of phonemically nasalised vowels in **869P**'s recordings and SID.46 combined are as follows:¹

short		long	
ĩ	ũ	ĩ:	ũ:
		(ē:)	ō:
ā		ā:	
diphthongs			
aĩ aũ			

The nasalised diphthongs in SID.46 are discussed in 1.324 ff. and 1.328 above. Other vowels are dealt with here.

ĩ is attested in an environment of possible nasal spread in **skā:vəx ĩngən** 454 *scamhach iongan* in contrast with three non-nasal tokens of the same lexeme: **ĩngə** 453 *ionga*, and plural **i:ŋ'ɲ'ě** 453 and **ĩngɹ:əxi** Mp 136. There is also negative evidence: a lexeme with definite phonemic nasalisation of **ũ** in the singular, *cnoc*, has three tokens of *cnoic* with oral **ɪ** only. On the other hand, in the recording **ĩ** is attested in **mik' 869P muic** and there is a clearly nasalised token of | **ĩĩv'ə f'ĩn'** | **869P roimhe sin** but also **ruv'ə 'hē:n'** | **869P roimhe héin**. This contrasts, of course, with SID.46, where *mu(i)c* (*muic* 105 (x2), 118, *muc* 112, 1066), and *roimhe* (e.g. 46.V) are non-nasal. Furthermore, the quality of the initial vowel in *ionga* is often **u**, so that a phonemic interpretation /**ũngən**/ is possible. Thus the audio recordings of speaker **869P** add clear tokens of nasal **ĩ** to the inventory based on SID.46, implying the tokens of *mu(i)c* in SID.46, if from **869P**, are actually mistranscribed regarding nasalisation.

ũ is taken here to be the phonemic vowel in the three lexemes with **ō** in SID.46: **'a:n'yrōhəx** s.v. *gnóthach*, **knō'** 649 *cnó*, **krōk** Mp 245 and **gnōk** 967 *cnoc*.

¹ As stated above (p. 297 n. 1), only some of **869P**'s audio-recorded material has been systematically collated for nasalisation: *Toradh na teanga*, *Gime Ní Ghime*, *Seanchas bainse*, *Grabaire Beag Fhionn mhac Cúil* on tapes IA3 and IA4 in RBÉ.

ē: is attested in the environment of a nasal consonant in SID.46 only in the words *inné* 917 (but oral in 936), *céanna* 295 and in a variant of *claonamharc* 427 (**kl̥ē:ən āfər̥k**).

ō: is phonemic here but reasonably marginal in the dialect as a whole as in the data from SID.46 where **kō:ri:** (pl) s.v. *comhartha* is the only definite example. Although **o:** is occasionally heard in this word, it is generally **kōhərə** (conservative) ~ **kohərə**. The lenited adjective *mhór* has oral **o:** in all cases in SID.46 (e.g. 1024, 1009) except in **ta: kōil' vō:r èr'ə gnōk**; 967 *tá coill mhór ar an gcnoc*. This might be taken as an example of anticipatory nasal spread from *cnoc*; the anticipatory nasalisation may be an indication of the speaker's efforts to render what is for him the more conservative **Cn-** pronunciation of *cnoc*. **Cn-** pronunciations in *cn-* / *gn-* initial clusters are extremely limited in SID.46: they are found in this instance and in *cnó* 649 only, a reasonably infrequent word. Otherwise we find **Cr-** in, for example, *cnoc* Mp 245, *cnoic* 958, 1078, VI, *cneasta* 770, *cnuga* 1096–7, *cruimhe* Mp 210, *ghnóthaigh* 329, s.v. *gnóthach*. Indeed, historical *cn-* / *gn-* is overwhelmingly rendered *cr-* / *gr-* in speaker **869P**'s material in RBÉ, including many examples of *croc* and *cruic*, the only two exceptions noted being *cneasaíthe* 5.155 (but later *gcneasóit sé* 5.156) and the lexeme *cnó* in *cnoth go thoradh* 5.201 corresponding here exactly with SID.46.649.

The instances of independent nasalisation on the other vowels, **ā ī: ā: ū:**, are unproblematic with two exceptions: **dā:rnə hī:hě** 46.915 *darna hoíche* (which can be taken as an example of anticipatory phrasal nasal spread as discussed above, 1.272), and **krū:st̥ i:** 46.260 *crústaí* but also **krū:st̥ ə** 46.261 (which is taken as an idiolectal or sporadic instance of the influence of words in historical *cn-*, perhaps even hypercorrective in the context of linguistic elicitation).

1.330 Adjoining nasal consonants

Those forms containing nasalised **ā ī: ā: ū:** adjacent to nasal consonants are as follows:

ā in *raithneach*, *bhainne*, *faithne*, *meanadh*, *aithne* (*mhaith*), *baint*, *gainneamh*, *Francach*. Six out of eight of these lexemes have a neighbouring voiceless consonant, an environment favourable to nasalisation. There are words which have definite nasalisation in the speaker's audio recordings but which are oral in SID.46. Following *m(h)-*, for example, *maircíocht* ~ *marcaíocht* is nasalised in two tokens in the recording (**wā'rk'iaxt** and **mā'rkiaxt 869P**) but oral in 46.178; not to mention the many tokens of unnasalsed *maith* in SID.46, which are inaccurate and should be transcribed nasalised in my view.

ī: in *droim*, *naoi*, *maidhm*, *naonbhar*, *snaoisín*, *naoscannaí*.

ā: adjoining a nasal includes many examples in *m-* and *sn-*, e.g. *máthair*, *Márta*, *snáithe*. The lexemes adjoining *n* and preceding *m* with nasalisation in SID.46 are: stressed *eanraith*, *banríon*, *lán*, *am*, *slán*, *crann*, *peann*, *crán-tachaí*, *gránna* *gráinne*, *gráinneog*, *meántán*; and unstressed *loipreachán*, *níochán*, *dubhánaí*, *meántán*, *feothanán*.

ū: in stressed *glúin*, *Luain*, *Lúnas* [sic], *nóiméad*, *mó*, *móin*, *Róim(h)*, *Domhnach*, *tráth nóna*, *uamhain*, etc., and unstressed *tionónta*, *breithiúnas*. Note also unstressed *lánúin 869P2.225*.

1.331 Facultative transcription

The facultative transcription of nasalisation in SID.46 is very obvious. Apart from the *amh* context, discussed above (1.324 ff.), very few lexemes attested more than three times show nasalisation in all tokens, e.g. *áit*, *máthair*, *cuimhne*. In seven out of eight tokens noted, however, *oíche* is nasal (non-nasal in ... *ih'ə nə tɔ:r'hən* 46.703 *oíche na tórramh-n*). There is also nasalisation in all four tokens of *romhat* in the short prayer in 46.V. Furthermore, some items show no nasalisation at all even though the given nasalised vowel is robust in the speaker's repertoire, e.g. *áithe*, *mothú*, *mheasa*, *nua*. His recordings supplement at least some of these apparent lexical gaps; for example, as expected nasalised *meas*, *measa*, *nó*. Furthermore, nasalisation is very consistent in the recorded material as is summarised in Table 1.14 for the more frequent classes and words with independent nasalisation and nasalisation following *m*-.

Table 1.14 Consistency of nasalisation in speaker 869P's recording

Vowel	Lexeme or Class	Number + nasal/total	Lexeme or Class	Number + nasal/total
ã	<i>ma</i> -class (-) <i>a(i)mh</i> -class	16/18 21/21	<i>mha</i> -class	9/9
ĩ:	<i>oíche</i>	9/9		
ã:	- <i>n áit</i> <i>lámh(a)</i>	6/6 5/5	<i>mháistir</i> <i>mrá</i> <i>Mháirta</i> <i>máthair</i>	5/5 2/2 1/1 1/1
ũ:	<i>comhrac</i> <i>comhfhada comhdhíreach</i> <i>romhthub</i>	7/7 2/2 2/2		

The consistency of nasalisation in the recording indicates that Wagner's transcriptions regarding nasalisation are either inaccurate or (less likely) reflect non-nasalisation by Wagner's second informant. In particular, the contrast found in SID.46 between oral unlenited *maith* and nasalised lenited *mhaith* is not supported in the audio recording (as is clear from the top row in Table 1.14).¹

The only lexeme with long nasal vowel in conservative use but oral in 869P's recordings is **fi**: **xu:r'** 869P *faoi chomhair*. Cp. **u:l** 869P *umhal*.

1.332 Clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín

As with so many other features in the dialect, nasalisation can be seen to be a function of speaker-network. The extended family of clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire have a conservative usage with regard to nasalisation, as they have with many other variables.

¹ Noted in SID.46: *maith* oral only vs. *mhaith* nasal only (i.e. *maith* (10 tokens) 392, 470, 572, 669, 735, 934, 938 (x2), VIII.4, s.v.; *mhaith* (3 tokens) 721, 931 (= Mp 240), 960). This I take to be an instance of defective perception as discussed by Ternes (1973: 137) and mentioned in 1.310, 1.319. There is a hint that the perception of nasalisation is greater in the presence of lenited rather than unlenited initial *b*- in SID.46. In examples noted in SID.46, the unlenited lexeme *bainne* is transcribed as oral only whereas lenited *bhainne* is transcribed as both oral and nasal (*bainne* oral only (5 tokens) 61, 63, 68, 73, II.7a; *bhainne* oral (2 tokens) 22, II.2b, nasal (1 token) 62). This contrast corresponds to the greater incidence of nasalisation noted in *dhuine* than in *duine* in SGDS (cf. Table 1.25 p. 360).

Sisters 04Br and 15W, daughters of speaker 869P

From recorded conversation and the plural questionnaire, both sisters appear to have very similar nasal inventories and usage. Since they were not queried using the nasal questionnaire, their individual material does not include all vowels and phonological environments. It is therefore convenient to take their data together. Their inventory includes the three short and long peripheral vowels.

short		long	
ĩ	ũ	ĩ:	ũ:
ã		ã:	

Most of their lexemes, excluding the contexts of adjoining nasal and following *m*, occur within three environments. Table 1.15 presents a schema of these environments.

Table 1.15 Nasal vowels and phonological environment, 04Br, 15W

	No adjoining nasal	<i>m</i> -	<i>-mh</i> (-)	Cr- < Cn-
ĩ:	+	+	+	
ã:	+	+	+	+
ã	+	+	+	
ũ:	+	+		
ũ				+ ¹

¹ In **xrūk 04Br** *chnoc*.

Words in the *amh*-class have very frequent if not categorical nasalisation. All tokens of *geimhreadh* and *suaimhneas* (-**vr'**-) are also nasalised. In my early notes, all of **04Br**'s tokens of *cuimhn*- contain medial **vr'** and all are nasalised. Speaker **15W**, on the other hand, has variation of both the medial cluster and nasalisation:

ĩ: in	k/xĩ:vn' u:/i:m'	i: in	ki:vn' u:/i:m'
	xĩ:n' ə		xi:n' i:m'
	xĩ:mr' ə		xi:mn' ə

Lenited and unlenited words in *malá*- showed no clear or consistent preponderance for nasalisation in lenited versions in my early notes (*maith* 38/52 vs. *mhait* 32/40; *mac* 15/22 vs. *mhac* 5/6; *máthair* 27/27 vs. *mháthair* 20/21). Speaker **15W** has the strongest nasal speech setting, or 'twang', of clann Mhacaí.

Speaker 25M, son of 875T, cousin of 04Br and 15W

Speaker **25M**, based on the nasal questionnaire, recordings and conversation, has a far more consistent use of nasalisation and far higher nasal inventory than most of his contemporaries.

short		long	
ĩ	ũ	ĩ:	ũ:
ã		ã:	

Speaker 46S, son of 04Br

Speaker **46S**, son of **04Br**, whose usage was noted from a short conversation, has greater than usual nasalisation for his age-group. He does, however, show substantial loss in comparison with the previous generations in clann Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire. He has at least **ã** and **ĩ:**. He was noted with **ã** in (*amh*) class, e.g. *samhradh*, *Shamhna*, also sometimes in *mha*-, recorded in *ba mhaith le ...*; and with **ĩ:** in *cuimhn*- and sometimes **im'ĩ:hõ** | *imíthe*.

1.333 897P, Peadar Ó Cadhain, Loch Con Aortha

Peadar Ó Cadhain, speaker **897P**, provides valuable early evidence of a substantial system of nasalised vowels in Loch Con Aortha, an area in East Iorras Aithneach which nowadays has little nasalisation. From **897P** and **899P**'s (1.334) evidence one can conclude that this area has lost the feature more rapidly in recent times than West Iorras Aithneach. From the Hartmann recording (6A) (of about one and a half hours of conversation) it is apparent that, apart from mid vowels which are missing in his material, **897P** has a regular high yield, if not (almost) categorical use, of nasalisation in most vowels, lexemes and environments:

short		long	
(ĩ)	ũ	ĩ:	ũ:
ã		ã:	

Regularly nasalised are the words *óiche*, *aois*, *áithe*, *áit*, *rúthú* (= *rompu*), *breath-aighl-ú* (= *breathn*-); vowels before retained *mh* and nasalised lexemes in *m(h)a*-, *m(h)á*- are all regularly nasalised, if sometimes quite weakly. The vowel **i** is not nasalised in the two tokens of **xrik'** *chnoic* although it does sound nasalised in **hĩmr'ə** *shuaimhnigh*. Neither is the vowel **u** nasalised in lexemes in **kru-** *cnoc* (x3), *cnocán* (x5), *cnuga* (x1), nor in (*Ros*) *Muc* (x2). It is, however, nasalised in *muc* (x1) and *an-mhoch* (x1). The word *comharsa(n)* is recorded with one nasalised and one non-nasalised token. Nasalisation beside *n* seems limited. In *sníomhachán* there is one token with no nasalisation of *í*; *snáthad* and *snáithe* are more clearly nasalised. The vowel **u:** and sometimes **o:** in *tráthnóna*, *Domhnach* and *cónaí* are not nasalised except for one token before pausa of *i gcónaí*, where the unstressed vowel in particular is clearly nasalised; neither is there any clearly nasalised token of *mó* (x4) in contrast with nasalised *mhó* (x1). The word *crónachán* occurs, almost mumbled, in *crónachán na hoíche*, a phrase which seems to be nasalised throughout. The diphthong **au** is not nasalised in **taunəxi:n'** *tamhnacháin* but other words of this class have **āv**.

1.334 899P, Peadar Ó Súilleabháin, Loch Con Aortha

Peadar Ó Súilleabháin's, speaker **899P**, material is not substantial enough in order to make any firm conclusions as to his inventory. The overall impression from his usage is that his nasalisation is not as frequent nor as widespread in the various environments as his older Loch Con Aortha neighbour **897P** (1.333). He has oral vowels in *máistir*, *snámh*, *mac* and *mhaith* corresponding to **897P**'s nasal vowels in such words. Despite his rather limited usage, two nasal vowels *ĩ* and *õ*, now rare in West Iorras Aithneach, occur, because of (a) the nonlengthening of the stressed vowel of *geimhreadh* — the only token with *ĩ* is *sə ŋ'ĩvř'ə sa ngeimhreadh*, contrast the oral vowel in *chnoic*; (b) the nonraising of the stressed vowel in *fómhar* — the only token with *õ* is *ən õ:wǝř' an fhómhair*. He has regular nasalisation in *samhradh* and *comharsanaí*. His attested nasalised vowels are:

short		long	
<i>ĩ</i>		<i>ĩ:</i>	<i>ũ:</i>
<i>ã</i>		<i>õ:</i>	

From his evidence one must provisionally conclude that a much weakened but by no means obsolete system of nasalised vowels was being acquired by speakers of his generation in Loch Con Aortha and that the rapid breakdown of nasalisation in this area may have occurred after 1900.

1.335 04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola, an Aird Thiar

Examples from my early notes of suprasegmental nasalisation in the speech of **04B** are:

xřĩk' chnoic; *gnũhǝ gnotha*; *'m'ĩ:fk' æ'vni' mısceamhnaıthe*;
v'ĩ:dər kør' 'g' æ'ĩ,řřĩ:ũ'ĩ' bhıodar cóir gealghnaıúil;
g'ĩ:řř'ə geimhreadh; *sã'vř'ə samhradh*; *ũ:lo'dər chomhluadar*;
eŋ xũ:lǝ bə aon chomhla ba ... ; *ə dɑ: ľã:ř' řin' an dá láimh sin*;
tr'ĩ' wǝ:řt'ĩ:n' gair' trí mhaistín gadhair (all **04B**).

Segmental realisation is, however, his most common realisation, including examples of nasalisation on one vowel in a series of vowels, e.g.

grĩ:u:lə 04B gnaıúla.

He only occasionally has nasalisation of normally phonemic oral vowels, what is referred to here as nasalisation by rhinoglottophilia (1.308), e.g.

wã:řt'ədər 04B bhaisteadar,

cp. *ãx hǝ: n æ'mřər' ə'ma:x, 04B ach chuaidh [theann ?] an aimsir amach*.

The set of definite phonemically nasalised vowels in **04B**'s recorded speech is:

short		long	
<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ũ</i>	<i>ĩ:</i>	<i>ũ:</i>
<i>ã</i>		(<i>ẽ</i>)	<i>ã:</i>

(Lexemes which we know can contain nasalised short mid-vowels were not noted in his material.) A quantitative summary from my early notes of the data, which

were analysed from **04B**'s recordings, is given in Table 1.16 below. (Lexemes which are underlined in Table 1.16 are specifically mentioned in my discussion here.) Realisation of nasalisation is high for some lexemes, i.e. *m(h)easa*, *claimhélí*, *oíche*, *lái(i)mh*, *sná(i)mh*, *cnáimh*, *mná*, *comhluadar*, *d'umhl(aigh-)*, comprising the vowels *ā ī: ā: ū:*; *oíche* followed by *láiimh* are the most consistently nasalised. Others have a roughly 2:1 realisation of nasalisation, i.e. *áit*, (*mhac*). Others a roughly 1:1 realisation, i.e. *maith*, *mháthair*, *Máirtín*, *moichí*. Some are attested as oral only, a striking example being *comharsa* and related forms with all 5 tokens non-nasal, which contrasts with *comhluadar* with all 4 tokens nasal. An explanation in terms of everyday words being oral and uncommon words retaining nasalisation, as noted by de Bhaldraithe for some speakers in ICF §245, seems also to be a factor in Iorras Aithneach. De Bhaldraithe's example of everyday *comharsa* with an oral vowel, and an uncommon *comhla* with a nasal vowel correspond to **04B**'s data. The words *comhairle* and *comhluadar*, both nasalised, are also less common than *comharsa*. Similarly, the frequently-occurring prepositional pronouns *romh-* are not nasalised in three tokens from **04B**. But lexical frequency is by no means the only factor involved. The word *cumhdach* is infrequent but unnasalised by **04B**. Contrast the relatively uncommon *cneidh*, *cneitheachaí* (unnasalised in the speech of **04B**) with common *cnoic*, which is sometimes nasalised in his speech. Another subclass where frequency seems to correlate with less nasalisation is the *ma-* subclass: both *maith* and *mac* have less common nasalisation than the more infrequent words *m(h)easa* and *maistín*. One would expect *meach*, however, to pattern with the infrequent words but it does not.

Specific phonological contexts also show variation. The *ṽ*-class (lexemes where *-mh-* survives as *ṽ*) show variation with nearly all vowels. The *a(i)mh*-subclass shows frequent, but not categorical, nasalisation (see Table 1.16). The morphophonemics of the realisation of *mṽ-* vs. *mhṽ-* can be interpreted from *maith* vs. *mháith* and *mac* vs. *mhac*. Nasalisation is proportionately higher in the lenited tokens, only slightly so with *maith* but more markedly with *mac*. These can be contrasted with words which have alternant **Cn-** ~ **Cr-** initial clusters listed in Table 1.17, where **Cn-** tokens have higher nasalisation.

1.336 Examples

Table 1.16 Speaker 04B's use of nasal vowels

Environment	Word	+	–	Vowels ± Nas.
				Short Vowels
				<i>i</i>
<i>cn-</i>	<i>cnoic</i> , <i>chnoic</i> , <i>gcnoic</i>			+
	<i>cnoic</i> kik' [sic]	1		
	<i>chnoic</i> xrik'	1	1	
	<i>gcnoic</i> grik'		3	
	<i>chnoic</i> xnik'	1		
	<i>cnoic</i> knik' (song)		1	
<i>-mh-</i>	<i>cneidh</i> , <i>cneitheachaí</i> - r' -		> 5	
	<i>geimhreadh</i> (song)	1		+
	<i>roimhe</i>		> 5	
	<i>cúimhn-</i>		1	

Environment	Word	+	–	Vowels ± Nas.
<i>m-</i>	<i>mic, mhic</i>		> 8	
	<i>mhuice</i>		1	
	<i>miste</i>		1	
				a
∅ nas. context	<i>tafann</i>		1	–
	cp. <i>steafóg</i>		2	
	cp. <i>ar ais</i>		> 2	
<i>m-</i>	<i>maith(-)</i>	7	9	+
	<i>mhaith(-)</i>	7	5	
	<i>m(h)ac</i>	5	11	
	<i>mac</i>	6	8	
	<i>mhac</i>	9	2	
	<i>mac, (mh)ac</i> (patronymic)		> 10	
	<i>mart, Mart</i>	2	2	
	<i>maistín</i>	5		
	<i>meach</i>	4	5	
	<i>meas</i>	1	1	
	<i>m(h)easa</i>	6		
	<i>measc</i>		1	
<i>-mh-</i>	<i>claimhélí</i> (song x2)	5		+
	<i>samhradh</i>	2		
	<i>mh'aisce</i>	1		
	<i>misceamhnaithe</i>	2		
	<i>Treamhair</i>	1		
	<i>cleamhnais</i>		1	
	<i>Shamhain</i> (in song)		1	
	<i>neamh</i>		1	
<i>sn-</i>	<i>sneachta</i>	2	> 5	+
<i>tsn-</i>	<i>tsneachta n</i>	1	1	+
	<i>tsneachta r</i>	2	1	
<i>cn-</i>	<i>cnaipe</i>		1	+
	<i>Cnagaide</i>	1		
				u
<i>cn-</i>	<i>cnoc -r-</i>		2	+
	<i>Cnogaide -r-</i>	1		
<i>gn-</i>	<i>gnotha -n-</i>	1		+
	<i>gnotha -r-</i>	1	3	
<i>m-</i>	<i>moichí</i>	4	4	
				Long Vowels
				i:
∅ nas. context	<i>oíche</i>	14		+
	cp. <i>i:l' ~ Fhéil</i>		1	
	contrast <i>aois</i>		3	
<i>m-</i>	<i>mí</i>	2		+
	<i>mí-</i>	1	3	
<i>-mh-</i>	<i>geimhreadh</i>	1		+
	<i>suaimhneas</i>	1		
	cp. <i>suaimhneas uə</i>		1	
	<i>cuimhn-</i>		2	
<i>gn-</i>	<i>gnatúil r</i>	2	1	+
	<i>gnatúil n</i> (song)		1	

Environment	Word	+	–	Vowels ± Nas.
				ɑ:
Ø nas. context	<i>áit</i>	22	8	+
<i>m-</i>	<i>mhása(t)</i>	1	2	+
	<i>Mása</i> (song)		1	
	<i>Máirtín</i>	2	2	
	<i>Máirtan</i>	3		
	<i>Mháirta</i>	1		
	<i>mháithair</i>	12	7	
	<i>má</i>		> 1	
<i>-mh-</i>	<i>meán-, mheáin</i>		2	
	<i>lái(i)mh</i>	19	3	+
	<i>lámhacán</i>	1		
	<i>sná(i)mh</i>	6		
	<i>mhám(h)</i>		1	
	<i>dhrámh</i>		1	
	<i>námhaid</i>		1	
<i>sn-</i>	<i>snáithe</i>	2		+
<i>mn-</i>	<i>mná -n-</i>	4		+
	<i>mná -r-</i>	9	2	
<i>cn-</i>	<i>c(h)náimh r</i>	4		+
	<i>c(h)ná(i)mh(a) n</i> (song)	1	2	
<i>gn-</i>	<i>gnás r</i>		1	+
	<i>gnás n</i>	1		
	<i>gnách -r-</i>	1		
				o:
cp. Ø in	<i>Rómánach</i> [sic]		1	–
	<i>brón</i>		1	
	<i>srón</i>		2	
	<i>mhórchónaíodar</i>		> 1	
	cp. <i>ndóichí no:hi:</i>		2	
				u:
Ø nas. context	<i>comhlúadar</i>	4		+
	<i>d'umhl(aigh-)</i>	> 5		
	<i>comhla</i>	1		
	<i>comhairle</i>	1		
	<i>lúthmhar</i>	1		
	<i>rúithi (roimpi)</i>	1		
	<i>cumhra</i>	1	1	
	<i>clúmhach</i> (song x 1 –)	1	2	
	<i>dumhach</i>		2	
	<i>romhat</i>		2	
	<i>romhaibh</i>		1	
	<i>comhair(-)</i>		2	
	<i>comharsa(in/naí/ntacht)</i>		5	
	<i>cumhdach(l-aigh-)</i>		3	
	<i>cumhachta feirge</i>		1	
<i>m-</i>	<i>mó</i>	3		+
	<i>móide</i>		1	
	<i>m(h)úch</i> (song x 1)	3		
	<i>iomú</i>	1	1	
<i>-mh-</i>	cp. <i>mhúscail</i>		1	
	<i>fómhair</i>	1		+

1.337 Cn- ~ Cr-

Table 1.17 presents the data pertaining to nasalisation and the alternation of **Cn-** with **Cr-**. Although the number of tokens is very small for any conclusions, there is (in my early notes) proportionately more nasalisation in the **Cn-** by-forms. Both overall and in 4 of the 7 lexemes, nasalisation is commoner alongside an **n**-realisation than an **r**-realisation.

Table 1.17 Speaker 04B's nasalisation in words with Cn- ~ Cr-

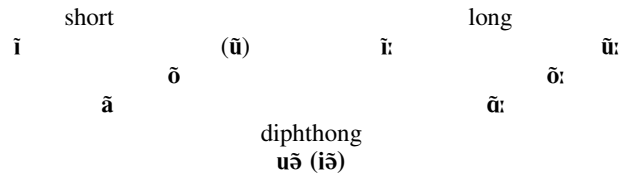
Environment	Lexemes	+	–
	<i>cnoic</i>		
<i>cn-</i>	<i>chnoic</i> xr-	1	1
	<i>gcnoic</i> gr-		3
	<i>chnoic</i> xn-	1	
	<i>cnoic</i> kn- (song)		1
<i>gn-</i>	<i>gnotha</i> r	1	3
	<i>gnotha</i> n	1	
<i>gn-</i>	<i>gnáúil</i> r	2	1
	<i>gnáúil</i> n (song)		1
<i>mn-</i>	<i>mná</i> r	9	2
	<i>mná</i> n	4	
<i>cn-</i>	<i>c(h)náimh</i> r	4	
	<i>c(h)ná(i)mh(a)</i> n (song)	1	2
<i>gn-</i>	<i>gnás</i> r		1
	<i>gnás</i> n	1	
	<i>gnách</i> r	1	
<i>tsn-</i>	<i>tsneachta</i> r	2	1
	<i>tsneachta</i> n	1	1
r total 31		20	11
n total 12		9	3

Forms in Table 1.17 which are cited from use in song are indicated as such. This is because speaker **04B** seems to have proportionately less phonemic nasalisation in songs (10.39). Two lexical exceptions which have more nasalisation with **r**, seem to be distorted by the song context. From a developmental point of view one might expect nasalisation to be particularly associated with **r**-realisations. The only certain statement one can make is that such an association is not corroborated by the above evidence. Further evidence is needed to test if the opposite pattern is in fact more likely. It could be explained in terms of both vowel nasalisation and **n**-realisation being correlated conservative traits. Interestingly, both traits are potentially in conflict in song, which can favour **Cn-**, and in the case of denasalising singers, the non-nasalisation of vowels.

1.338 11C, Cólín Ó Cúláin, Maoras

Cólín Ó Cúláin, speaker **11C**, has a very consistent use and relatively high incidence of nasalisation with a generally clear articulation. His pronunciation is clearer, for example, than the overall impression of nasalisation one gets from the use of the older speakers **869P** and **04B**, and many of his contemporaries, such as **12S**, but, on the other hand, his nasalisation seems not to be as consistent adjacent

to *n* and preceding *m* as that of speaker **894Cs**.¹ The following inventory of nasal vowels has been noted from **11C**:



Examples from **11C**'s relatively extensive recordings include the following:

- ĩ řĩv'õ roimhe (3m prepositional pronoun), 'fa'xt 'grĩk' (run) *seacht gcnoic*
(perhaps higher register nasalisation)
- ã řãv'õ !(Ascñ) *rámhā*, 'v'ik' 'ãv'li: | (run) *mhic Amhlaidh*
ř'æ'fõ:g õnõ lã:v' (run) *steafóg ina* (2pl possessive) *lámh*
- õ kõhõrõ comhartha
- ũ krũgõr'õ krã'gõr'õ Cnogaire Cnagaire vs. –nas cnoc
- ĩ: 'm'ĩ:hõpõ !(Ascñ) *míthapa*, grĩ: ! *gnaoi*
- ã: lã:w' !(Ascñ) *lámh*; yã: lã:v' i:n' ! *dhá láimhín*
- õ: kõ:nĩ: *cónat*, õ:n õ: kaii'n' | *Eoghan Ó Cadhain*
but m'ik'õl' õ:n' (i: xai'n' |) *Micil Eoghain (Uí Chadhain)*
- ũ: kũ:lõ'dõr comhluadar
- uõ řũõn õgõs 'sã:v'xõlõ (run) *suan agus sáimhchodladh*
- (iõ) yř' iõn ! *ghrian* (all **11C**)

The following instance of spontaneous nasalisation seems quite isolated for **11C**:

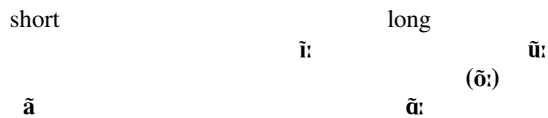
õ kid' p'ekd' u:r' 'jã'sõ tã:rñ'i: !1660 *a cuid peictiúir dheAra tarraingthe*.

The environment [low vowel + s] is typical of spontaneous nasalisation.

1.339 Clann Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola, 16M, 19P, 43M, Maínis

16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola

Based on her responses to the nasal questionnaire, Máire's (**16M**) nasal vowels are:



Her lexemes with nasalisation are listed here from my early notes.

¹ The general clarity of speaker **11C**'s articulation includes his nasality, which no doubt resembles that of Ishbel Martin of Leurbost, the wife of Oftedal's main informant (1956: 17). It is worth quoting in full Oftedal's comparison of distinct and less distinct speakers with regard to nasalisation: 'The degree of phonetic clearness of the distinction varies with the speakers. While informant No. 1, Roddy, whose nasal twang makes all his vowels a little nasal, does not compensate for this by overemphasizing nasality where it is phonemic, his wife, who has very clear oral vowels, pronounces her nasal vowels with marked nasal resonance.' (1956: 41).

Vowel	Lexeme	No. nasalised	Lexeme	No. nasalised
<u>Unconditioned</u>				
ā	<i>aiféal</i>	1/3	<i>afrac</i> (< <i>amharc</i>)	3/3
	<i>sclafairt</i>	5/5	<i>bhreathaigh</i>	1/7
ī:	<i>oíche</i>	22/25		
ā:	<i>áit</i>	6/6		
ū:	<i>comhairle</i>	2/3	<i>comhluadar</i>	13/26
<u>Preceding v (< mh generally)</u>				
ā	<i>aimhreas</i> (ach) (5/5), <i>aimhréidh</i> (2/2), <i>aimhsigh</i> (4/4), <i>amha(i)s</i> (9/9), <i>amhlaidh</i> (3/3), <i>claimhe</i> (< <i>claidheamh</i>) (2/2), <i>clamhsán</i> (2/2), <i>cleamhnas</i> (2/2 or perhaps 1/2), <i>daimhséar</i> (ach) (4/4), <i>dhaimhsigh</i> (2/2), <i>damhsa</i> (2/2), <i>gamhna</i> (3/3) vs. <i>gamhain</i> (0/2), <i>geamhar</i> (3/3), <i>leamh</i> (2/2), <i>leamhnacht</i> (3/3), <i>mhísceamhnáithe</i> (2/2), { <i>neamh</i> (3/3)}, <i>reamhar</i> (4/4), (<i>ro</i>) <i>samh</i> (2/2), (<i>maca</i>) <i>samhail</i> (4/4), <i>Shamhain</i> (5/5 or perhaps 2/5), <i>Shamhna</i> (5/5), <i>samhaoin</i> (5/5), <i>samhradh</i> (4/4), <i>scamhach</i> (<i>iongach</i>), <i>scamhach</i> [sic] (<i>caorach</i>) (4/4), <i>sleamhain</i> (2/2) <i>sleamhne</i> (2/2), <i>sclamh</i> (adh) (6/6), <i>screamhóg</i> (2/2), <i>stramh</i> (s)ach (6/6), <i>tamhnachaí</i> (1 ?/2)			
ī:	<i>geimhreadh</i>	4/4	<i>suaimhneas</i> -ach	1 ?/6
(ō:)	<i>Róim(h)</i>	2/2		
ā:	<i>dáimh</i> (3/3), <i>drámh</i> (1/7), <i>láimh</i> (2/2), <i>lámhacán</i> (3/4), <i>rámha</i> (2/2), <i>rámhailteach</i> (1/3), { <i>chnáimh</i> (2/2), <i>mámh</i> (2/2), <i>námhaid</i> (eachaí) (3/4)}			
<u>Following cn-, mn- > kr-, mr-</u>				
ā	<i>cnaípe</i>	2/6	<i>cnaiste</i>	1/2
ā:	<i>mná</i>	1/4		
<u>Adjoining a nasal consonant</u>				
n-	ū:	<i>nua</i> (finally)	2/2	
sn-	ā:	<i>cúshnáithe</i>	4/4	<i>shnáithe</i> 1/2
		<i>shnáithaid(e)</i>	3/3	
	ū:	<i>shnua</i> finally	3/3	
m-	ā	<i>maith</i>	1/6	<i>mhaith</i> 9/13
		<i>marcaí</i>	0/3	<i>mharcaí</i> 1/2
		<i>macsamhail</i>	0/2	<i>mhacsamhail</i> 2/2
				<i>Mheaic</i> 2/2
				<i>mheasc</i> 1 ?/2
	ī:	<i>imíthe</i> 'i,m'-, i'm'-	3/3	<i>mhí</i> 1/2
	ā:	<i>máthair</i>	13/14	<i>mháthair</i> 8/9
		<i>Mártan</i>	2/4	<i>Mhártan</i> 0/3
		<i>máistir</i>	1/3	<i>mháistir</i> 3/3
		<i>máistreás</i>		<i>mháistreás</i> 0/2
		(Cnoc) <i>Meá</i>	5/5	
		{ <i>mámh</i> }	2/2	
	ū:	<i>amú</i> finally	2/2	<i>mó</i> finally 2/2
-n(g)	ā	{ <i>cnang</i> }		
-m	ā	<i>aimsigh</i>	1/1 {~ <i>aimhsigh</i> 4/4}	

1.340 Lexemes and classes

Her single lexeme with *ō:* is *Róimh*. This she generally pronounces as *ro:m'*, perhaps also *rō:m'*, which I take as an English-influenced form. In the query she was asked for the Irish form and responded rather indistinctly with *ro:ĩ'* or perhaps

rōim’. In conversation she was noted in my early notes with prepausa **gruhō** *gnotha*, which is ambivalent as to phonemic or prepausa nasalisation. The most frequent nasal vowel is **ã** which occurs regularly in a large *amh*-class. There is a small subset of this *amh*-class, which has less regular nasalisation: *gamhain*, *Samhain* and *sleamhain* (with an additional four unnasalised tokens, i.e. 0/4, in *ro-shleamhain* from the nasal-vowel reading passage which was prepared containing twenty seven of her nasalised lexemes). The greater tendency for non-nasalisation in these words is most likely owing to a dissimilation of nasality, or (in other words) an association of nasality with the final nasal consonant. Such dissimilation has occurred historically, for example, in *amhrán* > *abhrán*, as argued in 1.304 above. It is remarkable that in syncopated forms of these lexemes, such as plural *gamhna*, nasalisation is not reduced. Nonsyncopating *tamhnachaí* is exceptional in that it appears to have a low nasalisation rate despite its *mhn* cluster.

Table 1.18 displays her usage with regard to phonological environment: **ã** occurs in the greatest number of environments, followed by **ā**, then **ī** and **ū**. The gap in the **ū**:v-class, in words such as *fómhar* and *rómhar*, is striking.

Table 1.18 Nasal vowels according to phonological environment, Mq

	No adjoining nasal	<i>m</i> -	<i>-mh</i> (-)	Cr- < Cn-
ã :	+	+	+	+
ā	+	+	+	+
ī :	+	+	+	
ū :	+	+		

1.341 Variation

The two classes with highest nasalisation rate in their lexemes are those with no adjoining nasal consonant and the *mh*-class. The environment preceding a nasal is quite marginal in my early notes, occurring in words which also have another basis for the nasal vowel, i.e. *aimhsigh* ~ *aimsigh* and *cnang*.

Lexemes with nasalisation in the initial *m*-class show frequent non-nasalisation, except *máthair*. Her **mā**-class is very small. As set out in Table 1.19, lenited initial *mh*- tends to contrast with unlenited *m*- in that the lenited version has a greater incidence of nasalisation of **ā**; but not of **ã**, at least not in her questionnaire data (Mq).

Table 1.19 Nasal vowels after initial *m*- and *mh*-, Mq and reading passage

	Unlenited	% nasal	No.	Lenited	% nasal	No.
Questionnaire	<i>ma</i> -	9	1/11	<i>mha</i> -	71	12/17
Questionnaire	<i>má</i> -	76	16/21	<i>mhá</i> -	73	11/15
Reading passage	<i>máthair</i>	25	1/4	<i>mháthair</i> (-eachaí)	78	7/9

The single nasalised *ma*- token is of the lexeme *maith*. In her reading passage *máthair* has proportionally more nasalisation when lenited.

As seen in the case of *m*-, each environment does not have an internally consistent rate of nasalisation. Contrast high yield *geimhreadh* with low yield

suaimhneas — both *ĩv'* words —, although *suaimhneas* does have other medial cluster alternants. Both *áit* and *oíche* have high rates. Words with independent *ā* have high (*afrac*, *sclafairt*) or low yields (*aiféal*, *breathaigh*). Words with independent *ũ* have an intermediate nasalisation rate. In fact *ũ* is very limited: it is found in only five lexemes. It occurs without adjoining nasal consonant in *comhairle* and *comhluadar* — polysyllables with initial voiceless stop and medial *l* in which the nasalisation can, and often is, carried through to the unstressed syllable. (Máire has also been recorded with *cumhsclaithe* *kũ:skli:* *kũ:nskli:*, but in the nasal questionnaire *kũ:nskli:* 0/6, similarly *úchta* 0/4, but recorded nasalised *ũ:xtə* previously from her (in 1987).) The other two *ũ* environments contain only three lexemes, *amú* and *mó* being common, *snua* being less so; all three are monosyllables with final *ũ*. In her speech in general, all five lexemes containing *ũ* probably occur quite frequently unnasalised.

1.342 Possible collocational conditioning

The data regarding *comhairle* and *comhluadar* imply the possible presence of collocational conditioning. Máire was asked for many citation tokens of these words in the nasal questionnaire, which are included under 'elsewhere' in Table 1.20. She also read them from a short text (nasal reading passage) which was prepared containing twenty seven of her nasalised lexemes. Table 1.20 presents a summary of the nasalisation of *comhluadar* and *comhairle* in collocations.

Table 1.20 Nasalisation of *comhluadar* and *comhairle* in collocations, 16M

	Collocation	No. +nasal	No. –nasal
	<i>ag coinneál comhluadar</i>	3	1
	<i>ag coinneál chomhluadar</i>	9	5
Total (%)	<i>ag coinneál c(h)omhluadar</i>	12 (67%)	6 (33%)
	<i>comhluadar</i> elsewhere	1	6
	<i>chomhluadar</i> elsewhere	9	29
Total (%)	<i>c(h)omhluadar</i> elsewhere	10 (22%)	35 (78%)
	<i>comhairle mhaith</i>	5	3
	<i>c(h)omhairle</i> elsewhere	1	17

It is clear that *ag coinneál c(h)omhluadar* is prone to nasalisation in two thirds of the tokens whereas *c(h)omhluadar* is nasalised in less than a third of cases in citation and other expressions. Tokens occur both phrase-internally and finally. The presence or absence of lenition shows no clear nasal conditioning. Furthermore, (*thug mé*) *comhairle mhaith* (*dhó*) has a far greater nasal incidence than *comhairle* elsewhere. The only token with nasalisation elsewhere occurs in *ag cur comhairle air* which may also be a phrase favouring nasalisation. There are no clear differences regarding which lexemes are nasalised or the rate of nasalisation between elicitation in the nasal questionnaire and the reading passage.

Further examples of her usage include:

- ā* *mā:kə sã:wəl' macasamhail*;
 stranfhiacloch, *srónfhiacloch* ING: *strabhsach* (*stramhach*) FGB
 strã'vsəx strã'vəx strã'məx, and cp. *stramsach* FFG;
 xrã'ŋg chnang; *iəd ə 'xrã'ŋg.vrix' iad a chnangbhruith*;
ũ: *kũ:hñã:hə*, *ku:hñã:hə*, *ku:hñã:hə cúshnáithe*.

1.343 19P, Pádraig Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola; 43M

Speaker **19P**'s system is reduced in comparison with his sister's (**16M**) with the absence of the three nonlow long vowels:

short	long
ã	ā:

As set out in Table 1.21, his nasal environments in my early notes are simple and greatly reduced in comparison with his sister: **ā:** following *m-* and *mn-*; **ã** before *-mh(-)*.

Table 1.21 Nasal vowels according to phonological environment, 19P

	<i>m-</i>	<i>mr- < mn-</i>	<i>-mh(-)</i>
ā:	e.g. <i>máthair</i>	i.e. <i>mná</i>	
ã			e.g. <i>samhradh</i>

43M, daughter of 16M, Máirín bean de Brún

Máire's daughter, **43M**, has been noted with nasalised **ã** only. I have noted it occasionally in *reamhar* and *damhsa*. In contrast, her brother **52J** has oral **a** always or nearly always; he may sometimes have weakly nasalised *samhradh*.

1.344 20C, Cóilín Ó Maoil Chiaráin, Maínis

The system of Cóilín Ó Maoil Chiaráin, speaker **20C**, can be deduced with reasonable confidence from the results of the nasal questionnaire and from observation of his conversation and some recordings. He has two phonemically nasal vowels, **ĩ:** and **ã**, both of which occur non-adjacent to a nasal consonant only (apart from historical *ñ mh*).

short	long
ã	ĩ:

The vowel **ĩ:** occurs in his material in *geimhreadh* only. The vowel **ã** occurs in two, perhaps three environments:

- (i) preceding *mh* (7 out of 17 lexemes);
- (ii) preceding *f* (two tokens *aiféal* and *afrac*);
- (iii) perhaps the very weak nasalisation in *cn-* **kr-** environment is to be taken as phonemic in *cnaípe* and *cneasta*.

His inventory is relatively atypical (in my sample of speakers analysed for nasalisation) in that **ĩ:** can be nasalised in contrast with **ã**: which shows no nasalisation. I have, however, noted nasalised *geimhreadh* in conversation from other speakers, in Iorras Aithneach, na hOileáin and as far as Mionlach near Galway city, who seem to have little or no other phonemic nasalisation. Finally, we can note the anomalous instance of *cófra*, in Iorras Aithneach generally **kō:rhə**, but **20C** (in the plural questionnaire) has plural **kō:rhĩ:**; perhaps (a once-off) influence from *conra* or nasalisation because of uncertainty in production.

1.345 Muintir Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin, 20My — 36S, Maínis

Méaraí Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin's (speaker **20My**) system can be deduced from the results of the nasal questionnaire, from observation of her conversation and some recordings. She is one of my oldest main field informants for whom it can be concluded quite securely that she has no regular phonemic nasalisation. Her sister Céit, **29C**, shows very little nasalisation in her plural and verbal questionnaire, i.e. **ã** only optionally in *claimhte*, *damsa* (< *damhsa*).

The system of these speakers' brother, Peait (**26P**), can be deduced from the results of the nasal questionnaire and the recording of the plural and verbal questionnaires and a short conversation.

short		long	
	ũ	ĩ:	ũ:
ẽ		ẽ:	
ã			

His pattern is remarkable in my sample in that (i) despite his almost complete nasal vowel inventory, his set of nasal lexemes is very limited; and (ii) along with his exceptionally small **ã** class (4 lexemes), he lacks **ũ:** completely in his recording (there is one possible token of nasalised *Mháirtín*). He is further remarkable in that, of the four siblings of clann Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin queried, he is the only speaker with clear phonemic nasalisation. Table 1.22 lists his 13 nasalised lexemes.

Table 1.22 Nasalised lexemes for 26Pq

Vowel	Lexeme	No. of lexemes
<u>No adjoining nasal consonant</u>		
ũ	<i>coimhthíos, comhartha</i>	2
ĩ:	<i>oíche</i>	1
<u>Preceding ĩ (< <i>mh</i>) (8 lexemes)</u>		
ẽ	<i>cruimhe</i>	1
ã	<i>claimhe, daimhséarach, [maca]samhail</i>	3
ĩ:	<i>cuimhne, geimhreadh, suaimhneas</i>	3
ũ:	<i>rómhraí(the)</i>	1
<u>Preceding <i>m(h)-</i></u>		
ã	<i>Mheaic</i>	1
<u>Preceding <i>-m</i> (< <i>mh</i>)</u>		
ẽ:	<i>fréamrachai</i>	1
Uncertain tokens in <i>mhí, Mháirtín</i>		

Apart from the **ĩ:** class and perhaps *Mheaic* (*Tigh Mheaic*, name of a public house in Carna), lexemes with nasalisation are certainly not high-frequency items. Most of his lexemes share the *mh*-environment. Table 1.23 shows no tidy implicational scale between phonological environments and his nasalised vowels.

Table 1.23 Nasal vowels according to phonological environment, 26Pq

	<i>-mh(-)</i>	<i>m(h)-</i>	No adjoining nasal
ĩ:	+	?	+
ã	+	+	

	-mh(-)	m(h)-	No adjoining nasal
ũ			+
ẽ	+		
ũ:	+		
ẽ:	(+)		
ã:		?	

The phonemic nasalisation of the younger brother Seán, **36S**, is far less accessible as he frequently has a nasal setting in speech. His vernacular usage, rather than isolated questionnaire responses, would be of most interest. Unfortunately, however, it has so far proved difficult to audio-record his vernacular. From a short conversation I noted, slightly uncertainly, *sã·vrə samhradh* from **26P**'s son **61P**, one of the youngest speakers with nasalisation.

1.346 21Pt, Peait Ó Donnchú, an Aird Mhoir

Peait Ó Donnchú's (**21Pt**) usage has been determined from recordings of conversation and the nasal questionnaire. His inventory contains the low short vowel and peripheral long vowels.

short			long	
	(ũ)	ĩ:		ũ:
ã			ã:	

The words which have nasalisation in **21Pt**'s material are listed here.

Vowel	Lexeme
<u>No adjoining nasal consonant</u>	
ã	<i>aiféala, afrac, sclafairt, tafann</i>
ĩ:	<i>oíche</i>
ã:	<i>áit</i>
<u>Preceding v (< mh)</u>	
ã	<i>aimhreas, amhas, amhlaidh, clamhsán, cleamhnas, daimhsigh, geamhchaoch, leamhnacht, {neamh}, reamhar, (ro) samh, samhradh, sclamh, screamhóg, tamhnach</i>
ĩ:	<i>geimhreadh, imhrí (< imní), reimhre</i>
ã:	<i>{cnáimh}, láimh</i>
ũ:	<i>rómhairt</i>
<u>Following gn- > gr-</u>	
ĩ:	? <i>gnaoiúil</i> (earlier notes, but unnasalised since)
<u>Adjoining a nasal consonant: m-</u>	
ã	<i>(maistireadh ?), maith, Mheait, mheascadh</i>
(ũ)	<i>(moichí ?)</i>
ã:	<i>Máirtín, Mártan, Mása, máthair</i>

One can see that words with vowels preceding *v mh* form this speaker's biggest phonological class. It contains the only word with **ũ:**. The vowel **ã** is present in the largest amount of words, mainly in **ãv** and **ãf**. His only word with a clearly nasal vowel beside *n, neamh*, also contains **ãv**. Other vowels have very few lexemes but most of these are very common words, e.g. *oíche, áit, láimh*. A remarkable feature of **21Pt**'s usage is that words which are members of his nasalised inventory are nasalised consistently, with the following exceptions:

- (i) two words in the **āv**-class in *-mhn-* (compare, for example, 1.340): *cleamhnas* (1 nasal token in 5, i.e. 1/5) and *leamhnacht* (1/5), which contrast with *tamhnach* (19/23); also *samhradh* (3/5);
- (ii) most lexemes with initial *m-* (but *Máirtín* and *Mártan* are consistently nasalised);
- (iii) *rómhairt* (5/13).

The general consistency in a small number of frequently occurring words produces an impression of strong nasal usage in his speech, which is slightly misleading given the overall small size of his nasal class. It is clear from Table 1.24 that his phonological environments form an almost complete implicational scale with his nasal vowels.

Table 1.24 Nasal vowels according to phonological environment, 21Pt(q)

	<i>-mh</i>	No adjoining nasal	<i>m-</i>	Cr- < <i>Cn-</i>
ā:	+	+	+	
ã	+	+	+	
ĩ:	+	+		+
ũ:	+			

The implicational scale is in fact complete if one combines the non-adjoining nasal consonant and **Cr-** classes. His nasalised lexemes in the singing voice have not been counted but they give the impression of being less regularly nasalised, for example, sung *afrac* was not nasalised but was followed in speech by two nasalised tokens. His vowel inventory and implicational scale of phonological environments are similar to speaker **16M**'s (1.340, Table 1.18). He differs from her in having less lexemes and a tidier implicational scale.

Speaker **21Pt** is the only 'naive' speaker, in the sense that he is not literate in Irish, who, when working through the nasal questionnaire with me, contrasted nasal with non-nasal realisation. He emphasised that *amhas* is not **awəs**, as I had (naturally and deliberately) pronounced the instigative token, but rather (in order): **āməs āwəs ... āwəs ...** (in all, nine tokens nasalised). I was rather surprised by this explicit statement, given the hours I had spent querying other speakers, who had more nasal vowels and lexemes than **21Pt**, but who did not give any explicit indication of the nasal–oral distinction. Indeed, when the questionnaire on nasalisation was completed and speakers pressed me for the purpose of the query session, I occasionally tried to explain and pronounced the variation in words such as **mā:hər' ~ ma:hər' máthair**. One speaker, **14M**, did not seem to (consciously) hear the distinction and other speakers, Máire (**16M**) and **21J**, seemed to equate the nasalised tokens with certain speakers' nasal twang or, in my terms, general nasal speech setting (*dhá scaoileadh amach thrína srón 21J*). On the other hand, the highly literate speaker **35E** is very conscious of linguistic nasalisation and explicitly connects nasalisation in speech with *mh* in the spelling.

1.347 **26Pc, Peait Ó Uaithnín, Damhras**

Speaker **26Pc**'s usage was ascertained in a shortened nasal questionnaire and some conversation.

short	long
ã	(ẽ:) ã:

He shows a pattern which is typical in advanced loss of nasalisation, with dominance of low vowels.

1.348 76M, Máire-Eibhlín Ní Cheannabháin, an Aird Thoir

Speaker **76M** (An Aird Thoir) is the youngest speaker noted with phonemic nasalisation. Of six tokens of *samhradh* in her recording she has four with weak but definite nasalisation, i.e. *sã̃vřã̃* and *sãvřã̃*; and two which have perhaps either nasalised schwa, *sãvrã̃*, or no nasalisation. She is a remarkable outlier in this respect, separated by over thirty years from the last generation who regularly acquired nasalisation. Her father **36M** and the oldest member in their household, speaker **04F**, both have marked nasalisation.

Dialectology

This discussion of nasalisation has attempted to be as comprehensive as practicable with regard to Iorras Aithneach. Previous descriptions of Connacht Irish have also been reviewed. A brief survey of the greater dialectal picture will be presented here, providing comparison in particular with the rich evidence of the ‘Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland’ (SGDS).

1.349 Realisation in SGDS

Subsegmental realisations are rare in SGDS; they occur especially on glides preceding *n*, e.g.¹

*mũ̃*¹ 77.38 *a-muigh*; *kʰb̃ã̃ñ*² 36.164 *ceann* (cp. *kʰb̃ã̃ñ*³ 36.163), *kʰb̃õ̃ñ*⁴ 36.189 *ciùin*, *kʰb̃ã̃ñ*⁵ 36.196 *clann* (point 36 DST); *eõ̃ñ*⁶ 94.377 *eòin*.

Nasalisation is, of course, frequently segmental on a single vowel, e.g.

*niã̃l̃*⁷ 159.656 *neul*, *ã̃vĩñ*⁸ 10.2 *abhainn*, *jõ̃ñ*⁹ 9.377 *eòin*.

The last example was notated by Magne Oftedal who does not always transcribe vocalic sequences as completely nasalised (contrast Ternes 1973: 129–35). As in Iorras Aithneach, both *r* and *v*, *f* can carry segmental realisation, e.g.

ɛ̃r̃ɛ̃m̃ 207.18 *ainm*, *g̃ɛ̃r̃ɛ̃ɛ̃x̃* 207.449 *gainmheach*, *k̃r̃ʰix̃k̃*¹⁰ 29.(30).215 *cnuic*, *k̃r̃ṽiã̃k̃* 29.216 *cnuimh*; *d̃ɛ̃õ̃* 17.296 *daimh*, *ã̃ṽ* 13.35 *amh*.

Suprasegmental realisation is also frequent, e.g.

m̃ɛ̃ir̃i 202.595 *Màiri*, *m̃ĩ̃k̃*¹¹ 130.592 *mic*, *ñỹṽ*¹² 82.651 *naomh*, *d̃ã̃ṽ* 70.293 *damh* (x1 only), *miã̃r̃ã̃ñ* 159.615 *meuran*, *r̃ʰẽ̃ã̃* 2.714 *roimhe*, *õ̃r̃ã̃l̃* 33.877 *ubhall*, *k̃õ̃h̃õ̃r̃o* 135.241 (and many other points) *comharradh*, *h̃ĩ̃ṽ* 32.(33).382 *chì*, *ã̃h̃ĩ̃* 31.403 *aitheamh* (s.v. *feadh*), *ã̃r̃ã̃m̃* 129.17 *ainm*, *ṽõ̃l̃*¹³ 110.626 *mholadh*, *ã̃ĩ̃r̃ã̃t̃*, *ã̃ĩ̃r̃ẽ̃t̃* 69, 131.12 *aimhreir*, *k̃r̃ẽ̃ỹ* 130.209 *cnàimh*, *ñũ̃l̃*¹⁴ ([l̃]) noted as nasalised) 51.45 *a-null*, *l̃* also noted nasalised in 38.162 *ceangail*.

(An intervening consonant is not always indicated as nasalised between two nasalised vowels. This may well be in most cases an auditory effect, the nasalisa-

¹ Citations from SGDS give the point number followed by the number of the question, e.g. 77.38 = point 77, question 38.

tion being perceptible only on the vowels in such instances.) In SGDS it appears that nasalisation spreads more often across a hiatus than intervocalic **h**. In SGDS 27–8 there are no instances of transcribed nasalisation on the nine tokens of *é* following *dhomh* (which is nasalised in seven of these) in the phrase *is aithne dhomh é*. Similarly, *é* is transcribed as oral in *k^hrīn' a cruinn é* (Dorian 1978: 181 (second-last line of text No. 2: B4)). This is in contrast with the spread found in my material (e.g. *nā: ē ná é*, 1.283) and which is implicit in Ternes' analysis of //ʏðha// *dhomh é*, which according to his rules would be *[ʏðhā] (although this example is not given by Ternes in subphonemic transcription, hence my use of the asterisk; 1973: 87 note, 89 note, 134–5). Nasal spread is well documented following the distinctive eclipsing *n* of the copula through a process of monomorphemicisation (which perhaps began predominantly in unstressed position), e.g. *xā 'N' ē*, *xā 'N' ī*, *xā 'N' ē*; GL §304 *chan è*. In fact the raised variants of *è* found both in Lewis Gaelic and in Manx following copula *n* can be attributed to this nasalisation.¹

Nasalisation can spread to the left on a proclitic or qualifier, e.g.

ʔ^(ə) vīx'k' 24.592, ā vīx'k'^h 97.592 *a mhic* (I have heard such spreading in this phrase in Glenuig Gaelic);
'gl'^(ə) vē 56.476 *glé mhath*.

Recall that this type of left spread does not follow Ternes' rules for Applecross (1973: 134, rule 2). Anticipatory spread to unstressed preceding elements is also found in material from Iorras Aithneach (1.272).

There are clear, although relatively rare, examples of facultative use where alternants are given in responses, e.g.

bē'ndʒurəx / bē'ndʒurəx 47.77 and bē'ndʒ'urəx / bē'ndʒurəx 62.77 *banntarach*, 62.77, *krə'k / krə'k* 140.213 *cnoc*, *mə'wl'ə / mə'wl'əx* 205.627 *moladh*, *m'uk / muk* 137.633 *muc*, *nā:daŋ / n'ā:daŋ* 21.646 *nàdur*. Similarly nasal alternation occurs in *nàdur* in points 37, 41, 49, 58, 185 between questions 646 and 644; also alternation in *nàbaidh* between questions 642 and 644.

Realisation is, in the vast majority of cases, on the stressed syllable but primary nasalisation on the unstressed syllable can occur, e.g.

mō'rān 188.632 (also 71, 72, 100) *móran*; *elē'n* 203.624 *ealdhan*, *ā'wī'n* 70.2 *abhainn* (also 71, 95, 182), *l'v'-ān* 165–6.46 *luighean*, *inū's*, *ūnīs* 169–170.50 *Aonghas*, *brādān* 153.120 *bradan*, *bri-ān* 147.127 *bruidhinn*. Also *cumhang* 67.288 (also 76, 94), *diomhain* 58.311 (also 86, 103, 188, 203); also *domhain* 325, *righinn* 706 vs. *roghainn* 713. Also in *k^hūhūxk^h* 92.287 *cumhachd* (and 88). From unstressed *mh* in *ehū* 97.403, *āhī* 101.403 *aitheamh* (s.v. *feadh*) (*feitheamh* SGDS 412 with three nasal returns); *ullamh* 191, 193.891. Cp. *seanmhair* 749 nasal on unstressed syllable only in point 29, on both stressed and unstressed in points 59 and 84.

The marginal status of phonemic nasalisation in this position is described above for Iorras Aithneach (1.270). Oftedal (1956: 41 §36) and Ternes (1973: 134) deny its existence in Leurbost and Applecross respectively. Given a flexible autoseg-

¹ Recall that *è*, typically unstressed, with the copula is obligatory before many predicate types in Scottish Gaelic and that it is all but obligatory with all predicate types in Manx. Cf. Watson (1994b: §16.2), Broderick (1984: 94–5), Williams (1994: §5.41), Ahlqvist (1978: 76, n. 3). High variants of the 3m pronoun in non-nasal contexts in Manx, however, require different explanations.

mental view of nasalisation, the unstressed position can be viewed as a legitimate host for realisation which may, in certain lects, be rarely selected or lexically limited.

1.350 Dialectal distribution

Eoghan Mac Éinrí (1996) demonstrated the distribution of nasalisation in Ireland based on SIDI. From his analysis it is obvious that nasalisation was widespread in Ireland until recent times and that nasalisation is now to be found as a relic feature among speakers in remote areas. Iorras Aithneach has such a profile in Connacht where non-nasalisation has been spreading westwards in the twentieth century. Cois Fharraige (ICF §§238–45) to the east and Bun a Cnoc (Nilsen 1975: 47–8) to the north of Iorras Aithneach are roughly 30 years in advance, and eastern Iorras Aithneach 20 years in advance of western Iorras Aithneach. A simplified history, based on speakers' dates of birth, for the loss of nasalisation in these communities can be schematised as follows:

	→ 1910	→ 1920	1930 →	1940 →	1950 →	1976
West Iorras Aithneach	+	+	+	–	(+)	–
East Iorras Aithneach	+	+	–	–	–	–
Cois Fharraige	+	–	–	–	–	–
Bun a Cnoc	+	–	–	–	–	–

An obviously important question for comparative purposes is how similar to Iorras Aithneach the rates and mechanisms of change were in other communities. For an overview of the situation in Scotland, 180 words in SGDS were collated for presence of nasalisation, revealing a pattern which corresponds to the far less detailed distribution attainable previously from dialect monographs. In one way the opposite pattern to Ireland was found: nasalisation is the rule in SGDS, non-nasalisation being found only on the periphery. In summary, nasalisation is very strong ($\geq 60\%$ of the test sample), to strong (59–45%), in the north and in other smaller dispersed areas; it is medium (44–26%) in central areas; and weak (25–10%), to very weak ($< 10\%$), in the southeast and southwest. It is difficult not to relate the areas of weak nasalisation in the southeast and southwest with longer and more intensive language loss and influence from English. There is, however, an important added complication to the overall picture of the distribution of nasalisation in SGDS, similar to the problem of various Irish and Scottish Gaelic monographs discussed above (1.311 ff.) — the question of the fieldworker. There are field-worker isoglosses in SGDS which must always be considered when dealing with this material and this is clearly true of the transcription of nasalisation.

1.351 Phonemic and morphophonemic analysis of SGDS

The phonemic analysis of nasalisation for Scottish Gaelic may be identical to that proposed for Iorras Aithneach, i.e. an independent phonological component with various, short (segmental) or long (suprasegmental), realisations. A similar situation exists in dialects of Breton described, for example, in Sommerfelt (1978: 82–5) and Ternes (1973: 141–2). The evidence of SGDS further suggests that there is a (facultative) morphophonemic opposition, also found in Iorras Aithneach, of words which have oral vowels following initial *m*- contrasting with lenited

nasalised variants, i.e. *mv-* vs. *mh̃v-*. The other possible morphophonemic type, e.g. *abhainn* vs. *an abhainn*, has also been discussed for Iorras Aithneach (1.278, 1.304, 1.326). In fact in East Perthshire (M. Ó Murchú 1989, EPG (Part 4, Lexicon)) there are three distinct classes of words in initial *m-*:

- (i) words consistently non-nasalised (in both lenited and unlenited forms),
- (ii) words consistently nasalised (in both lenited and unlenited forms),
- (iii) words nasalised in lenition only.

Class (iii) in fact contains the majority of words in initial *m-*. Table 1.25 compares the corroborative evidence from the various sources.

Table 1.25 Nasalisation in initial *m-* and *mh-*, EPG, IA, SGDS

Unlenited	% nasal	Lenited	% nasal
East Perthshire (M. Ó Murchú)			
<i>mór</i>	0	<i>mhór</i>	0
<i>meàmhgal</i>	100	<i>mheàmhgal</i>	100
<i>muc</i>	0	<i>mhuc</i>	100
Iorras Aithneach (in lexically nasalised words, except <i>mór</i>) ¹			
<i>mór</i>	0	<i>mhór</i>	0
<i>maith</i> 04B	44	<i>mhaith</i>	58
<i>mac</i> 04B	43	<i>mhac</i>	82
<i>ma-</i> 16M	9	<i>mha-</i>	71
<i>má-</i> 16M	76	<i>mhá-</i>	73
SGDS			
<i>muir</i>	3	<i>mhuir</i>	5
<i>moladh</i>	24	<i>mholadh</i>	60
EH ² <i>moladh</i>	19	EH <i>mholadh</i>	67
MO <i>moladh</i>	85	MO <i>mholadh</i>	90
Cp. <i>duine</i>	20, 13	<i>dhuine</i>	25

In the bottom line of Table 1.25 unlenited *d-* is compared with lenited *dh-* in *duine* (q 360, 361) and *a dhuine* (q 362). The lenited variant has slightly more nasalisation.³ Even less statistically robust but perhaps indicative of the general phonetic tendency, where the issue is the phonetic ability of a consonant to support nasalisation rather than lenition *per se*, are the returns for *leum* 575, nasalised once and with weak nasalisation twice, in contrast with *cha do leum* 576, which has no nasalisation. Here the unlenited consonant, in this case **l'** (575), is phonetically a better host for nasalisation than the lenited version, **l'** (576).

¹ These percentages are from my early notes and will need revision. They most probably under-represent nasalisation in unlenited tokens.

² Fieldworkers Eric Hamp (EH) and Magne Oftedal (MO) are two of the most consistent in marking nasalisation (i.e. accurate and reliable) and much of their work was in northern areas which have very strong (≥ 60%) nasalisation.

³ Cp. *bainne* –nasal vs. *bhainne* ±nasal noted in SID.46 (see 1.331 p. 341 n. 1). Similarly, *cnoic* –nasal vs. *Chnoic* +nasal in the sequence: *na cnoic krik' |*, *múin a bhídís sin a rith*; *Caladh an Chnoic kalhə xřik' is*, *Glínsce* **872P**.

On a point of detail, of the words found in Iorras Aithneach with unhistorical nasalisation, *ais* 23 and *àite* 25 have no nasalisation in SGDS (it is significant that *air n-ais* is quite rare in Scottish Gaelic and that *àite* is masculine in contrast with its feminine gender in Irish (1.304); cp. more commonly nasalised feminine *ite* SGDS 534), *oidhche* (670) regularly nasalised, but *aois* (48) only marginally (weak nasalisation in points 25–6). Other words, *chì*, *faic*, *facal*, *faighinn*, are well-known to be nasalised in Scottish Gaelic dialects. Other nasalised words from SGDS include *creic* (56.252), *dóibh* (2, 3, 5.319), *dùisg* (140, 143–4, 151, 155.363), *eaglais* (131, 133–4.368) and *na h-eaglaise* (130–134.369), *ithidh* (31, 68, 164.535) and *ithe* (164.536). Cp. Ó Maolalaigh (2003a: 111–7).

1.352 Summary

One can conclude this description of nasalisation in Iorras Aithneach, and in other Gaelic dialects, with a summary of the significant findings made. The phonetic realisation of nasalisation has been clarified as well as its phonemic status in all phonological environments. The interaction of morpheme boundaries and nasalisation has also been elucidated. The complexities of spontaneous nasalisation, especially in prepausa position, and nasal speech setting as well as rhinoglotophilia, and their interaction with phonemic nasalisation have been addressed. I have provided a comprehensive list of phonemically nasalised words and dealt with their diachrony. The intricacies of denasalisation in the dialect in the course of the twentieth century show striking differences between speakers and possible lexical and even collocational spread of the innovation. There are also indisputable implicational scales between vowels and phonological subclasses. From the point of view of theoretical linguistics denasalisation is clearly a potentially rich field for the investigation of the competing tendencies of sound change: lexical and phonological.¹ Family networks show both similarities and some rather unexpected disjunctions. I have alluded to the contrast between the spoken word and the singing voice in some speakers, which will be discussed in detail in ‘Higher Register’ (10.37 ff.). The dialectology of both synchronic nasalisation in Gaelic in Ireland and Scotland and of denasalisation in Conamara in apparent and real time has been briefly outlined. Finally, the occurrence in sandhi and the morphophonemics of lenited *mh-* have been described in greater detail than previously. Much of what has been explored here awaits further detailed investigation.

Epenthesis

Epenthetic vowels and, to a lesser extent, consonants, play an important role both in historical phonology and in current variation.

1.353 Epenthetic vowels

The epenthetic vowel is generally realised as unstressed schwa. It can often be reduced or nonsyllabic in Epenthesis 2–5. Five structural types of vocalic epenthesis will be distinguished according to phonological and morphological criteria and systemic importance. Epenthesis 1 is the most important: it is found in clus-

¹ Nasalisation, or its loss, is not categorised by Labov (1994: 543) in his resolution of the Neogrammarian controversy into typically lexically or phonologically conditioned sound changes.

ters preceded by short vowels, the clusters consisting of sonorants followed generally by (original) voiced velars and labials. Historically, clusters containing voiced fricatives followed by obstruents, such as in *Tadhg*, *Sadhbh*, also underwent epenthesis. These fricatives were later vocalised, as in **taig**, **sau**, etc. Epenthesis 2 is far less systematic and is found in clusters preceded by both long and short vowels, mostly where the first element is an obstruent and the second a sonorant or *s*. Epenthesis 3 is found to an even more limited extent in initial clusters containing either obstruents or nasals followed by sonorants. These are the three primary types; there are two secondary types. Epenthesis 4 is found at morpheme juncture in compounds mostly in phonological environments similar to Epenthesis 1. Epenthesis 5 is found at word juncture and is idiolectal in many cases; apart from a few lexicalised phrases containing stops, it is found in phrases in phonological environments similar to Epenthesis 1–3.

1.354 Epenthesis 1: medial sonorants

An epenthetic vowel developed regularly between a liquid preceded by a short vowel and followed by a labial or velar obstruent (other than the voiceless stops *p*, *c*, and voiceless palatal *ch*) or followed by *m*, i.e.

- l* when followed by *b*, *m*, *bh*, *g*, (broad *ch*), *gh*;
- r* when followed by *b*, *m*, *bh*, *g*, broad *ch*, *gh*;
- n* when followed by --, *m*, *bh*, --, broad *ch*, *gh*;
- m* when followed by *gh* (but not *ch*);
- ng* when followed by *bh*.

For rare epenthesis between *rn*, see further below (1.355). As described above, the intervocalic voiced fricatives — *gh* and nonpalatal *bh* — were lost, as was final nonpalatal *bh* generally, with regular compensatory lengthening. Examples:

- l*: *dalba* **daləbə**, *halmadóir* **haləmədɔɪr**, *sailm* **sal'əm**, *balbh* **balu**, *Gaillmhe* **gal'əv'ə**, *dealg* **d'aləg**, *deilg* **d'el'əg**, (cp. *ulchabhán* **uləxən**), *soilgheas* **sol'is**;
- r*: *borb* **borəb**, *boirbe* **ber'əb'ə**, *gorm* **gorəm**, *formna* **forəmnə**, *goirme* **ger'əm'ə**, *tarbh* **taru**, *tairbh* **ter'əv**, *dearg* **d'arəg**, *deirge* **d'er'əg'ə**, *dorcha* **dorəxə**, *dorgha* **doru**, *suirghe* **sol'i**;
- n*: *meanmnaí* **m'anəmnɪ**, *ainm* **an'əm**, *banbh* **banu**, *bainbh* **ban'əv**, *Donnchadha* **dunəxu**, *athchuinghe* **axən'i**;
- m*: *diomdha* **d'umu**, *iomdha* **umu**, *umi* (contrast loss following long vocoid in *gruamdha* **gru:mə**, *stuamdha* **stu:mə**); but *mch* > *mp*;
- ng*: the relevant reflex is found in *deangamháiltí* **!894C9 CABI §620(b) v. 6** (*diongabháilte* FGB). Also in high register by-forms only of *teangmháil* **f'æ:ŋgəwə:l' 04B1**, *fear mo theangmhála* **f'a:r mō hā:ŋgəwə:lə** (Sgbf) **869P**; the development was (ignoring nasalisation of *mh*) apparently *gmh* > *ngmh* **ŋv** > **ŋəv** > **ŋgəv**; alternatively *gmh* > **gəv** in *teagabháil* Semr84. The corresponding vernacular verb is **təŋgə**, VN **təŋgəxtə:l'**.

As stated, there is no epenthesis before palatal *ch*; there is, however, vowel lengthening or diphthongisation preceding palatal *lch* and palatal *rch*, but not palatal *nch*. Examples:

ai, oi > **ai** before *lch* in *sailchearnach* **sail'hɑ:nəx**,¹ *coilchín* (< *coileach*) **kail'hi:n'**, *sailche* (< *salach*) **sail'hi:** (final *-i:* here can be taken as analogical);

ai > **ɑ:** before *rch* in *an Fhairche* **ən ɑ:r'hə**; cp. *Muircheartach* (perhaps > **Mricheartach*) > *Briartach*, *oir(i)chill* > genitive *oirille* **853Sb**_{LL124};

oirch in *toirchim* > *soirm* (indicating loss of **h**, i.e. ***ser'əm'**) in a tale run: *trian le soirm suain agus sámhchodlata* **866ESc**_{128.25}; cp. *trian le sola sùm sàm agus sìorchollata* **866ESemr**₄₄ with *sola* perhaps from *soirm* + *codladh*;

nch in *inchinn* **in'hən'**, *Mainchín* **man'hi:n'**, cp. with metathesis *muinchille* **mīl'hən'ə**.

Cp. other palatal clusters: *mch* in *timcheall* > *timpeall* ~ *tiompall* (~ *timpall*) (1.215); *nnbh* in *Innbhear* > *Ínnbhear* ~ *Ínnbhar* ~ *Ínniúr* (1.356); *innmhe* > *imhne* generally (1.86); *ngh* in *broinnghéalach* **brin'ələx** similar to *inghilt* **SID**_{1.16} (e.g. **in'əl** 40); *rgh* in *suirghe* **sel'i:**, **ser'hi:**, **ser'əji:**.

Non-epenthesis preceding palatal *ch* has not been commented on previously. This is perhaps a result of the paucity of lexemes which have the requisite environment and which have not undergone other changes. Cf. Ó Dochartaigh (1997) for *muinchille*. Recall ICF App I §641 *muinchille* > *muirchille* **mirh'il'ə**. Cp. *seilchide* > *seilmide* **fel'əm'e:d'ə**, etc., (cf. historical **fel'həd'ə** without epenthesis in **SID**_{1.216}, points 84–6).

1.355 Exceptions

There is non-epenthesis in many old compounds (not all of which are understood as compounds synchronically), e.g. *anbhás* **anwɑ:s**, *iomghaoth* **u:myi:hə** (understood synchronically as compounds), *oilbhéas* **elv'e:s** (synchronically simplex), as well as in synchronic compounds generally; although there is some optional epenthesis (cf. 1.366). For delenition and loss of consonants in epenthetic clusters, adjectival *-mhar*, and other irregular developments, see the discussion of individual consonants above.

Epenthesis involving *rn* is rare: it is basically restricted to final position; in non-final position there generally is lengthening of preceding vowels only (1.199). The four lexemes with final *-rn* are *Beirn*, *corn*, *dorn* and *carn*, the last is restricted in use, the general word being *carnán*. The cluster is generally eliminated by an epenthetic final vowel, while the preceding vowel is lengthened:

Beirn > *Beighirne* ⇒ ***b'airn'ə** ! **CABI** §498 v. 1 (noted in *A Mheargait Ní Bheighirne* [⇒ ***v'airn'ə**], ' *chailleach gan stuaim*, it is unlikely the final schwa of *Beighirne* should be taken to be the vocative particle);

corn **kaurnə**, plural **kaurni:**, also in verb *corn* **kaurnə** (as well as *cornáil* **kaurnɑ:l'**), cp. diminutive *coirnín* **kaurn'i:n'** **852Sb**;

dorn **daurnə**, plural **daurn'i:**, **daurni:**, diminutive *doirnín* **daurn'i:n'**;

Carn (in the Iorras Aithneach place-name) > **ka:rnə**, cp. prevocalic phrasal *carn aoiligh* **ka:rn i:l'ə**, but sometimes **ka:rən i:l'ə** (*carn aoiligh* has **ka:rn** ~ **karən**, etc., in Connacht; for returns from **SID**, see 1.420).

¹ Corresponding to **sail'ɑ:nəx** in Cois Fharraige, i.e. *saighleánach* **FFG20**.

For epenthesis in borrowed 'rn', see 11.98; cp. the earlier borrowings *coirnéal* 'colonel' **korN'e:l** 03C, **korən'e:l** !03C, *foirnis* **forən'əf** 892M, **forN'əf**. Rarely following long vowels in *Loch Éirne* generally **lox e:rN'ə** but also *Loch Éir'ne* ~ *Loch Éirinne* 852S4, **lox e:rən'ə** 35E (perhaps through analogy with *Éirinn*); *Ceann Boirne* **k'a:n bo:rN'ə** generally, but **k'a:n bo:lən'ə** (Asc)10B; rare in *tairngí* **ta:rN'i**; generally but **ta:rən'i**: 31D, *túirne* **turN'ə** ... **tur'N'ə** | 897P. For unstressed final *rn*, see 'Epenthesis 2' (1.362).

1.356 Optional *lg*, *rm*, *rbh*, *rg*, *nbh*

Optional epenthesis in *lg*, *rm*, *rbh*, *rg*, *nbh* occurs in the words:

tolgadh **toləgə** generally, but it is disyllabic in coordination with a disyllable in the set phrase *truisle ná tolgadh* **trifl'ə nā tolgə** 872P (recorded once).

dearmad often **d'arəməd** but sometimes **d'ær'məd** S, 14M, **d'a.r'məd** Mp 163; *dearmadach* **d'ær:mədəx** M; *dearmadaíthe* **d'ær:mədi**: P. In SID1.163 the northern Irish form *dearmad* (distinct from southern *dearmhad*) has **rm** in two thirds of the points (42), with **r'm** (9) and **rəm** (8) together making the other third. It is interesting that *dearmad* is similar to another anomalous word *Dearmaid* ~ *Diarmaid* discussed below (where unexpected epenthesis is found following *ia*, i.e. long vocoid, 1.358).

Cormacán, in *Ó Cormacáin* **o' korməkə:n** 11C5045. Cf. *Cormac* (10.40).

Banbha **banəbə** generally, also **banəbrə** / **bambə** !869PZCP160.

canbhás often **kanəwəs** (e.g. 21Pg) but also **'kanvə:f** [gen] 46.1092, **kānwəs** 11C,¹ and **kə'n'wəs** 18J.

cuirbhirt 894C9 (< *cuibhreann*) indicating ***kir'əv'ərt'** or ***kirv'ərt'**.

searbhánta, e.g. **færwəntə**, **færəwəntə**, plural **færwənti**: (all 11C).

seirbhís generally **fēr'əv'i:f** (e.g. 866E) but the spelling *seirvís* 869P4 may indicate lack of epenthesis.

beargún **b'orgu:n**, **b'orəgu:n**, **b'ogru:n**, a borrowing.

purgadóir **porəgədər** SM, **pəragədər** 46.790, also **porgədər** (e.g. 15W).

In this context we can mention the verbal noun **ba'rgu:nt'** 78B, through metathesis for traditional *bagairt* **bagərt'** (verb *bagair*).

Cp. *Finnbheara* **f'i:nv'ærə** (e.g. 894C) also **f'i:n'v'ærə** 894C (with clear unstressed *ea*), in contrast with fully epenthesised *ceannbhán* **k'anəwə:n**.

Cp. *Innbhear* (irregular with regard to palatality) **i:n'vər** [sic] M, 18J, 21Jq, **i:n'wər** !03C, **i:nv'ər** !21Jc, but also **i:n'u:r** 889P, 49J as if from **Inneabhar* with initial vowel length from the non-epenthesised by-form, cf. the discussion of *Indreabhán* **indr'əɣə:n** < **Imm(ea)bharán* (1.81 (d), 1.246, 1.373). We can compare place-names *Cuan an Inniúir* **i:n'u:r** *Mhóir* in Iorras, Co. Mayo, *Inbhear na Glaisighe* **i:n'v'ər nə 'gləʃi** (J. N. Hamilton 1974: 290) from Tory, Co. Donegal; and the various forms of *inbhear* Map 16 SID1 'grazing' including **i:n'əvər** point 11 (also Ó Buachalla 2003: 9),

¹ For his disyllabic *canbhás* in a local song where the metre requires a trisyllabic realisation, see 10.42.

n'q:r point 32. The similar cluster in *innmhe* is metathesised, without epenthesis, to *imhn(n)e* (1.83).

From the optional usage in *dearmad*, *searbhánta* and *canbhás* it is apparent that the historical sequences *-arm-*, *-arbh-* and *-anbh-*, containing stressed *a* and labials in nonfinal position, are the least favourable positions for epenthesis. In word-final position these clusters are obligatorily epenthesised, e.g. *arm* **arəm**. The long unstressed vowels may be of relevance in *searbhánta* and *canbhás* and perhaps also in *seirvís*; all three words with long vowels are also borrowings. It is possibly significant that *Cormacán* and *purgadóir* also contain a stressed nonhigh vowel (**o**).

1.357 *purgadóir*

The pronunciation **porgədo:r'** was fortunately brought to my attention by Ní Chiosáin (1997) who deals with the patterning of the epenthetic vowel. The article claims that syllable count is of central importance with regard to the presence (in short words) or absence (in longer words) of the epenthetic vowel. This claim is inaccurate. In fact, syllable count seems to have only slight influence on the presence of the epenthetic vowel. In Iorras Aithneach *dearmadach* probably has **rm** more often than *dearmad*, for instance. The main critique of Ní Chiosáin's article must be its lack of empirical substantiation. Some of the examples are modern coinages (found in FGB but not in Dinn), e.g. *deirmítíteas*, *Cairmilíteach* (contrast *carmach* Dinn), unknown to, or un-used by, the majority of dialect speakers — words which have substantially different phonological make-up to the traditional dialect. In fact, such coinages, when used by dialect speakers, often follow rules similar to those used in adapting borrowings from English (see NIGCF (de Bhaldraithe 1953–5a), and below, Chapter 11). This point is acknowledged by Ní Chiosáin in a later version of her original paper (1999: 559–72, especially 565–6, and footnote 20) but without changing her analysis; she does not explain why *Cairmilíteach* is 'considered native' and *deirmítíteas* is not. The short word *dearmad* is frequent without epenthesis and one counterexample to Ní Chiosáin's claim. It is available in SID Map 163.¹

The long word *halmadóir* **haləmədo:r'** with epenthesis is another counterexample. Substantial information on a long word given by Ní Chiosáin as an example without epenthesis, *purgadóir(eacht)*, is also available, in SID q 790. Forms in initial *pr-* are the rule in Munster and are found in South Galway and South Mayo and Donegal. Non-epenthesis is reported from areas throughout Connacht and Donegal but epenthesis is just as common. The collated data, pertaining in particular to Connacht, are presented here.

IWM §420 *Progadóir*; ICF §636 *Progadóir* (contrast SID point 40 below); ITM §§292, 497 **porgədo:r'** ~ **prugədo:r'** (contrast SID point 51 below); GT §254 **prəgədo:r'** (**pərg-**); not in IEM (cf. SID points 55–7).

Q 790 SIDII, III: **Bold** = **pr-**, once **-gr-**; *Italics* = **-rg-**.

1 *pr-*, 5 *pr-*, 10 *pr-*, 20 *pr-*

¹ Green (2003: 302) gives *dearmad* as a typical example of epenthesis in *rm*. Neither Ní Chiosáin (1997: 368–9) nor Green (loc. cit.) mention important exceptions to, and rarer attested types of epenthesis, e.g. between *ng* and *bh/mh*.

22	prugə'do:r'əxt	38	pəragədo:r'	51	porəgədo:r'
23	prugədo:r'əxt	39	0	52	pogrədo:r'
24	pərgədo:r'əxt	40	pərgədo:r	53	prəgəder'
	pərgə'do:r'əxt	41	pərgədo:r'əxt	54	pərgədo:r'
25	prəgədo:r'əxt	42	prəgədo:r'	55	pəragədo:r'
26–7	0	43	0	56	pəragədo:r''
28	prugədo:r'əxt	43a	prəgədo:r'	57	pərgədo:r'
29–32	0	43b	pərgədo:r' ¹	58	pəragədo:r'
33	pərgədo:r'	44–5	0	59	pəragədo:r'
34	pərgədo:r	46	pəragədo:r'	60	pəragədo:r'
35	0	47–8	0	61	pərgədo:r
36	pərgədo:r'	49	porəgədo:r'	62	pəragədo:r'
37	pəragədo:r'	50	0	63, 87	0

The anomalous non-epenthesised **-rg-** cluster in *purgadóir(eacht)* cannot be analysed without regard to both the frequent metathesis and epenthesis also found in this word. These instances of **-rg-** cannot be taken as the basis for a general theory. This word resembles others in a well-known class with metathesis such as *bolgam* > *blogam*. The fact that *purgadóir* is a religious borrowing, and easily recognisable in Latin 'purgatorium', may be of importance. Cp. *Críost(é) ná'r ...* !894C9, influenced by Latin 'Christe'; also conservative genitive *creidí* 894C of *creidimh* (10.19); **-r(ə)g-** occurs in another borrowing *beargún* **b'orgu:n**, **b'orəgu:n**, as well as **b'ogru:n** (also **b'ergu:n**, **b'ogru:n** in Cois Fharraige (NIGCF §§39, 61); **b'er'əg'u:n** in Innis Meáin (Ó Siadhail 1978: 35); **b'irəgu:n**, **br'igu:n** in North-East Galway (T. S. Ó Máille 1961: 119)). Cp. *purgóid* **porəgo:d'**. There are other errors in Ní Chiosáin's articles cited, such as the historically incorrect explanation of *colpa* **koləpə** and *dearfa* **d'arəfə**; these forms are regular reflexes of earlier *colbtha*, *dearbhtha*.

There are rare instances of absence of epenthesis, actual synchronic syncope, in *-airbr-* and *ainmn-* (note the low stressed vowel), heard from speakers in query:

Bairbre **bar'əbr'ə** > **bar'əbr'əxi**: generally, but **barbr'əxi**: 43Mpq;

ainm **an'əm'** > **an'əm(n/r)'əxi**: *ainm(n)eachaí* generally, but **æ:nmn'əxə** 29Cq, **æ:nmr'əxi**: 36Pq.

1.358 Exceptions: long vocoids; Voiceless stops

As stated above, there is generally no epenthesis following long vowels or diphthongs, e.g. *téarma* **t'e:rmə**, *dualgas* **duəlgəs**, *iarmhais* **iərwəʃ**, *iargcúil* **iərgu:l'**. Cp. also *eolghach* **o:lgəx**, *nuallgach* !894C. Epenthesis is regular following vowel shortening in *tórmach* **tərməx**. Similarly, *ao* is shortened with (subsequent) epenthesis in *Aonghus* ***uni:s** (1.14). Exceptional epenthesis arises (optionally) in the following:

Diarmaid frequently **d'iərməd'**, genitive **d'iərmədə**, but also with **-rəm-**, e.g. *Diaramuidín* 894C9 (prose and song); *Diarmaid ó Duibhne* **d'iərməd'** **o: daiv'ə** [x2] 04B1; *Janaí Shéamais Dhiarmada* **ɟani: he:məʃ jiərmədə** S. Epenthesis here seems to reflect the by-form with

¹ The actual entry reads a. **pərgədo:r'** b. **pərgədo:r'**; the former may be a misprint for **pərgədo:r'**. (Recall that 43b = Stenson and Ó Ciardha 1986.)

short stressed vowel *Dearmaid*, Old Irish *Dermaid* (e.g. O'Brien 1962). Further examples and explanation of both *ia* and *e* variants in Uhlich (1993: 226–7); cp. modern *Ó Dearmada* (T. S. Ó Máille 1910: 72). The epenthetic vowel (as well as the *ia* vocalism) could be a result of the reinterpretation of the composite name, based on its second element *formad*. Both IWM and GCF have **-rm-** in *Diarmaid*, but alternate **-rəm-** is widespread in Connacht: south of Iorras Aithneach in Innis Oírr (B. Ó Catháin 1995: 486), and north in Erris (IEM Addendum to §329), cp. Donegal **d'ərəmwid'** (Quiggin 1906: §84);

tuairgnín (*tuairgín*) FGB **tuər'əg'i:n'** generally, but **tuərək'i:n'** **20Pá** (only) influenced by diminutives in *-icín*;

unstressed **wə** irregularly gives (optional) **u:** in compensatory lengthening in *béalbhach*, *geolbhach*, *naonbhar*, etc., as noted in 1.97.

More sporadic epenthesis in words containing these clusters following long vowels can be classified as Epenthesis 2, e.g. *Gaoidhíle* **ge:l'ə** generally, rare **ge:l'əg'ə** **66N**; *téarma* **t'ər:mə** but also **t'ər:mə** **25M**.

There is no epenthesis preceding (original) voiceless stops, e.g. *corp* **korp**, *alp* **alp**, *corc* **kork**, except preceding *p*, *c* in *failp* FGB: *failip*, *failipéara*, etc., FFG; *coirceog* **kər'ək'əg**; *cuircín* **kər'ək'i:n'**, influenced by diminutive *-icín*, especially *círicín* (cp. *bailicín* FFG19, 20, *bairicín* FFG19, 20, perhaps related to *bailcín* ~ *bailcimín* FGB; 'napkin', 1.360); also in the place-name *an Pháirc Bhá(i)n* and its associated *Tobar na Páirce Báine* **ən fər'ək' wə:n'**, **tobər nə pər'ək'ə bə:n'ə** **31Mq**, with depalatalisation of medial *r* also **ən fərək' wə:n'**, **tobər nə pərək'ə bə:n'ə** M perhaps influenced by *Pádraig* **pərək'**.

For epenthesis with metathesis in words such as *bolgam* > *blogam*, see 1.241.

1.359 Epenthesis 2: medial consonants and sonorants

Less regular epenthesis, sometimes nonsyllabic, occurs following both long and short vowels, preceding sonorants or *s* and following all obstruents except the voiceless velars (**k** and **x**), and also following the sonorants *m* and *r*:

-br-, *-pr-*, *-dr-*, *-tr-*, *-gr-* (including *-scr-*), (*-fr-*, *-thr-*), *-mr-*, *-bl-*, *-pl-*, *-ml-*, *-tl-*, *-sm-*, (*-sr-*), *-gs-*, *-mhs-*, *-gn-*, *-bhn-* (including *-mhn-*), *-mn-*, *-mhr-*, *-rn(-)*, *-rm-* (following long vowel).

Recall that there is sometimes lengthening before some of these clusters (*dr*, *gr*, *mr*, *ml*, *bhn*). (Cp. also the development of unstressed **u:** in clusters *-cmh-*, *-dbh-* in *acmhainn*, *Éadbhaird*.) Other words with these or similar clusters are discussed under Syncope (1.59 ff.). Words noted with Epenthesis 2 or influenced by Epenthesis 2 are listed in the following sections. For discussion of the types of morphological adjustments also found, see 1.363 ff.

1.360 *br* — *mr*

br *ag oibriú* **g aib'ər'u:** **01P**.

pr *naprún* **nə:p'ru:n** 46.1036, **nə:pəru:n** [x2], **nə:pəru:n** [x1] **894C**, (cp. *miosarún*).

Cp. *pc* in the borrowing 'napkin' > *naipcín* Dinn, *naipcín* (var. *naipicín*) FGB, generally *neaipicín* (also *neaipcín* P) with metathesis also **n'ək'ip'i:n'** FFG s.v. *neaicipín*.

dr *Aindriú* **æ:n'd'ər'u:** [x2] M, **27M**, **andr'u:**;

eadra **ædʰrə** 894C;

éadrom **e:dəram** 889P, 892M1601, 01P, 14M, 12J, 18J, 64M, plural **e:dəramə** 881J; **e:dʰram** 46.Mp 81, 289; **e:drəm** 12J, SM; verb: *éadromaigh* **e:drəmə** S, *éadroimíú* **e:dəram' u:** 01P;

ar fuaidreadh **er' fuəd'ər'ə** 12J;

leadrán **l'ædra:n** M, **l'adra:n** FFG, also **l'æ:dəra:n** Mq;

luaidreáil **luəd'ər'a:l' M**; *luaidreán* **luəd'ər'a:n M**;

madradh allaidh **mə'd rə:lə** 04Bl, **mə:də rə:lə**, **madə rə:lə** Mq, plural **madəri'a:lə** Mq; cp. *mádaráí* FFG s.v. *mada*;

madradh uisce **mə:dər iʃk'ə** (brother of 897S), **mə:dr iʃk'ə** P;

scuaidrín **skuəd'ər'in'**.

For forms of *paidir* and other words, see vowel lengthening before *dr* (1.204).

eadrainn and *eadraibh*, historical 1pl and 2pl forms of the preposition *eidir*, have by-forms such as *eatrainn* and *eadaraibh*, etc., related to historical 3pl *eatarra* (and perhaps influenced by older simple preposition *eadar*), which itself has by-forms such as *eadrú* (cf. 7.38).

- tr* *baintreach* **bə'nt'rəx** S, but regularly realised with epenthesis by Seán in a set quotation: *Níor chéin an bhaintrigh a wa'nt'ər'ə héin ormsa* (a saying of Túna Ó Gaora);

ceap tró FFG, **k'æptə,ro:** 859P, !Pt, **k'æpdəro:** 10Bq;

contráilte **ku(:)ntrə:l't'ə** SM, **kuntərə:l't'ə** **ku:ntrə:l't'ə** 20My (note the co-occurrence of short vowel and epenthesis here);

pátrún mostly **pə:tru:n**, but *ar Phátarún* !894C9, **pə:teru:n** 11C;

pataisc singular reanalysed as *patar uisce* **patər iʃk'ə** (FFG), but also only partly so **patə riʃk'ə** << **pat riʃk'ə** M; the plural is fully reanalysed **patər'i' iʃk'ə** M, *patairí uisce* FFG.

Cp. *máistreás* (based on *máistir*) **mā:ʃtr'as** 04Br, SM, but other speakers have regular nonsyncope (arguably related to epenthesis) *máistireás* 894C9, **mā:ʃt'ər'as** 36S. Similarly, *máistreacht* S, FFG, **mā:ʃt'ər'əxt**.

For *maistreadh* **mā:ʃt'ər'ə**, see 1.363.

- gr* *fuagra* **fuəgərə** [x3] 892M4615–6, plural **fə:gəri:** ~ **fuəgri:** M; cp. verbal *fuagair*, e.g. *fuagraíodh* **fuəgəri:w**;

freagra **fr'æ:grə** >> **fr'æ:gərə** S, also **fr'ə:grə** S; Seán has epenthesis with the short stressed vowel only; *aon fhreagra orm* **e:ŋ' r'ə:gər orəm** 892M2420, *aon fhreagra* **ē:ŋ' r'ə:gərə** 892M3459; cp. verb *freagair*, VN *freagairt*;

Inis Múscraí **in'əʃ mū:skəri:** 896P, **in'əʃ mū:skri:** 11C.

Cp. perhaps the surname *Ó Coscraigh* > *a Choscara*.

- mr* *comrádaí* generally -mr-, but **kūmərə:di:** 892M, 01P;

cuimhniú > *cuimriú* **kū:m'ri' u:** 869P, cf. 1.84;

cumraíocht FGB **kuməriəxt** 889P (cp. **kumriəxt** LFRM);

iomradh, (ag) *iomradh* **g'umərə** 01J, **g'umərə** ~ **g'umrə** S, **g'u:mrə** ~ **g'u:m'rə** M. Cp. genitive *iomartha* **umər'hə** 01J, also **umərə**; note the following series *báid iomartha*, ... *báid iomradh* ... *báid mhór iomradh* [x2] **bə:d' umərə**, ... **bə:d' umrə** ... **bə:d' wə:r umrə** 35E; cf. discussion (1.364);

seomra **ʃu(:)mrə** generally, but **ʃumərə** 892M, *seomra eile* **ʃumr el'ə** 892M, **ʃumri:** 892M, *dhon tseomra* **gəŋ' t'ūmərə** 18J, *seomra beag* **ʃumrə b'og** >> **ʃumərə b'og** P. There is no token of vowel epenthesis with the long vowel in **ʃu:mrə** except in one example of diminutive *seomrín beag* **ʃu:mər'i:'m' b'og** P (note nonpalatal m).

1.361 *bl* — *rm*

- bl* *stábla* -bl- generally, but **ʃtə:bələ** 46.180, (run)869P, 01P.

trioblóid most commonly **-bl-** (SM, 11C, 36S) but sometimes **-bəl-**, e.g. *triobólóid* [x1] 894C2, which corresponds to his recording (elsewhere *trioblóid* 894C), *tr'ibəlo:d' 892M, 894C, 899D, S, 14M, 20My*. Also *t' r' i b' lo: d'* 46.1011.

pl séiplíneach f'e:p'l'i:n' əx generally, but *f'e:p' ə'l'i:n' əx 27C* (cp. *séipéal*).

ml See Cl cluster directly below (Cl (ii) *-iléad*).

tl Caitlín kat'l'i:n' <<? kat' ə'l'i:n' ;
creatlach FGB; greatalach FFG, creatalach M.

For Cl clusters compare:

(i) *-iléara(cht)*, with obligatory *-il-* in: *buitiléir DIL, buitéir FGB bit' ə'l'e:rə S, i mo bhuitéir ə mə wit' ə'l'e:r !37J; caibiléara(cht) SM; caimiléara(cht); haiciléara hæ'k' ə'l'e:rə Mq*. Optional in:

sim(i)léar SM < simné, siminéar, etc., EModIr. There is an example of variation within the same utterance in *an dá shimléar agus an simléar seo anseo n da: him' ə'l'e:r əgəs ə jim'l'e:r fo ən'fo S*; such variation is typical with this lexeme.

raibiléara ræ:b' ə'l'e:rə ~ ræ:bl' e:rə M; the former is more common.

'bricklayer' > *briciléara, bricléara*.

Cp. also *Cait(i)lic/geach* above (1.61).

(ii) *-iléad* in: *buimléad FGB bim' ə'l'e:d M*, also *bimb' ə'l'e:d SM, buimbiléad FFG;*

gimléad: gimléad !894C9, g'im' ə'l'e:d SM.

gs Note *-iséad* in *oigiséad FGB* cp. *tucsaoit DIL: an t-oigiséad !894C6*.

mhs Rare, noted in: *damhsa dā:vəsə [x1] 00C* (Doire Iorrais), this speaker has *dā:wsə 00C* more often; contrast the realisation of the labial in each type (v vs. w). Cp. examples of *mhr* further below.

sm caismír FGB: ceasamar FFG, ceasmar M.

sr Cp. *fiosrach f'isrəx* generally, but *f'isərəx [x4] 21J, -sr- >> -sər- 27Mdq*.

gn *uaigneas uəgn'əs* generally, *uəgn'əs ... uəg' ən'əs 897P*.

bhn *Diarmaid ó Duibhne d'iarəməd' o: daivn'ə [x2] / dain'ə / dəv'n'ə / dev'ə'n'ə 04Bl;*

cuimhníonn kiv' ən' i:n (~ kivn - ~ kimn' - ~ kimn' -) 01P; cf. 1.84;

dóimhneacht generally *daivn'əxt*, but also *divn'əxt ~ div' ən'əxt 06C* (note short vowel).

mn damnuigheadh daməni:w !ZCP165, damnuighthe da'mni: S; léimneach l'e:m' ən' əx l'e:m' n' əx ZCP151.

mhr Rare, noted in *samhradh: tús an tsamhraidh 'tws ə 'tāv̥əř̥ə 899P* (Loch Con Aortha), *tā:v̥əř̥ə 14M* (Maínis), *samhradh(achai) sā'v'rə sā:vəřəxi: 12Jq* (Maínis); *aimhreas æ:v'ər'əs 14M*. Cp. *reimhre ri:v'r'ə ... ri:v'ər'ə 14M*.

rn, rm Rare: *scornach skə:rənəx* generally, but *scornach(aí) skə:rənəx skə:rənəx(i) 25Mq*. Cp. Epenthesis 1, exceptions (1.355 ff.).

1.362 t / f / thr-n; Noun plurals

t / f / thr-n: words in unstressed *-arn ~ -r(e)an* (also *-m*) have more complex histories, with epenthesis and metathesis both evident. The preceding medial 'clusters' involved are:

tr in *seileastar, seileastram*:

-tərn *fel'əstərn P;*

-tərn *fel'əstərn 892M;*

-təřən *fel'əstəřən 892M, fel'əstəřən' 29Cq, fel'əstəřən's 04Br;*

-trən *fel'əstrən' 29Cq, fel'əstrən 37Mq;*

-trəm *fel'əstrəm 25Mnq, 43Mpq, 60Mq, plural fel'əstrəm' 35E, genitive in tom seiliostruim 852SbDT79;*

-təřəm *fel'əstəřəm 20Aq, 25Mnq, 36Nq, perhaps -təřm 20Aq.*

fr in *ifern* > *ifreann*: generally **ifr'ən** S, also **efr'ən** 20C, but also *tá sé in ifreann* **ta je ə nif'ərən** S, *síos go hifearann* S, note the nonpalatal *r*, implying *ifearann* < *ifearn* through epenthesis of *m*.

thr in EModIr *satharn* ~ *sathrann* has four by-forms (not counting the variation of *-inn* ~ *-inne* (mostly) in the genitive):

-hərn	de , 'sahərn' 46.901, sahər ⁿ 896P;
-hərn	sahərŋ 20Mlt, 43M, səhərŋ 35E, plural sahərŋəxi 27Mq;
-hərən	14J , d'e: sahərən' regularly 11C , 21J , 26Ps , 84P , sahərən' 29Cq, sə:ərən' 66N, d'e' sahərən'ə 04Br, 15W; plural sahərənəxi : 26Pq, 29Cq, 43Mpq;
-hrən	d'e sahrən ~ d'e sahərən 79S;
	perhaps hr also in: sahrənə , d'e sahrən'ə 71D;
-rhən	d'e sa:rhən'ə S, plural sa:rhənəxi 26Ps.

In plural nouns **ə** or ^ə is sometimes inserted, mainly before *r*, for example *stéig* > *stéig-reachaí* **st'e:g'ərəxi**: S. The clusters noted with **ə** or ^ə are *gr*, *ngr*, *dr*, *tr*, *br*, *sr*, and *gn*. This type of schwa is rarer in syncope plurals, e.g. *pl* in *capall* > *caiple* **ka:p'ə'l'ə** 894C; see 4.10.

1.363 Analogical morphology (*maistreadh*)

Epenthesis between certain obstruents and liquids, termed Epenthesis 2, is most prevalent in Munster so that many instances found in Conamara can be dialectologically defined as Munsterisms,¹ although the phonotactics are not the same in all cases, e.g. Munster *ocras* > *ocaras*.² Some forms may evidence morphological restructuring rather than epenthesis, though both epenthesis and analogical morphology may reinforce each other in some instances. Nonsyncope plurals, such as *máistireás* related to *máistir*, are a case in point. Perhaps epenthesis in *madraí* is aided by singular *mada*. (Compare and contrast three other plurals in *-raí*: *gníomhar(th)aí* and 'non-epenthesised' *eachraí* and *tréathraí*.) The **ə** in *paidrín* > **pə:d'ər'i:n'**, rarely **pə:dr'i:n'**, perhaps related to base *paidir* **pə:d'ər'** ~ **pə:d'ər'**, cannot be taken as monodimensionally as *éadrom* **e:ədərəm**, which has no underlying base form in *-dər-*. It seems that the earlier syncope variant common in *paidrín* and *paidreacha*, with diachronically regular **ə**: has influenced the historical (unsyncope) base **pə:d'ər'**, thus producing a new base **pə:d'ər'**. The disyllabic base in turn may have helped bring about the new variants in **pə:d'ər'i:n'** *paidrín* and **pə:d'ər'əxi**: *paidreacha*. A tendency for Epenthesis 2 in the dialect has demoted the use of syncope in *d-r* sequences.

Similarly, our dialect form *maistreadh* **ma:st'ər'ə** M, **mə:st'ər'ə** 46.69, cannot be taken simply as an example of Epenthesis 2 independent of analogical developments. The historical noun *maistreadh*, genitive *maisteartha*, has undergone various morphophonological restructurings in Connacht, as is evidenced by SIDIII

¹ Cp. Ó Sé (2002: §3.2, 2) where vocoid lengthening before certain clusters (some of which are described for Iorras Aithneach in 1.203) is related to the vowel epenthesis of Munster. The relation between vocoid lengthening before these clusters and the epenthetic vowel is in fact evident from by-forms of the same lexemes with Epenthesis 2, e.g. *oibriú* **eb'r'u:**, **aib'r'u:**, **aib'ər'u:**; *cuimhníonn* **kivn'i:n**, **ki:vn'i:n**, **kiv'ən'i:n**, etc.

² The form **fokəl** in *na focla a d'úirt sé na fokəl ə durɪ je* 892M4746 (but also regular *focla* **foklə** 892M5920), could be interpreted as an instance of epenthesis in *-cl-*. It may, however, be a once-off instance of non-inflection in the plural of *focal*, or nonsyncope, or a combination of alternate plurals *focail* and *focla* > *focala*. Cp. *drioball* > plural *driobaill* and *drible* but less commonly also *dribille*.

question 69 ‘she (the woman of the house) is churning’. (Only relevant details of Wagner’s transcriptions are given here; points with more than one form are underlined.) The historically correct phonological realisation of nominative *maistreadh* is found in:

maftʰu points 52 (**maftʰru**), 56, 60, so also ITM §269.

The historical genitive (*ag déanamh*) *maisteartha* is found in:

maftʰər̥ə point 57.

Also historical *maisteartha* but with the generally common loss of **h** beside **r** in unstressed position:

maftʰər̥ə points 35, 62.

Indeed, the phrase *ag déanamh maisteartha* occurs very frequently (attested x26 in q 69). The genitive construction is much more common than verbal noun usage: *ag maistreadh* (x2) ~ *ag maistirt* (x3), which is found mostly in far North Connacht. The historically correct forms, however, are in the minority in Connacht and are confined generally to the North. The genitive form has, to various degrees, been combined with the nominative, yielding a new nominative (and genitive). The new form has several variants. It can contain nonsyllabic schwa, i.e.

maftʰ ʰr̥ə points 37, 42;

with broad *r*, i.e.

maftʰ ʰru points 54, 61.

Syllabic schwa:

maftʰər̥ə points 28, 30, 36, 38–41, 43–7; also ICF §505, FFG24 s.v. *moistreadh*;

maftʰər̥u points 33, 50, 53;

with only slightly palatalised *r*:

maftʰər̥u points 49, 51;

and broad *r*:

maftʰər̥u points 31, 32, 34, 48, 62.

In points 55, 57–9 a new nominative *maistirt* is found (perhaps, at least partially, a back-formation from the genitive, *maisteartha*; and *maistirt* in turn supporting the retention of the historical genitive in these areas).

One might expect loss of the distinctively genitive form to occur in the area where reflexes of nominative and genitive would be most similar, i.e. in South Connacht where normal phonological developments would yield *maistreadh* (nominative) > ***maftʰr̥ə**, and *maisteartha* (genitive) > **maftʰər̥(h)ə**. Indeed, as the asterisk indicates, the expected historical reflex of the nominative (or the genitive) is not found in this area (in SID) which has exclusively **maftʰər̥ə** (x13) ~ **maftʰ ʰr̥ə** (x2). Only in North Connacht where final *-adh* yields **-u** do we find (a) expected reflexes of *maistreadh* and *maisteartha*, (b) broad as well as slender *r* (in this lexeme in the ending **-ər̥u**). There is, then, a southern **maftʰər̥ə** zone, a central **maftʰər̥(ʰ)u** area and a near continuum of northern **maftʰru** ~ **maftʰər̥tʰ**,

points 52, 55–57–60, where a distinctive nominative is retained. The central area can be seen as a buffer zone where nominative and genitive are distinct but to a lesser extent than in the North. A simplified diagrammatic presentation of the information from SID is:

Connacht	nominative	genitive	points	unstressed <i>-adh</i>
North	maɣtʰrʰu ~ maɣtʰərʰtʰ	maɣtʰərʰə	52, 55–60	> u:
Mid	maɣtʰərʰ(ʰ)u	maɣtʰərʰə	31–5, ¹ 48–51, 53, 54, 61, 62	> u:
South	maɣtʰərʰə	maɣtʰərʰə	28, ² 30, 36–47	> ə

We can see in each dialect area, that schwa has been introduced into the nominative. It is obvious, bearing in mind the form **maɣtʰrʰu:** (ITM §269) from our central area, for example, that this diagram is an over-simplification. It is possible that ***maɣtʰrʰə** occurs in the south.

In my analysis, then, forms such as **maɣtʰərʰə** are taken as morphophonological ‘fudges’. It is noteworthy that the phonological fudges of nonsyllabic schwa and partially palatal *r* occur in these morphophonologically fudged words. It must be kept in mind, however, that palatal *r*, particularly in unstressed position, is often difficult to distinguish from broad *r*. This is quite evident in SID and too much store should not be set by broad tokens of *r* here. The cluster *str* has been taken as slender here, even when *r* in the cluster is transcribed as broad in SID.

We can now supplement and emend ICF §505, where *maistreadh* > **maɣtʰərʰə** is classified as an example of epenthesis, with this discussion of the wide and consistent dispersion of nonhistorical forms in the SID data. (Forms such as **maɣtʰərʰu** are also found in Ulster, SIDIV.)

1.364 *iomradh*; Speaker 01P

It is instructive to contrast with anomalous *maistreadh* the historically correct reflexes of nominative *ag iomradh umru/ə*, and genitive *umər(h)ə* as attested in SID q 1107 ‘(we were) rowing hard’ and q 1094 ‘row-boat’. There are, however, far more gaps in the returns for ‘row’ because of the geographically more confined boating context. Regular *ag iomradh umru/ə* is found at 21 points in Connacht (25, 38–(46)–47, 49, 51, 53–9). Regular *bád iomartha umər(h)ə* is found at 10 points (43a, 46, 51, 53–9). Morphophonological fudging does occur but to a limited extent: in Co. Clare *iomradh ɣmərʰə* point 23; *iomartha ɣmʰrə* point 38. Perhaps *iomradh imʰrũ* point 50 shows influence of the genitive, as may *umərə* and *umʰrə* in Iorras Aithneach (1.360). The frequency pressure of the genitive form seems to have made the difference between the phonologically similar starting points of *iomradh* and *maistreadh*. Genuine Epenthesis 2 in *mr* clusters in Connacht is, of course, not being denied here. *lomradh* q 90 shows vocalic insertion (points 34, 49, *lɔmərʰu* 50, 58, perhaps influenced by historical genitive *lomartha*) and consonantal epenthesis (*lɔmbru* point 52) as does *seomra* in Iorras Aithneach (1.360). Similarly, *seomra* q 517 has two tokens with vocalic epenthesis (points 49 and 62).

¹ Point 35 *ag déanamh maɣtʰərʰə* is taken as a distinct genitive: this is an *-adh* > *-u* lect, and there is otherwise no evidence for nominative **maɣtʰərʰə** with broad *r*.

² Point 29 has *ag déanamh im*.

Examples from speaker 01P

Speaker **01P** exemplifies the association between Epenthesis 2 and the optional lack of morphological syncope, with his higher than usual incidence of realisation of this unhistorical schwa; both nominal (4.10) and verbal (5.37). E.g. (stems in small capitals also have variants with syncope or lack of epenthesis in **01P**'s recording)

phonology	Epenthesis 2	<i>éadrom</i> e:ðərəm , <i>STÁBLA</i> stə:bələ , <i>CUIMHNÍONN</i> kiv'ən'i:n , also <i>COMRÁDAÍ</i>
nominal plural	Epenthesis 2 nonsyncope (a) nonsyncope (b)	<i>spreab</i> > <i>spreabrachai</i> spr'æ:bərəxi ; <i>iomaire</i> > <i>iomaireacha(i)</i> umər'əxə/i ; <i>capall</i> > <i>CAIPLE</i> kə:p'əl'ə , cp. <i>drioball</i> > dr'ub'əl'ə
verbal derivation	Epenthesis 2	<i>ÉADROIMIÚ</i> e:ðərəm'u ;
inflection	Epenthesis 2	<i>fuagraíodh</i> fuəgəri:v , <i>OIBRIÚ</i> aib'ər'u ;
inflection	Epenthesis 2 or nonsyncope	<i>D'OIBRIGH mé</i> d'aib'ər'ə m'e
inflection	nonsyncope	<i>abair</i> > <i>ABRÓIDH tú</i> a'bəro: tu (all 01P).

1.365 Epenthesis 3: initial obstruents and sonorants

Epenthesis is found in initial clusters (frequently for some speakers but rarely in the dialect as a whole). The epenthetic vowel is mostly nonsyllabic and the clusters contain obstruents or nasals followed by sonorants *n*, *l*, *r*.

In the obsolete realisation of *Cn-* as *Cn-*, speaker **894Cs** has a nonsyllabic vowel between *c*, *ch* and *n*, e.g.

c(h)nis **k'ə'n'ij** and **χ'ə'n'ij** **894Cs**,

as has speaker **892M**:

cnóic **k'ə'ník** ARN1573, *Cnoc an Dúin* **k'ə'nūk ə du:n'** ARN1576, as well as
cnoc **knūk** ARN1614.

So also *cnag* **k'ə'næg** Mq.

The *r* of the oldest speakers is often more vigorously articulated, which may be more likely to create an on-glide (Epenthesis 3 beside *r*). The two examples of epenthesis in *Cr-* which I have gleaned from SID.46 contain **r**:

tromán **t'ruma:n** 46.231; *crotach* **k'rətəx** 46 s.v. ~ **k'rətəx** Mp 214;

cp. his medial **e:ð'rəm** 46.289 = Mp 81.

This trait is rare in the speech of **04B** and **15W**, e.g.

seacht gcnóic **ʃa:xt g'ə'rik'** (Smré)**04B**; *mná* **m'ə'ra**: **15W**.

In fact, speaker **892M**, the speaker recorded with the most phrasal epenthesis (1.367 ff.), as well as speakers **869P** and **897P** have facultative but, especially in **892M**'s case, frequent nonsyllabic epenthesis following plosives, fricatives or nasals and preceding *r* and *l*. Tokens are arranged below according to the relevant initial cluster (underlined in the examples). Note in particular the instances in emphatic speech.

mr' *ón mbréidín* **o:n m'ər'e:d'i:n'** **892M**1112
vr' *bhris* 'Cape Clear' *air* | **v'ər'ij** | **k'e:p' kl'ir er'** **892M**1610 (emphatic)
vr *go dtí an bhrúin* **gə d'i: əm 'v'ə'ri:n'** | **869P**

dr	<i>drochrath ar ...</i> 'd ^ə rox,ræh er' ... 892M2084
str	<i>strachail sé</i> st ^ə ra'xəl' je 869P
dr'	<i>dhá dtriomú</i> ya: d ^ə r'imū: 892M1539
dl'	<i>dligheadh</i> d ^ə l'i:v 892M1547
tr'	<i>trial</i> t ^ə ri'əl 869P; <i>ach triúr</i> ax t ^ə ri'ur 897P
kl'	<i>an cleite</i> əŋ' k ^ə l'eɪə 869P
gl	<i>bréidíní glasa</i> br'e:d'in'i: g ^ə la:sə 897P
gl'	<i>gleoiteog acú</i> 'g ^ə l'o:t'og a'ku 897P
	<i>potat gliomacha poti:</i> g ^ə l'uməxə 892M1563 vs. <i>ag iarraidh gliomach əg</i> <i>iərə gl'uməx</i> 892M1559
yl'	<i>ní dheachaigh aon ghliomach síos iontub</i> n'í: æx ē:n 'y ^ə l'uməx f'i:s intəb 892M1538 (emphatic)
gr	<i>gráinne</i> g ^ə rā:n'ə ARN2088; <i>as an gcrann</i> g ^ə rā:n 897P
yr	<i>í a ghróigeadh</i> y ^ə ro:g'ə 897P
gr'	<i>ag obair leis an gcliabh.</i> g obər l'əf' ə g ^ə ri'əw 892M1500 (r' is a slip of the tongue for l')
hl'	<i>le haghaidh na ngliomach</i> l'e hi: nə ŋ ^ə l'uməx 892M1540
kr	<i>ag crochadh na seolta</i> ə 'k ^ə roxə nə ʃo:l'tə 897P

There are examples of the nonpalatalisation of the initial consonant, g(h), in:

gl'	<i>gleo</i> g ^ə l'o: 892M1220,
yr'	<i>an ghrian</i> ə y ^ə ri'ən 892M1539.

Occasionally the vowel becomes a full unstressed syllable. Even more rarely the epenthetic syllable is stressed. Examples (ARN = 892M):

mr	<i>i mbraon uisce</i> ə mər'in 'iʃk'ə ARN1335
nr	<i>lena ndroim</i> l'e'nə nə'ri:m' 894Cs
bl'	<i>bliain sa bhfarraige</i> b ^ə l'i'ən' sə 'wa:rəg'ə ARN1405
dl	<i>dlaoi ghlas gruaige</i> də'li:ʔ y ^ə la's gruəg'ə 869P
dr	<i>lár a drama</i> 'lɑ:r ə dərā:mə 894Cs, cp. <i>dorgha</i> (1.382)
kl'	892M's realisation of <i>cleithe</i> is indistinct in <i>na cleithe</i> nə k'il'hə or k'il'ehə or k'əl'ehə ARN1601, perhaps initial epenthesis is involved here
gr	<i>gruth buí</i> gru bi: generally, but <i>gorə'bi:</i> 46.23
yr	<i>bean an Ghrabaire</i> b'a:n ə yə'ra:bər'ə 869P
gl	<i>ar an gcópóg glan gheal ghobáiste</i> er' ə gupə:g 'gə'lā:n 'jæ:l 'yu,bə:f'tə 869P; <i>a gcloigeann féin</i> ə 'gə'ləg'ən he:n' 894C (slow emphatic)
xl'	<i>an chéad chleite d'fhás</i> ən xl'e:d (slip) x'əl'eɪə dəs 896P
xr	<i>an snáithe seo a chrochadh aníos</i> ən snā:hə ʃə xə'rox ə'n'i:s ARN1337

There is an instance of epenthesis in *st* in:

st	<i>Óra stór!</i> 'o:rə 'sə'do:ər 872M (emphatic).
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Epenthesis is common in the initial cluster of (an) *C(h)roich Chéasta*, perhaps influenced by *comhartha*:

(ə) x/korə x'e:stə, x/kri x'e:stə, x/kru x'e:stə (all S), kir'ə x'e:stə 26P,
an cara céasta 864MDT50;

plural xor'ə x'e:sti: 36Nq; xro x'e:stə M;

genitive nə xir'ə x'e:stə 06C;

reanalysed as *comhartha* in (plural) kohərə x'e:sti: 29Cq.

Cp. also *i gcruth* ə gru S but *i gcruth leaghadh* ə gir'ə 'l'ɑ:v 17M.

With this feature can be compared the change *bolgam* > *blogam* and variation in *dorú* ~ *drú*, *tolú* ~ *tlú* and *spioraid* > *spioraid*, *spirid* and *ainsprid*.

1.366 Epenthesis 4: compounds

At morpheme juncture within a word there is generally no epenthesis. Exceptionally, an optional nonsyllabic glide or full vowel is found between a sonorant and another consonant (obstruent) with contrasting quality (cf. 5.135, 5.137):

ní bhealáltí *n'í: v'æ:lalt'í: 01C6057–9;*

saicedálfí *sæ:k'alt'í: 19P5;*

tiománfear *tumə:nəf'ər [x6(+)] tumə:n'əfər* M, also *tumə:nf'ər* M.

Cp. plurals with extensions *r*, *n* (1.362).

There is generally no epenthesis following prefixes or in compounds, old or new, e.g. *anbháthadh* *an'wə:hə*, *gearrchaile* *g'ar:χal'ə*, *an-bhuíoch* *'a:n'wi:x*, with the exception of *ollmhaitheasa* *'olə'wāhəsə 897S*, *chuile shórt ollamhaitheasa* LL118, *chuile ollmhaitheasa* Semr58, also *olla-mhórmhaitheasa* LL153 (as nominative), (so also LFRM *olwəhəs ~ oləwəhəs ~ olwəhəsə*, this rare word is not given in ICF) and *lomlán* *'lūmə'lā:n 866E* (recorded in *go rabh lomlán na cathaoir dhe raigeannaí ...*, with very indistinct initial *l*, possibly *iomlán*), *loma-lán le airgead* SNG295, *loma-lán le Clad*224, 240 ~ *loma lán le Clad*220, 180. (For optional consonantal epenthesis in *mionfhraoch*, see 1.373.) Epenthesis of a non-categorical, often nonsyllabic, and of a more surface status, does, however, occur sporadically in compounds. It has been noted in the clusters *nbh*, (*ngh*), *nch*, *dbh*, *dgh*, *dl*, (*cl*). These clusters include *nbh*, *nch* (and *ngh*) as found in Epenthesis 1, and *d* + continuant (and *cl*) also found in Epenthesis 3 and the more sporadic (phrasal) Epenthesis 5 (and cp. *dr*, *bl*, etc., in Epenthesis 2).

- nbh* *bunbhocht* *bun'woxt* also *bun^ə'woxt* and *bunə'woxt* M;
mionbháisteach *'m'un,wə:ft'əx* SM, *'m'inə,wə:ft'əx* M;
an tseanbhean *ən' 't'ā'nə,v'æn 04B1;*
an seanbhuachaill *ən' 'jænə,wuəxəl' 892M;*
mo sheanmháthair *mə 'hā'nə,wā:hər' 892M2081;*
an-bhuíoch díot *'ā:nə,wi:x d'it 892M4692.*
- (*ngh*) cp. *dianghrá* in *mo dhian-'(a)rá !894C6.*
- nch* *fathach an aonchinn* *fəhəx ən' 'e:n^ə'x'i:n' (Smbb)04B.*
- dbh* *fiodbháisteach* *'f'id,wə:ft'əx >> 'f'idə,wə:ft'əx* M.
- dgh* *fiodgháirí* *'f'id,yə:r'i: M, 'f'idə,yə:r'i: 66N.*
- dl* *laoch óg ardlonnach* *li:x o:g 'ɑ:rd^ə,lonəx 04B1;*
tradlocht *'tra'd^ə,loxt 01C6544.*
- (*cl*) cp. borrowing 'deck-load' *'dik'ə,l' o:d 892M1411.* Cf. 11.100.

1.367 Epenthesis 5: phrases

Epenthesis sometimes occurs between adjacent words within a phonological phrase. This phrasal epenthesis is often nonsyllabic. In the case of some words which are common in collocations, the (epenthetic) vowel has been lexicalised, e.g. *cuid dhe* > *cuide (dhe)*, although there is a possibility that *-e* has developed from a double prepositional use here, i.e. *cuid de dhe*.¹ Other phrases resembling

¹ As pointed out to me by Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, following the coalescence of *d*, i.e. *cuid de* > *cuid 'e* > *cuid 'e d(h)e*. The intermediate phase, with coalescence, is attested in Lavin (1956a §323) from East Mayo: *cuid den bhóthar* *kid' ən wə:hər*, *mo chuid den tsaoghal thú!* *mə xid' ən ti:l hu:*. Cp. *taobh is-muigh do* (or *de*) > *césmuile dhe*; cf. *dhe* (7.13 ff.); cf. forms of *cuil* DIL.

cuide dhe, with expected **-d' gə** surfacing as **-d'ə gə**, are *leithide dhe*, *malraide dhe*, *méid(e)* (discussed at the end of this section), e.g.

Ach ní raibh malraid dhe malhrəd'ə gə shlí ann an uair sin. **892M**.

There is also the conjunction *cá fhaid go* > *cáide go*, but *cáide* might also be a coalescence of *cá fhaid an* (interrogative). Cp. also *iomad* > *iomada* (1.52). Feminine words followed by the phrasal epenthetic schwa may resemble their genitive case, e.g. *min bhuí m'in'ə wí:*, genitive *mine buí m'in'ə bí:*. Most examples follow short vowels, but long vowels are not rare, e.g. *cá bhfuil mise kaí'ə m'ifə*. A rare example for speaker **04B** of epenthesis between **-N' y-** occurs in higher register following a short vowel which is long in the vernacular: *ón mBinn Ghoirbh 04Bí o:n m'in'ə yor'əv'*.

Phrasal epenthesis occurs after sonorants when followed by voiced fricatives, less so when followed by voiced stops; also after *d* when followed by voiced continuants. There are also examples of epenthesis between *r* and the voiceless fricatives *f* and *ch*. Other clusters, including some where the first consonant is voiceless, are found in the speech of **892M** (Dumhaigh Ithir), who has the most pervasive use of this feature. In fact, a comprehensive study of his usage would be worthwhile and the presentation below is provisional. The following sequences of consonants have been noted:

<i>r</i>	followed by	<i>b, g, m, n, bh, gh, ch</i> (similar to Epenthesis 1); but also, rarely, followed by <i>f, d</i>
<i>n</i>	followed by	<i>m, bh, gh</i> (similar to Epenthesis 1)
<i>l</i>	followed by	<i>g, m, bh, gh</i> (similar to Epenthesis 1)
<i>m</i>	followed by	<i>n</i> (892M only, similar to Epenthesis 3)
<i>bh</i>	followed by	<i>d, g, dh</i>
<i>b</i>	followed by	<i>g, gh, l</i> (892M only)
<i>d</i>	followed by	<i>bh, gh, r, l</i> (cp. Epenthesis 2 and compound epenthesis)
<i>g</i>	followed by	<i>m</i> (892M mostly)
<i>c</i>	followed by	<i>l</i> (892M only, similar to Epenthesis 3)
<i>s</i>	followed by	<i>n</i> (892M only).

Although examples can be explained synchronically in purely sandhi epenthetic terms, there may be lexical marking of *ar*, e.g. *ar maidin* with **er'ə** is common. Historically it could be argued that this may reflect 3 masculine prepositional pronoun *aire*, which has presumably influenced or provided the base for synchronic *ar er'*. Similarly, with the verbal particle *-r(-)* in forms of the copula and preceding verbs, there may be a reflex of the historical vowel of *ro*. In fact, Wigger (1972: 169) cites **/mar ə v'I/** 'because ... was', presumably from **892M** (1.368 (1)), in support of underlying *do* **/də/** in the past, but phrasal epenthesis cannot be ignored in such forms.

1.368 Examples; (1)

The examples of Epenthesis 5 are classified as follows:

- (1) $-r + C^{+labial}$, i.e. **b, m, m', v', w, f**
- (2) $-r, l, n + C^{+stop}$, i.e. **g', d'**
- (3) $-r, l, n, ng, m + C^{+continuant}$, i.e. **y, x', y', j, n, m, w, v'**
- (4) $-bh + g, d', j$
- (5) $-C^{+stop} + C^{+continuant}$
- (6) $-C^{+stop} + C^{+stop}$

(1) $-r + C^{+labial}$, i.e. **b, m, m', v', w, f**

ar: *ar bruach er'ə bruəx* <<< *er'ə bruəx* S, *ar ball* sometimes *er'ə bəl*, *ar bóthar er'ə bo:hər* and *er'ə bo:hər* 892M5169; *ar maidin er'ə ma(·)d'an'* 892M1100, 18Bm, *ar mo shonsa er'ə mə hunsə* 892M; *ar mharc an pheann luaidhe er'ə wārk ə f'an luai* 892M1339; *ar Bheairtle Beag er'ə v'ærɾl'ə b'og* 892M; *anuas ar fad an mhála ə'nuəs er'ə fad ə wɑ:lə* 894C.

mar: *mar bhí marə v'i:* 892M1569, 4608, 5056, *mar bhíodh siad marə v'i:d fjad* 897P regularly, *mar bhí sé ariamh neamhurrmach gan chéill marə v'i: fə ə'r'əiv* 'N'ævurəməx gən x'e:l' 04Bl, *mar bheadh sé marə v'ed fə* 892M1337.

Other words include *thar* in: *thar maoil hær'ə mi:l'* 892M; *dar* in: *doir m'fhocal dhuit dor'ə mokəl ɣit'* 04Bl.

Verbal suffix *-adar*: *raibheadar marbh rodərə mɑ:ru:* 892M1393, *bhíodar muintreach v'idərə mintr'əx* 892M4656, *v'idərə 'mɑ:ru' fɾɔfən' ən* 899D6793 *bhíodar marbh fɾoɪn ən*.

Also *chuir muid(e) xir'ə 'mid'ə* | 892M1568, *xir'ə 'mid'* 01C6551, *dho réir mar fuair mise seanchas gə r'e:r' | mɑ:r'ə | fuər'ə m'ifə* | f̩.ä.nə̌.ä̌.s | 869P, *mo mháthair mhór m'ə wə:hər'ə wɔ:r* 892M2081, *fear maith f'ær'ə mɑ:* 892M1769.

Following a long vowel in *d'iarr mé d'iarə m'e:* 892M5938; and *ó labhair muid ar an gceol o: laur'ə mid' er'ə g'ol* 11C1124. One could argue that other factors could (also) be involved here, e.g. *d'fhiafraigh mé* influencing *d'iarr mé*; older synthetic *-amar* and 2 Conjugation inflection influencing *labhair muid*. The main point indicating epenthesis here, however, is that the other proposed influences are absent in these speakers' use where the appropriate epenthesis clusters are not present.

Copula *-r(-)*:

ar: *ar miste dhom a fhiafraí ... ərə m'ift'ə ɣum ...* 11Ct (x2);

gur: *gur mé a bheadh sáite gərə m'e:* *v'ex sɑ:t'ə* 892M4644,

gurb é gər'ə b'e: | 869P;

níor: *níor mhaith leis ... n'irə wā: l'ef ...* 03C;

narbh: *narbh fhéidir le duine a innseacht narə v'e:d'ər' l'e dín'ə i:nfəxt* M, *dúirt sé narbh in an bealach é du:r't' fə narə v'in' əm' b'æ:ləx* e M.

Verbal particle *-r*:

gur: *gur bhain gərə wɑ:n'*, *gur bhain an rí ... | gərə wæ'n' | ən ri:ʔ* | 869P;

níor: *níor bhain n'irə wɑ:n'*.

1.369 (2)–(3)

(2) $-r, l, n + C^{+stop}$, i.e. **g(·), d'**

-r g-: *taobh thoir dhe ti:v her'ə gə* 892M1532; *an ceann thoir dhe her'ə gə Bhior* 21Pt; *taobh thiar dhen chrompán ti: hiər'ə gən* | *xrumpə:n* 897P; *taobh thiar dhen chrann ti: hiər'ə gən xɾɑ:n* (2/2) 899D6100; *a chuir dho leataobh ə xir'ə gə l'æ:ti:w* 21Pt; *fear dhe, f'ærə gə* | 897P.

-r d'-: *an gadhar dearg əŋ gairə d'ærəg* (Lam) 04Bl.

-l g-: *ag goil dhon ... ə gol'ə gən ...* 892M4847.

-n g-: *lónfadh sé an 'gap' níos fearr l'inhəd fə ən'ə 'g'æ:p' n'is f'ar* 892M4685.

(3) $-r, l, n, ng, m + C^{+cont}$, i.e. **ɣ, x', ɣ', j, n, m, w, v'**

-r ɣ-: *ná ar dhroim an domhain na er'ə ɣri:m' ə daun'* (Smbb) 04B,

péiste ar ghasúir p'e:ft' er'ə ɣa'su:r' M;

gur dhaimhsigh mé gərə ɣaiv'fə m'e: 46.IIId,

siotair ghaoithe ann futər'ə ɣih ən M.

-r x'-: *ar cheann eile er'ə k'ɑ:n el'ə* 892M5891 (taken as /x'/, cf. 1.404).

-r ɣ'-: *socráithe ar ghréasaí sokri:h er'ə ɣr'esi:* 894C.

-r j-: *bhí sé ag cuir dhe v'i: fə kir'ə ji* P; *chuir dhíot xir'ə jít* 892M4591, *taobh*

thiar dhínn tí: hiərə jii: 892M1769; taobh thoir dhíot tí: 'her'ə jii:t 852S; an deoir dheireanach ə d'oi:r'ə jer' nəx 897P; mar gheall ar ... marə ja:l er' ... 897P.

Copula: *níor dh'iad n' i:r'ə 'jiəd 899D6291.*

-r n-: *a chléirigh dhúir na sailm glíc ə xl'e:r'i yur'ə nə sə'l'əm' gl'ik' 04Bl. Cp. Corr na Móna kaur nə mu:nə >> korə nə mu:nə S (perhaps some confusion with Cora here).*

-l' m'-: *cá bhfuil mise ka:l'ə m'ijə 892M2013, 2026.*

-l' w-: *aimsir an Chaisil Mhóir æmfər' ə xa:fəl'ə 'wə:r' 11C1692.*

-l' w-: *san aill bhán sin sən a:l' ə wa:n' jin' 35E.*

-l y-: *gar i ngaol dhom ga:r ə ɲi:l'ə yum 35E9374.*

-m n-: *an t-am nach ə ta:mə nax 892M1030.*

-n' m-: *bhain muid tosach wan'ə mid to:səx 892M4685,*

thomáin muid humə:n'ə mid' 892M5968.

-n m-: *ghlan muid ɣla:nə mid' 892M1770.*

-n w-: *min bhuí a bhíodh ag dul ann m'in'ə wi: v'ix gol' ə:n M,*

an mhin bhuí ə v'in'ə wi: S.

-n v'- *agus Oileán Mhic Dara əgus hɪl'ə:n'ə v'ik' 'dærə 892M1571.*

-n j-: *bean dheas froisin b'ə:nə jæs' frojin' 15W.*

-N' y-: *ón mBinn Ghoirbh ɔ:n m'in'ə yor'əv' 04Bl,*

thugadh sé feamainn dhóibh hugəd ʃe f'æ:məN'ə yor'b' 14M.

-N' w-: *as Cinn Mhara as k'i:n'ə 'wa:rə 01C6768.*

-ŋ m'-: *cp. 'washing machine' wa:ʃɪŋ [perhaps ŋ'] ə m'əʃi:n' 14M.*

Cp. s + n in leis na l'efə nə 892M4812.

1.370 (4)–(6); Before pausa

(4) *-bh + g, d', j*

-v g-: *ar achaon taobh dhen bhád er' ə'xe:n ,ti:və gən 'wəd 899D ARN6411.*

-v d'-: *ar thaobh de er' hi:və d'ɪ 892M.*

-v j-: *ar chaon taobh dhe 'ti:və je 872P.*

taobh dhe ti:və gə had perhaps set phrasal epenthesis, now obsolete; cf. *cuide dhe* (1.367) and *méide* (1.371).

(5) *-C^{+stop} + C^{+cont}*

-b j-: *gob dhe gobə je [x2] 892M1369.*

-b l'-: *Gob Leac Bhaile atá air gob'ə l'æ:k wa:l' ə ta: er' 21Pt.*

-d w-: *cp. scread mhaidne ort! ʃkr'æ:d ə wa:n' ort S, P. The ə has been lexicalised here for both S and P and reinterpreted as the article. Both independently explained wa:n'ə in connection with maidneachan ma:n'əxən as if it were a genitive form such as *an mhaidnigh.*

-d j-: *scread ghéar oraibh! ʃkr'æ:də je:r ori: 892Mt (recording slightly indistinct).*

-d r-: *an chéad rud n' x'e:d ə rud 14M, tá siad réidh ta: ʃiəd ə re: M.*

-g m'-: *rug Micil rugə m'ik'əl' 892M5891, rug mé féin rug'ə m'e he:n' 892M5890.*

-g' m'-: *ag Micí eg'ə m'ik'i: ... eg' m'ik'i: 18Bm.*

-g' m-: *lig muid l'ig'ə mid' 892M5914, 5919;*

ag Máirtín eg'ə mæ:rt'i:n' 18Bm.

(6) *-C^{+stop} + C^{+stop}*

-b' g-: *sibh gaibhte ʃib'ə got'ə 892M4841.*

Before pausa

Speakers **869P**, **892M** and **897P** may also add nonsyllabic schwa before pausa following released palatal and nonpalatal *r* (cp. V:^ə |, 1.376), e.g.

*is fearr əs f'ar̥³ | 869P; a sinsir ə ʃi:n̥sər̥³ | 869P;
 dhen chlár ná dhen mhaide. ɡəŋ xlar̥³ | n̥a ɡən̥³ wa:d'ə | 892M1277;
 bhí fear a dtugadh siad Maitias 'a Con Raoi air ...
 v'i: f'ær̥ ə | dʊɡəd̥ ʃiəd | 'ma:t'əs ə,kun'ri: er̥³ | 897P.*

1.371 *méide* and *malraide*

This is a convenient place to describe the use of the obsolete by-form *méide* of the indefinite pronoun for current invariable *méid*. It can be interpreted as a type of lexicalised phrasal epenthesis between stops, although the form *méide* does occur elsewhere, for example in DIL, as a general by-form of *méid*. In folklore material deposited in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann, the indefinite pronoun *méid* is sometimes written as *méide* when it precedes the plosive onset of a dependent noun. The vast majority of speakers do not apply this rule, e.g. *an méid bailte* **852S2** (cp. *thit a' méid seo airgid ... a bhí* **875T1**). The only speaker to apply this rule in any way frequently is **869P2–5**. Some of his examples are:

*a' cùir' amach aige [a'] méide costais a bhí ar a' mála
 ní ru cur síos ... ar a' méide cuít a bhí aici
 gon méide daoine ná ... ; an méide próiseannaí a bhí ina phóca
 ar a' méide tamhnachaí atá ... ; a' méide beithíoch a bhí ...
 gon méide cúlódar a bhí ...*

Contrast his distinct uses of *méid(e)* in:

*Is áit é nach gcoinníonn siad mórán beithíoch ach an méid bheas a' méide
 talthúna bheas acub in ann a thóigeál.*

But **869P2–5** also has (the non-epenthesised indefinite pronoun) *méid* before stops, albeit to a lesser extent than *méide*:

*an méid brabach a bhí na cuít ...
 a' méid cíos a thóirt dó ... ;*

including the only example of *méid(e)* (in my notes from his material) before the preposition *dhe*:

sén méid gon bhealach ...

This of course contrasts markedly with obligatory *-ə* in *cuide dhe*, *leithide dhe* and *cá fhaide go*. All other examples of unepenthesised *méid* as indefinite pronoun noted from **869P2–5** are before continuants:

*an méid scoláirí; an méid súgh a bhí bainte; an méid meala bhíoch;
 an méid seo scoláirí; an méid sin (x3);
 gon méid locht ['cargo'] a bhí tugthaí ... ; an méid fear a bhí ...*

The only example noted of *méide* from speaker **894C1–5** also occurs before a stop:

a' méide ciseán atá aige **894C2**.

But **894C** generally has invariable *méid*.

The single token of epenthesised *méide* I have noted from an audio recording comes from speaker **881J** and, surprisingly perhaps, occurs before a continuant, in contrast with the stop condition noted above:

ar an méide spídiúlacht a bhí faighte aige **881Jt**.

This might reflect genuine differences of use between speakers, but schwa is doubtless more salient before stops than before continuants and the folklore transcriber may therefore not have transcribed actual schwa realisations before continuants.

Iolra(igh) ə xɑ:rəɡ' olrə 01J, *iolrach* olrəx, *siolraigh* fʲiəlɾə, cp. *cúlshráid* ku:lɾa:d'. Point 46 has -lr- in all seven *lr* tokens in SIDIII, see *r* (1.195). Recall metathesis in *malrach* > *marlach*, also **malrəx** Sq.

1.373 *nr*

The cluster *nr* has both voiced and voiceless variants. Some words have both. The following range was attested in individual lexemes.

Voiced *nr* >

- nr** ~ **nɟ** (*lionnrach* >) *líonrach* l'í:nrəx ~ l'í:nɟrəx S.
nr ~ **nɟ** ~ **ndr** *líonraigh* LFISD, *líonraíonn* FFG20, (cp. *líonrith* FGB): *líonraighthe* l'í:nri: heard from woman from CN, l'í:nɟri: M, l'í:ndri: 43M84.
n^d *líonraigh* lun^dɟə Mq.
nr ~ **nɟ** the compound *míonfhraoch* 'm'í:n,ri:x S, 'm'í:n,ɟri:x M.
n r ~ **n^dr** *Baile Átha an Rí* > *Bleá'n Rí* bl'ɑ:n ri: usually (including token from 14J), also bl'ɑ:n^dri: 14J.

Devoiced *nr* >

- nhr** ~ **nʰ** *aonraic* è:nhrík 46.1001, e:nʰrək'.
nr ~ **nhr** ~ **nʰ** *anairt* > *anrait*: *anthrait* (in saying) 894C9, a'nhrət' !21Jq, a'nʰət' 18J, a:nʰət' 35E (or perhaps a:-).
bánthrach 869P2, *Bannrach* ba'nʰəx 897P, ba:nʰrəx S.
nhr ~ **nʰ** ~ **nʰ** *(e)anbhruithe* > *eanraith* ā:nhrə or a:ntrə 46.327, ánthra 894C9, a:nʰrə S, a:nʰrə 21Pt, 23M.
nɾ ~ **nʰ** ~ **ntr** *scanrú* ska:nɾu: 897P, *scanródh* ska:nʰɔ:x S, *scanraigh* ska:nʰrə 14M, M, ska:nʰri:s !21Pt, *scanraighthe* ska:nʰri: 18Bm, ska:ntri: . Also skra:ntə 76N, 84P, ska:ntər 51P *scanraigh*.

Devoiced with (rarely) voiced epenthetic alternant *nr* >

- nr** ~ **nhr** (~ **nʰ**) (*H>Anraoi* hɑ:nri: 892M3211, *Hánraí* 869P5, *Hánnthraoi* ~ *Ánntraoi* 894C6, ha:n^dri: 25Mn.
 ~ rare **n^d** *anró* a:nʰrɑ:, a:nʰɔ: 899D6082, a:nʰɔ: 892MARN, n ta:ntro: !21Pt, a:ntrɑ:, *anró(iteach)* a'nʰɔ:(t'əx) 01P.
 ~ **n^d** ~ **nʰ** Speaker 20A has a'n^dɔ: (x4) but adjective *anróiteach* a'n^dɔ:t'əx.
 Younger speaker a:nʰt'ru: 77C.
nr ~ **n^hr** ~ **nʰ** *banríon* f'ej ə mɑ:nriən M, bā:n^hriən 46.332, ba:n^driən (Smbb)04B, perhaps also ba:ntriən << ba:ntriən S.
nr ~ **nr** ~ **nɾ** ~ **nhr** *conra* kɔ:nɾə Mp 193, plural kɔ:nri:xi: 46.711, kunɾə 894C, kunɾə 899D6925, 60M, kunɾə 11C, kun^drexi: Sq, kunɾi:xi: 18J, kunhɾə M, kunɟre:xi Mq, kun^dɟə 29C, kunɾə S, 52J, kunɾə 43M >> kunɟrə 43M including the spelling *mo chondradh* 43Mlt.
 ~ rare **nɟ** *Conra* kunhɾə 09S, 21J, kun^dɾə S, kun^dɾə 11C.
nhr ~ **nʰ** ~ rare **n^d**

Cp. palatal and following a high vowel **ndr'** in *Indreabhán* inɾ'əwɑ:n (also i:ndr'u:wɑ:n 76Mt) < *Innreabhán < *Inn(ea)bharán (English 'Inveran'); note also *sonra* FGB = *sonda* su(:)ndə (cp. *suaitheantas* > *suntas* su(:)ntəs). The cluster -nʰ- is the same in *sa gconra* sə gunʰrə as in the palatalised environment *sa gcoinrín* sə gunʰr'i:n Mq.

1.374 Discussion

It is obvious from the majority of the examples and from the Connacht monographs (ICF §§195–8, ITM §§314–5 and IEM §§203–5) that **t̪** before *r* derives from clusters with **hr** (an allophone of which, in Iorras Aithneach, is ‘voiceless fricative **r**’ ICF) and that **d̪** before *r* derives from clusters that were not devoiced. The evidence in the main reflects this development, but there are discrepancies. A few words have both **t̪** and **d̪**: *Maolra*, *anró*, *banríon*, *conra*, *Conra*, (*H*)*Anraoi*. This ‘leakage’ in class membership is not surprising for Iorras Aithneach given (a) the difficulty in establishing any clear-cut phonetic criterion or criteria for the class of words in which voiceless by-forms developed, and (b) the continued unchanged (conservative) by-form without devoicing or epenthetic consonant. For example, in *conra* the development was regularly *nr* > **-nhr-** > **-n̪r̪-**, but also regular, given the alternate retention of voiced **-nr-**, was the change **-nr-** > **-n̪r̪-**. From SID.193 *cómhra* (> *cónra*, *conra*) it is clear that both voiced and unvoiced *nr* are common (as is trilled *r*).

There is no example in SID.193 of the epenthetic consonant, suggesting it may be a relatively recent development (or geographically and/or stylistically peripheral and avoided in citation form). Recall that it optionally becomes a full consonant only in Conamara, that is according to the evidence from the published monographs (in ICF and our dialect). In Iorras Aithneach it appears to have developed to a full dental stop in very few words, in some of which it may become lexicalised. In other lexemes, however, it has been quickly abandoned. The progression can be observed from speaker **869P**’s usage to that of his daughters. In SID.46 the three recorded words show mainly conservative usage: **NR** in *conra*(*íochaí*), **n̪r̪** in *banríon*, **nhr** in *aonraic*, both **nhr** and **ntr** in *anraith*. It is possible that the alternate **antrə** 46.327 is from **08C** (Wagner’s second informant in SID.46, the main informant’s (**869P**) son). Similarly, **nhr** can be interpreted from the spelling *bánthrach* **869P2**. The daughters of **869P**, from the few examples I have recorded, have **n̪r̪** >> **n̪r̪**, *kun̪tri̪xi*: *ba:n̪tri:nəxə* **04Brq** and *kun̪tri̪xi*: *ba:n̪tri:nəxə* **15Wq**. For most words the epenthetic consonant is obsolescent in speakers born since the late 1950s. Where it is retained speakers born since the 1940s tend to have the unmarked dental pronunciation. Retention is usual in *Bannrach*, *scanraigh* and perhaps in *líonraigh*.

The examples from various speakers suggest that the height of the stressed vowel may be a conditioning factor on the realisation of the **h** and the plosive. Words which have the low vowel **ɑ:** in the stressed syllable have the greatest amount of epenthesis in the five speakers for whom I have relevant examples. Table 1.26 shows the usage collated from seven speakers.

Table 1.26 Vowel height and epenthesis in *nr*, 1869–1933 (speakers)

Vowel, words	SID.46	899D	11C	15W	18J	21J	31P
u <i>conra</i> 1, <i>Conra</i> 2	NR (x2) 1	nr	n̪r̪ ~ nr 1, n̪r̪ 2	n̪r̪	n̪r̪	nhr 2	
e: <i>aonraic</i>	nhr						
a <i>anrait</i>						nhr	
ɑ: <i>eanraith</i> 1, <i>anró</i> 2, <i>banríon</i> 3, <i>scanraigh</i> 4	nhr or ntr 1, n̪r̪ 3	n̪r̪ 2	n̪r̪ , n̪r̪ 2, nr 3, n̪r̪ 4	n̪r̪ 3	n̪r̪ 2		ntr 2

The low vowel conditioning of epenthesis in *nr* resembles the vocalic constituent of the coda conditioning on the use of the nominal plural extension <tr>; cf. 4.96.¹

1.375 *ns, mr, ml* clusters

A stop has been noted in medial *ns* in the plural of *banais*, which may be an indication of some form of juncture: *bainseachai* **ba'n'ʃəxi** Sq, *bainsiúcháí* **ba'n'ʃo:xi** 25Mq. (This occurs in base forms, e.g. *lannsa* in ITM §315.)

A weak plosive is sometimes heard in *mr* > **m^br**, rarely **mbr**:

cuimhne > *cuimre*: *le mo chuimhnesa* **l'e mə xim^br'əsə** 899P;

imní > *imrí* **i:m^br'i**; 899P, **i:m^br'i**; 11C;

iomradh: **um^brə ... umrə ... umər orhə** 897P, *báid iomradh*

bá:d' um^brə >> *maide iomradh* **ma:d' umrə** ~ *ag iomradh* **g'umərə** S;

seomra **ʃu:m^brə** and **ʃumrə** >> **ʃu:m^brə** >> **ʃu:mb^brə** S; **ʃu:mb^brə** [x2] 17M,

ʃū:mrə >> **ʃū:mb^brə** 11C;

suaímhnighthe > *súmríthe* **si:mb^br'i:hə** 25M.

A plosive has developed in *-ml-* > **mb^bl** in at least one item:

iomlacht **ū:mləxt ū:nləxt** generally, but *Aill na hIomlacht* **a:l nə hū:mb^bləxt** 18J7803, -9;

cp. *domblas*, *domlas* DIL *-ml-*, e.g. **du:mləs**, etc., but **du:mb^bləs** 46.1137.

Cp. *Deirgimleach* (Derrigimlagh) Rob.62, which is transcribed *Doire Gimleach* in CABI §§146(a), 446(a) but also *Doire Gimble* (from Seán 'ac Con Fhaola, a native of *Deirgimleach*) in CABI §§326, 446(a).

Syllables, stress and accent

In this section I shall describe word stress and some other aspects of prosody in brief.

1.376 Glides

Off-glides are quite common following long stressed vowels and diphthongs phrase-finally. They are common in normal speech but most frequent in emphatic speech. Examples:

i: **v' i:ə** | *Bhí*.

e: **k' e he:ə** | *S cé hé?*

ɑ: **... gən lɑ:ə** | 869P *dhen lá*; **v' i' b' ert' 'hæ:gərt' ə ʃu:lə:d' ə 'N' ē:n'əxt 'lɑ:ə** | [perhaps **'lɑ:ə**] 11C *bhí beirt shagairt ag siúlóid in éineacht lá*.

o: **fə:d o:ə** | 869P *fadó*.

u: | **nū:əʔ** | **nū' L' ā:n** | **do:nt' ə** | **nū:əʔ** | **L' ā:n ə b' i** 869P

nó, nó leann, dóite, nó, leann ar bith.

ei **ma:rə m' eiə** | *M mara mbeidh*.

¹ This scaling for consonantal *nr* epenthesis would be worth investigating for Connacht in SID in the words *conra*, (*aonraic* less returns), (*e*)*anbhruithe*, and *banríon*. As stated, SID.193 *cómhra* (> *cónra*, *conra*) has no epenthetic consonant, whereas *eanbhruithe* q 327, with a lower vowel, has **t** and ¹ in a few points, as well as more consistent devoicing.

v'i: |jĩm fad' o: s fad' o: v'i:ª | ... nũr |ʃªæn' |ʃk'e:l æm | nũª | v'en' gən
 'en |ʃk'e:l | v'i:ª | f'ænũ: we:r'ənª | mnsə f'ir fo fad' o:ª | ugos | v'i:ª |
 f'in wā: kul' | ... er' mad'ən' | lē:ª | ugos | v'jªf'es fe er' | ... gə d'irª |
 nə hælə | ... kir' u: mũª | ... b'æ'ləx ə b'ɪ b'ɑ:r o: |j'i:nə | nãª | t'ª'r' iəl |...
Bhí sin fadó is fadó bhí, ... nó seanscéal a'm, nó bheinn gan aon scéal. Bhí
Fiannaibh Éireann insa tír seo fadó agus bhí Fionn mhac Cúil ... ar maidin
lae. Agus ghléas sé air ... go dtína shála. ... cuireadh amú ... bealach ar bith
ab fhearr dhó a dhéanamh ná trial

e:C klöən āfærk (or klē:ən āfærk) clاونamharc 46.427.
i:C gə d'ī: ʔm 'vʔrī:īn' | 869P go dtí an bhrúin.
i:Cσ go dtige áit a raibh cúirt álainn gá déanamh. d'ī:ʔnə | 11C.
a:## cp. tɑ:wə tá, prepausa in response, in non-emphatic speech (heard from a male speaker from the Ros Muc area).
a:C f'íəxt ə'ma:x æs 'a:ɪ' | 11C ag tíocht amach as aill.
o:Cσ f'e:tə tu: 'pɔ:əsə | 869P féadfaidh tú pósadh; do:t' ə 869P dóite.
u:C ɛr 'nʲ:ēs | 869P ar nós; fū:ən | 869P fonn.
ai## ↘ ↗
max ɛr' ə haiə amach ar a haghaidh.
au## v'edʲ ʲe ʲin tau.ə | 21Pt bheadh sé sin togha.
auC sən euwən' | 892M2009 san abhainn; sə rau.in'd 899P sa rabhaind;
ga: auʷis | 869P dhá fheabhas; də l'au.ər M do leabhar.
auCσ ɛr' ən auərɫɑ:r | 894C ar an urlár.

aC hū:n'ə'k ə | ə'n^ā | 'n' f'ā:nē:n ə'f't'a:ex | u'gəs ... 869P
tháinig an seanéan isteach agus ... ;
 nə k'æ:ə'g's | 899P *na ceaigs.*

e## 'ma'nəm muʃə gə ro ʃe raɪt' gə 'rɛ:ə 899P
M'anam muise go raibh sé ráite go raibh!

As well as the realisation of off-glides there is a similar diphthongising tendency, which, however, involves changes in the quality of vowel onsets and even nuclei, often in association with a more sing-song intonation with falling and rising pitch on the nuclei. I adopt the term ‘barróg’ to denote this tendency (cp. Tomás Ó

Máille 1927a: 86).¹ The vowel quality may be only slightly or quite drastically changed. Long vowels may become imperfect diphthongs throughout their duration, e.g.

/a:/ >	[a:]	dúrdar nòhəd'í:f gə 'h^aarən' 11C <i>dúradar go ngothaidís go hÁrainn; sə ma(,)ad 11C</i> <i>sa mbád;</i>
	[a:u]	ba:ud <i>bád.</i>
/o:/ >	[o:]	er' ə 'mø:'hər 11C <i>ar an mbóthar;</i>
	[au]	bau <i>bó.</i>
/u:/ >	[u:]	nə h'u:'s 17M <i>ina thúis.</i>

Diphthongs may become triphthongs or sequences of three vowels, e.g.

/iə/ >	[i:ə]	sə gl' i:əw 11C1504 <i>sa gliabh.</i>
/uə/ >	[əuə]	-b' i:d' i:f huəs nər h'is Bídís thuas ná thíos.
		-həu.əs nər h'z'i:əs 899P <i>Thuas ná thíos.</i>

Front vowels are perhaps less often diphthongised, e.g.

/e:/ >	[ai]	er' ə'xain ti:w 899P <i>ar achaon taobh;</i>
		'xainin' a'gi: 40S <i>chaon-nduine agaibh;</i>
		n' e'ind' i: 899P <i>in éindí.</i>

Lip-rounding may change through the duration of a phonemic monophthong, e.g.

[a:] >	[æ]	krukən 'fæəd e' 899P <i>cnocán fada é,</i>
--------	-----	---

where the lips change from rounded to spread as the vowel is raised and fronted.

There seems to be vowel sandhi involved in the similar change **u:** > **əu** in:

v' i: fe əuhasəx P (often) *bhí sé úthásach.*²

We can compare this with the distinctive glide, absent for many speakers, in:

k' er tār 'w i:nt' ə | 11C *céard tá innte.*

Because of intrusive vowels, off-glides, and 'barróg', phonemic interpretation can sometimes be difficult where a phonetic diphthong must be classified either as a sequence of a phonemic monosyllable followed by schwa or the like, or as a true diphthong, e.g.

gə d' o:ə nə n' o:r 892M1793 *go deo na ndeor;*

ə dō:ə taurno:g 892M1670 *ag dódh tornóg.*

In the following examples, from a phonetic point of view, the **u:ə** sound might easily be interpreted as /uə/:

mifə kr' ed' əm' ə nu:əs ga'x rud ənsən a:m ... 11C1521

muise creidim ar nós gach rud insan am ... ;

huəs ə glox nə ru:ən | 892M1595 *thuas i gCloch na Rón;*

if it were not for examples without strong glides such as:

kuən xlox nə ru:ŋ' g' æl' l' e ga:lə | 892M1595

Cuan Chloch na Rón geal le gála.

¹ For a discussion of the term *barróg* in its nontechnical use, see R. A. Breatnach (1980–1: 105–7) and references cited there. Compare Blankenhorn (1979) where the only instances of additional **ə** are found in nuclei containing 'falling-rising glides': **fe:jə Sé!** §51, **əu:ən** [sic leg for **dzu:ən**] *Jún?* §57, **yo:ə dhó?** §60. Cp. MacAulay (1978–81: 85–6) for the tendency in a female 'coterie' in Bernera, Isle of Lewis, to 'lengthen vowels and make long vowels into disyllables' in Gaelic, e.g. *cóig* > **ko.wi.g'**.

² Cp. **ɑ:** > **æ:** /e_ (2.15).

Not surprisingly, ‘barróg’ tends to be found in certain speaker networks. For example, speaker **899P** and a relative and neighbour of his, speaker **42C**, both have similar voice quality, intonation and ‘barróg’, e.g.

ə wu:ən' | ... fi:ə | ... gən' tɪ'ɑ:ən | **899P**

an mhóin ... faoi ... dhen tsleán.

These speakers are from Loch Con Aortha which lies across the bay from Ros Muc where ‘barróg’ is more pervasive than in western Iorras Aithneach. (For other features common to Loch Con Aortha and Ros Muc, see II.IV ff., 1.407 and ‘Verbal Sandhi’ 2.63.)

Non-initial word stress

1.378 Long vowels and diphthongs

The vast majority of simple words take initial stress. Very occasionally, long vowels and diphthongs in the second syllable take the stress, in most instances in words with a short vowel in the initial syllable. The initial syllable may take secondary stress.

Non-initial stress is frequent in:

cabáiste 'gubɑ:ft'ə generally, e.g. (gq- Mp 72), **04B**, **04Br**, **15W**;
'gu'ba:ft'ə **20T** (cp. gubɑ:ft'ə >> gubɑ:ft'ə **894C**); 'gu'ba:ft'ə
34M;
'gu,ba:ft'ə | **869P**;
gu'ba:ft'ə.

iomdha both 'umi: and 'umu: generally, the latter has by-forms with alternate stress:

u'mu: nax u'mu' rið l'ehi: n din'ə **23B** (or perhaps ə'mu:)
nach iomdha rud le haghaidh an duine;

əmu: naxəs əmu: din'ə nax wa:kə m'ifə M
nach is iomdha duine nach bhfaca mise!

mu: smu: skɔdɑ:n 46 (s.v. *iomdha*) is *iomdha scadán*;
su mū: k'ɑ:n ... **04B** is *iomdha ceann*

The stress on the historical second syllable of *iomú* and loss of initial syllable are general in Munster (e.g. SID, Map 111), where *iomdha* > *mó*, *mú* (influenced by *mó* < *mór*). It is significant that stress shift and initial-syllable elision are absent in our dialect in the by-form *iomaí*, which is the usual Connacht form (stress shift being less prevalent in Connacht than in Munster).

píolóití 'p'i:lɔt'i: SM, p'i:lɔt'i: S, 'p'i:l'ɔt'i: **18J8079**, p'i:l'ɔt'i: **35E8295**.

Tomás generally 'tumɑ:s but second syllable stress in:

pɑ:rək' xol'əm' hə'mɑ:f P *Pádraig Choilm Thomáis*; kl'e:ðəx
humɑ:f fa'fəx M, P also kl'e:ðəx ə'mɑ:f fa'fəx P *Cléireach Thomáis Phaitseach*.

With loss of initial syllable: t̪æ:m'i:n' xolə mɑ:fi:n' >>
t̪æ:m'i:n xol'əm' humɑ:fi:n' S *Teaimín Choilm Thomáisín*, and
pɑ:rə kol'əm' hma:fi:n' S *Pádraig Choilm Thomáisín*.

Non-initial stress is rare in:

<i>arán</i>	ə'ra:n <<< ra:n.
<i>coitianta</i>	generally 'kit'iantə but n'í:l' fe 'æ:ŋxi't'iantə M níl sé an-choitianta, 'æŋxi't'iant æn' M an-choitianta a'inn. Máire's use may be attributable to external influence here (e.g. media).
<i>Comaoineach</i>	generally 'kumi:n'əx but in slow speech also: ə ka:nt' er' ə xə'mi:n'əx S ag caint ar Chomaoineach.
<i>compóirteach</i>	generally 'ku(:)mpo:rt'əx, but D'fhan Jaic, agus í héin agus iad an-chompóirteach is 'āŋ'xū:m'po:rt'əx əs í an-bhródúil as, 866E.
<i>damáiste</i>	generally 'duma:ft'ə but d'eta: du'ma:ft'ə ra: P d'fhéadthá damáiste a rá (explaining daimhséar).
<i>follántas</i>	generally 'fula:ntəs M, but also fu'la:ntəs M in stressed citation form.
<i>Gearmáin</i>	generally 'g'ærəmə:n' (including 892M) but er' wə:d nə 'g'ærə'mā:n' 892M4628 ar bháid na Gearmáin.
<i>Mícheál</i>	generally initial stress but m'ɛ:al 'mo:ɾŋ' S Mícheál Mórain.

Cp. the optional loss of initial syllable in *coláiste*: generally 'kula:ft'ə but 'kla:ft'ə 25M, and *galánta* generally 'gula:ntə, but 'gla:ntə 35E (1.4). Cp. *taispeáin*, *tomáin*, *imíthe*, *imíonn* and other verbs below.

1.379 Verbal anomalies; (1) *imigh*, (2) *innis*

Five verbal stems — *imigh*, *innis*, *oscail*, *taispeáin*, *tomáin*, as well as the defective verb *ar* ~ *arsa* — have non-initial stress to a greater or lesser extent. Examples of the prosodically aberrant forms of the full verbs are listed below.

(1) *imigh*

Verbal adjective im'í:(hə) *imíthe* (for high instance of <i:hə> variant in *imíthe*, see discussion of verbal adjective variable (i:hə), 5.192).

- ' _ ... 'ā'n'wo:r ən'fin' 't'm'ix' er' ən 'o:l | 892Mt
... an-mhór ansin imíthe ar an ól.
't'm'ihə 889P *imíthe*, e.g. ta fe 't'm'ĩhē | 889P tá sé imíthe.
- ' _ wil' fe i'm'í:hə je S an bhfuil sé imíthe dhe?
- ' _ ə'm'í:hə SM, ə'm'í:hə 899DARN (6648, 6888, i.e. 2/2), 01C6963 (1/1),
20C >> ə'm'í: 20C; ə'm'ix'ə 892M, 08B, 11C, 37M, also ə'm'ih'ə
11C *imíthe*.

Examples:

- ta ŋ ye:lg'ə wo:r fin' ə'm'í:hə S tá an Ghaeilge mhór sin imíthe;
ta mə xid fæ:nəxəs ə'm'í: 20C tá mo chuid seanchas imíthe;
ta fe fin' ə'm'ix'ə 08B tá sé sin imíthe;
... fjad ə'm'ix'ə 37M ... siad imíthe.

With loss of pretonic ə:

- m'í: hæ:s S imíthe as; ta fi: m'ix'ə l'e bl'ian' 08B tá sí imíthe le bliain;
v'í: fe rə'm'í:hə n'í jə:xə n ta:pə:re:fən er' St
bhí sé ro-imíthe ní dheachaigh an t-aparaesean air;
v'í: ŋ kəkə m'í:hə P bhí an cáca imíthe.

Present **im'ins** *imíonn(s)*:

- '_ níl'əs am b'ɔ: k'əm fə: 'N'ɪm'ɪn fɛ a:f mar fɪn' M
níl a fhios a'm beo cén fáth a n-imíonn sé af ['off'] mar sin;
- '_ ma ɪ'm'ɪn fɪəd ~ ma ɪ'm'ɪn fɛ M má imíonn siad / sé;
- '_ nuər' ə m'ɪns ə l'æn, əm'ɪn ŋ ɣ'r'æn 46.VIII.17 nuair a imíonn an
leann imíonn an ghreann (the second token in *imíonn* has no indica-
tion of stress and it is perhaps best taken as initially stressed);
gər luəhə m'ɪns ə kɔrp ... 10B gur luaithe a imíonn an corp

Verbal noun **im'əxt** *imeacht*:

- '_ ta fɛ n a:n ɪ'm'əxt (ə xi: fɪn') 66N tá sé i ndan imeacht (an chaoi sin).

(2) *innis* rare

- '_ ɪ'n'ɪf gə ... 20MI Innis dho

1.380 (3) *oscail*

A minority of speakers vary stress in the verb *oscail* yielding quite a variety of forms. Four speakers have been regularly noted with this variation (08B, 16M, 45B and 66N; also heard from 37Ts (16M's cousin and 66N's uncle) in short conversation); others less regularly (e.g. 19P, 25M, 37M, 55A, 64M). These speakers also use the more common initial stress with *oscail*, as in the AGAIR class (5.164), and undoubtedly consider it the more 'correct' usage.

- '_ e.g. verbal adjective **oskəlt'ə** M, **oskli:hə** 894C, verbal noun **iskəlt' M**, impersonal future **uskəl-f'ər** 66N.
- '_ imperative 'æs'skəɫ' (də v'e:l) M *oscail* (do bhéal); present 'oskəɫ'ɪn 66Nq *osclaíonn*; future 'əs'klɔ:məd' ə dorəs Mq *osclóimuid an doras*; past habitual 'o'skli:t'ɪ' i' Mtí *osclaítí í*; verbal adjective: 'o'skli: M *osclaí(the)*, n'ɪ' ro fɛ ax 'əs'skult'ə n tɑ:m fɪn' 66N ní raibh sé ach *oscailte an t-am sin*.
- '_ na 'oskɔɫ' 66N ná *oscail*, ... ,æs'skɪlt'ə [-skæ- ?] 66N ... *oscailte*; n'ɪ' ro fɛ ax gə 'əs'skult' 66N ní raibh sé ach dhá *oscailt*; n'ɪ:r 'ø'skil' m'ɛ ... M níor *oscail mé*
- '_ o- imperative o'skil' 45B *oscail*; present ma o'skli:t'ər ə dorəs ... P má *osclaítear an doras* ... ; future fa:r'ə gə næs'klɔ: fɛ ən dorəs M *ag faire go n-osclóidh sé an doras*; verbal adjective æs'kli:hə 37M *osclaíthe*, n'ɪ:l' ə postə ɔ'skli:hə d'ɛ ... M níl an posta *osclaíthe Dé*
- e- verbal adjective es'kɔlt'ə M *oscailte*.
- i- present is'kli:n M *osclaíonn*; i'skil'ən fɛ 66N *osclaíonn sé*; verbal adjective is'kult'ə 25M *oscailte*.
- u- past u'skil' 66N d'*oscail*.
- ə- past ə'skil' M, ə'skul' M d'*oscail*, n'ɪ:r ə'skil' m'ɛ mə v'e:l ... M níor *oscail mé mo bhéal*; present 2 Conjugation ... ə skɔɫ'ɪ:m' M ... a *osclaím*, 1 Conjugation ə'skil'ən fɛ 66Nq *osclaíonn sé*; future 2 Conjugation *osclóidh*: ... u: sklɔ: 08B, ... ə skla 45B, 1 Conjugation (*oscaithidh*): ə'skil'hə 66N; conditional əs'klɔ:x M d'*osclódh*; verbal adjective ə'skli: M, əs'kult'ə 66N, a:t' ə'skult'ə 66N áit

- oscailte*, ə'skli:t'ə M87 (slightly indistinct); verbal noun ə'ski:l't' M, schwa is lost following a vowel in *skil't'* M.
- ʃ- past ʃkil' M *d'oscail*, future ʃ'kla: ... ʃ'kla: *osclóidh tú ... an osclóidh?*, conditional ʃklo:x M *d'osclódh*; present ʃkil'i:n' ʃe 66Nq *osclaíonn sé*.
- s- imperative s'skœl' də v'e:l M *oscail do bhéal*.
- Ø schwa is lost initially in imperative skli:g'i: M *osclaígt*.

Third-syllable stress has been noted only once:

... nax nəskə'l'əx ʃe ... 66N ... *nach n-oscailleadh sé ...*

Examples in context:

s dō:hi: gə m'ei nə postaxi: 'o'skli: ə'ma:r'əx M

is dóichí go mbeidh na postachaí osclaíthe amáireach.

o'skil' ə dorəs 45B *oscail an doras.*

də v'e:l mɔ:r əs'kli:hə 37M *do bhéal mór osclaíthe.*

k'e:m fə: wɪl' ə p'e:r'ə ʃin' es'kœl't'ə M (quality of stressed vowel, o, not certain)

cén fáth a bhfuil an péire sin oscailte?

... ə nis'kli:n tu: ... M ... *an osclaíonn tú ...*

u'skil' m'e he:n' e 66N *d'oscail mé féin é.*

k'e ə'skil' mə xɑ:rtə M *Cé d'oscail mo chárta?*

gər b'iəd nə l'æ:ds sə v'l'æ:t ə skil' e M *gurb iad na leaids sa bhfleait a d'oscail é.*

-ər oskil' dʒæ:k'i: e *Ar oscail Jaicé é?* -ə'sku:l' M *D'oscail.*

mɑ:rə skla m'e n dorəs 45B *mara n-osclóidh mé an doras.*

(b'æ:ləx) ʃ'skil't' a:n 55A (*bealach*) *a oscailt ann*, also dɪskœl' ... 55A *d'oscail ...*

n'i: r e:n x'æ:d a:gi: iəd ə'ski:l't' M *ní raibh aon chead agaibh iad a oscailt.*

ʃkil' m'e e M *d'oscail mé é.*

mɑ:nəm nax nəsklo:x mid' e M *m'anam nach n-osclódh muid é.*

... nu: sklo: ʃe ni:n' o:g 08B ... *nó osclóidh sé an fhuinneog.*

ʃklo:x nə m'e:rəxi: mɑ:x M *d'osclódh na méarachai amach.*

tɑ: n dorəs fɑ:ki: ə'skli: eg' ə M *tá an doras fágthaí osclaíthe aige.*

n'i ro ʃe ə'skli: 64M *ní raibh sé osclaíthe.*

wɑ:kə m'e ŋ gril' ə'ski:l't' ə wɑ:r' ə 66N *An bhfágfaidh mé an gruil oscailte a Mháire?*

tə ʃe skil't' M *tá sé ag oscailt.*

nor' æ:r' o: ʃiəd ə skil't' ə jætə hu M *nuair a aireos siad ag oscailt an gheata thú.*

Because of its optionally irregular stress patterns, *oscail* is sometimes inflected as if based on a root *skol'* or *skil'* with 2, or even 1, Conjugation endings, in place of regular syncope (cp. absence of the verbal particle *d'* in the past and conditional; 8.36).

2 Conjugation is m'in'ək' ə skol'i:m' l'et'ər' ... M *is minic a 'scoilim litir ...*;

1 Conjugation ə'skil'hə m'e ... 66N *oscailthidh mé ...*

A mixed verbal adjective was noted from Máire, although articulated slightly indistinctly, with regular syncope and -i: of the 2 Conjugation, but added -t'ə (1 Conjugation or based on *oscailte*):

k'en or' ə m'ei n skol' ə'skli:t'ə M87 *cén uair a mbeidh an scoil osclaíte?*

It is doubtless felt to be incorrect.

The form gr'ien,ə'skœl't'i:hə Mq is Máire's pronunciation of queried *grian-oscailte* (also FFG); in conversation 'gr'ien,skœl't'i' M was noted, interpreted here as *grianscoilítithe*. Cp. *le gréin-scoilítithe* 894C9 (p. 583 n. 1).

1.381 (4) *taspáin*, (5) *tomáin*, (6) *ar*, *arsa***(4) *taspáin***

Generally **spɑ:n'** *taspáin*, less often **tispa:n'** but:

'_ *Thaspáin sé dom an bealach a ngabhfaínn* | 'u'spɑ:n' ... 899P;
 _' **hə'spɑ:n'** *fi: ju:mrə ʏo: P thaspáin sé seomra dhó.*

(5) *tomáin*

Generally **tuma:n'** *tomáin*, but phrase-finally stress on the second syllable has been noted twice from my oldest speakers:

_ ' **ən tə'mā:nə** 866E *chun tomána*, **gɑ: tə'mɑ:n' t'** 46.I.52 *dhá tomáint*.

(6) *ar*, *arsa*

Often **or** **er** **ər** *ar*, **orsə** **ərsə** **orʃə** **ərʃə** *arsa*, also *asa* (⇒ **əsə**), *aras* (⇒ **əras**), but also **ərʃru** (and **sru** **ʃru** **ʃrə**). The defective quotative verb *arsa* is often weakly stressed, as is the following pronoun. (Pronouns occur as subject of *arsa* far more often than nouns do.) Cp. more common quotative **ə** 'd' **er'** ~ 'id' **ər'** *a deir*. Cf. 5.330.

1.382 Miscellaneous and phrasal

A further miscellaneous group of native lexemes (two of which contain *r*) occur with non-initial stress or variable stress patterns.

Doire Iorrais **der'** 'orəʃ, **der'** ə 'rəʃ, **dorə** 'rəʃ. Spelt *Doire Ruis* in *Iorras Aithneach* — 2004: 43. Cp. **pəra:ʃt'ə** 'ərʃ **wə:r'** (**orəs** **mə:r**) pt. 47 SID1 p.xvii *paráiste Iorrais Mhóir* (*Iorras Mór*). The toponym *Iorras* seems to be affected by *Ros* here (in metanalysis). Also **dor** 'orəʃ 00C, **dor** 'orəʃ 71D.

Cp. other place-names where stress placement is of relevance *Dumhaigh Eithir* (1.25), *Leitir hArd* (1.257).

Cp. *dorgha* **doru:** **dru:**, plural **dorənti:**, **d̪ir̪iʃ'ə** 46.1116, etc., but also **də'ruf'** ə 896P (*Maínis*). Cf. Epenthesis 3 (1.365).

éigin indefinite adjective used enclitically and stressed on the second syllable (8.243):

ə'k'i:n', **ə'x'i:n'**, **ə'k'i:nt'**, **ə'x'i:nt'**, **ə'k'i:n'əx**, **ə'k'i:n'əxt**, **ə'x'i:n'əxt**, **ə'k'i:nt'əx**, **ə'k'i:nt'əxt**, **ə'k'i:n'həxt**.

Cp. historical second-syllable stress in *araile* (*aroile*) in the phrase *agus araile uḡəs ar il'* ə 45C6 (literary) perhaps influenced by *uile*.

There is metanalysis and stress shift involved in the change *uile go léir* > **ə'l'ug ə l'ér'**, yielding *uiliug ə'l'ug* and other forms (8.247).

Disyllabic forms of the prepositional pronouns of *ag* (7.4), *chuig* (7.9), less often *ar* (7.6), *i* (7.61), occur with stress patterns such as '_', '_ ' and '_ _'. Some verbal inflections may be stressed in emphatic use (5.26 ff.).

Some borrowings are stressed on the second syllable, e.g. *tobac* **tə'bak**, cp. *gobáiste*, *damáiste*, etc., above. There is variable stress in:

'e'v' **iʃt'i:n'** 892M, 11C *Aibhistín*, but

e'v' **iʃt'i:n'** **əkən ri:** 892M3488 *Aibhistín 'ac Con Rái*.

Cp. toponym *An Spidéal* < 'hospital'.

1.383 Emphasis

In emphatic speech normally unstressed syllables can receive secondary stress. One more rarely hears full stress on normally unstressed syllables in a slightly dramatic style with increased pitch range, e.g.

Ach baidhe deaid feicímse chuile fhear ag bearradh eg' 'b'ærə drioball gá chapall héin nuair a gheithidh sé fada é, toibeann go maith! | 'te'b'ĩn⁰ gə 'mã.^ā | 01P.¹

This dramatic style differs from the more common use of double stress or stress shift used to emphasise the truth or propositional meaning of an utterance. The same speaker provides an instance of a stressed personal verbal ending in dramatic style:

b'fhacthas dóib an áit a raibh siad ina suí ... go raibh siad ro-mhór ar an mbealach a raibh sí ag tíocht. Theannadar dho leataobh. | 'x'ã:nə'dor gə 'l'æ:ti.^{əw}v | — beagán. Agus tháinig sí ... 01P (sí = horse).

This speaker also has instances of normally unstressed vowels which are notably longer than the norm in Iorras Aithneach, probably with placement of greater stress than is usual on these syllables. Instances occur before pausa:

l'æ:su: | 01P leasú, ə 'gō:nī: | and | ə 'gū:nī: | 01P i gcónaí.

The stress on the final syllable of *eangachaí* in the following example may be through emphasis or through ‘addition’ of the plural ending during speech production:

Bhídís ... bhídís ... Bhíodar ag déanamh uasáide eile dhen líon. Bhídís ag déanamh eangachaí, eangachaí scadán. | v'i:d'i:f ə d'i:n 'ã'ngə'xi:ə | ã'ngə'xi: 'skudə:n | 895M.

1.384 Compound words and phrases

Double stress, with some variation, occurs in a group of words which includes borrowings and words with reiterative elements.

áiméan 'a:m'e:n.

béithé 'b'e:he: < ‘boohoo’ (T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6c: 229–31).

badhbh badhbh 'bə'bau.

carancam 'ka'raŋkəm FFG.

cromadh rúta 'krumə'ru:tə SM, *cromarúta* CAR, *kumə ru:tə* 21J, also FFG s.v.

croma rúta, LFRM s.v. *cromadh* (~ *cromaide*), cp. *fir ar a gcromadaí*

(run)852SbLL129, *cromada* FGB, *cromada* ~ *comara* ~ *cromartha* Dinn.

deaideo 'd'ə'd'o:.

deargadaol FGB 'd'ærəgə'di:l.

deideighe 'de'dai.

dólaímh 'dō:lā:v' 'dō:lā:v' M, with change of ending 'dō:lās 66N.

filíongó, etc., 'f'il'ungo: Mq, 'f'ir'l'ungo: Mq, plural 'f'il'ə'l'ungo:s SM, P.

fóifíneach FGB 'fuə'f'i:nhəx = 'fuə'f'i:nhəx M.

gaiseití 'ga's'et'i: (cited from Carna, etc., by T. S. Ó Máille 1964–6c: 234).

gaisneas 'ga:f' 'n'æ:s ga:f'n'æ:s SM.

gealdaidhríocht 'g'æl'dair'íəxt 21Jq, 'g'æl'dair'əxt 63S (21J's son). Cp. *geal-adhram* FGB, *geallamansaíocht* FGB.

¹ This is the clearest example I have noted of a stylistic double stress similar to that reported in GCD §55.

mamó 'ma'mo:.

pléaráca 'pl'e'rækə.

rainte baidh habhs ran'tə bai haus ~ ran'tə bo haus.

rababhns 'ræ'bauns M.

rangadaró 'rangədərɔ: FFG.

ra veailí: ra veailí mhór ræ'v æl'i: wɔ:r Mq, ræ'v æl'i: Mq.

Cp. words more likely analysable as two elements, e.g. *re: ri:əkən ré ruilleacán* > *re:ləkən réalacán* (perhaps influenced by *réalt*); and developments such as *patraisc* > *pat(ə)r ijk'ə*; cp. *tam bo'ri:n' team bóraín* FFG20.

See 'Nominals' for compounding and prefixation (3.84 ff.).

Multitonic stress also occurs in similarly complex lexemes:

fadó generally *fado:*, e.g. *fa'do:* (Sdás)04B, *fa:do:*, *fa:do:* 15W (not as introductory run in tale), but the older generation also have *'fa'do:*, *fad ɔ:*, e.g. *'fa'do:* 04Bl, (Smds)04B, *v'i: ɔ:n fa'd ɔ:*, *ogəs əs fa'd ɔ: v'i:* (Smbb)04B *Bhí ann fad ó agus is fad ó bhí, ... ən'fə fa:d ɔ: | 15W ... anseo fad ó.*

etarscán DIL, *eadarascán* FGB, *ædrəskən* 04B, *æ:dər'u/iskən* S, *'æ:drəskən* SM, *æ'drəskən* M.

fearas barr (*farasbarr* (*fearasbarr*) FGB) < *fearas bairr*: *f'ær əs bær* 20T, *'arəs 'bær* FFG s.v. *earasbarr*.

míolfairt FGB, FFG20, *mílfirt* FFG20 > *mílfartán* 'm'il'fortən 20Cq (speaker slightly unsure).

1.385 Monotonic stress

Monotonic stress has developed in some fixed phrases, some of which may have optional phrasal or double stress. Initial stress (marked for clarity here) is found in:

Achadh Réidh 'axre: (1.59);

a deir sé / sí ə 'd'ər fe/fi ~ *'id'ər fe/fi* (in quotative function);

ar son er 'sun ~ *er 'fun* ~ *'erfən*;

as ucht as 'oxt ~ *'asəxt*;

ceaptró (contrast *ceap tró* FFG), *'k'æptə,ro:* 859P, !Pt, *k'æpdəro:* 10Bq; *ceaptró* is related to Scottish Gaelic *trotha* according to T. S. Ó Máille (1966: 37n), cp. Borgstrøm 1940: 223; *tró* and *trotha* (also *tròbha*; *trobha* Wentworth 2003: 234) are borrowings from Old Norse 'tróð(a)';

Cúigeadh Uladh 'ku:g'olə 892M2704, cp. *as Ulaidh əs 'olə* 892M2731, *Cúige Ultach* Sc248; > *Cúigeadh Ualach* ku:g'qləx 46 s.v. *Cúige Uladhach*;

dar ndóigh (literally 'in / by our opinion', or perhaps *ar* (< *iar*) *ndóigh*) 'arnu:, 'ænu:; with greater emphasis | 'a:r 'nū: | 866E, 'a:r 'no: 04Bt, 'æ 'nū: 892M4146;

fo-rír DIL *faraor* FGB *'farer: 'farir:*;

i ngan fhios ə 'hunəs M, *i ngan fhios agus i ngo bhfios ə 'hunəs ogəs ə 'ɲiv' əs* S, but sometimes *i ngan fhios dhaoibh ə ɲən 'is ɲi:b' S*;

le haghaidh 'I'ehi: ~ *'I'e hi:*, *'I'e 'hai:*; also *le m'aghaidh 'I'e 'mai*, etc.;

bra lín generally *'bra:l'i:n'*, but *'bra:l'i:n'ə* [-L' -?] !10B;

*a shliocht*¹ Regular stress with loss of initial **h**:-
tá: (ə) 'f'ox't 'ort S (often) *tá a shliocht ort*;
b'ei 'f'ox't 'er' M *beidh a shliocht air*.
 In slow explanatory speech Máire produced:
b'ei ə'æ h'l'ox't 'er', b'i:n ə 'h'l'ox't 'er', fækə fe ə 'h'l'ox't 'er'
 Mq *beidh a shliocht air, bíonn a shliocht air, fágfaidh sé a shliocht air*.
 Future often 'b'e: 'f'ox't, 'b'e:l'ox't, 'b'e:l'əxt *beidh a shliocht*.
 This is lexicalised and (by some speakers) transferred to other tenses, e.g.
v'i 'e: 'f'ox't orəm 11P *bhí éilíocht orm*;
tá: 'e:l'əxt 'ort S *tá éileacht ort*.
toil dheona 'tíl'u:ní' !27J.

Second-syllable stress is found in:
*doigh bhoilg də'wel'əg', rarer d*o 'wol'əg'; *ró samh* FGB rə'sā:v SM; *tráth nóna* trən'hunə, etc.

Phrasal accent

1.386 Numerals

It is claimed in ICF §343, similar to IWM §255, that 'the numeral has a stronger stress than the noun which it qualifies, e.g.

"hox² 'g'i:n' ocht gcinn."

This, however, cannot be claimed to be a general rule for cardinal numerals qualifying substantives, where the informational content of the numeral and its noun is of importance. Both equal stress and main stress on the substantive are in fact common, e.g.

"hox "g'i:n' ~ 'hox "g'i:n' ocht gcinn.

In this point I agree with IEM §277 and IRW §400 (2). Examples of both cardinals and ordinals from SID.46 show variation in stress placement, e.g. (strong stress on)

- numeral: ,tá: 't'r'i: k'in' gə 'v'ehi ə:kəb, 32 *tá trí cinn dhe bheithí acub*;
 ,x'er'ə slə:t' er 'fə:d, 361 *cheithre slata ar fad*;
 ,ŋ 'x'e:d ar, ; ,n 'dɑ:rnə f'ar, 358a *an chéad fhear*; *an darna fear*;
 noun: ... ɔxt 'dɔ:nə sə 'm'f'i:ən, 576 *dónn muid ocht dtonna sa mbliain*;
 ,jɑ:xt 'jɑ:xtin'i: o'hin', 900 *seacht seachtainí ó shin*;
 ŋ 't'r'i:wə 'f'ar 358a *an tríú fear*;
 both: ,tá: 'xu: 'k'i:n' gə 'v'ehi 'k'ə, 31 *tá chúig cinn dhe bheithí aici*.

Other examples from SID.46 have no stress indication on the numeral or its noun, implying, at least in some cases perhaps, equal (relatively weak) stress, e.g.

¹ T. S. Ó Máille (1961: 123–4) suggests *a fhoilliucht* as the origin of the unstressed -f'əxt in these phrases and *a shliocht* as the origin of stressed 'f'ox't. Both variants can, however, just as easily be derived from *a shliocht*. M. Ó Cadhain (2002: 12) writes *Bhí a riocht air: tháinig éadan ulchabháin air*.

² Corrected from hox, clearly a misprint.

xu:¹g' aurlɪ: ,èr' 'aird'ě, 360 chúig orlaí ar airde,
 t' r' i: tröh èr' 'l'eh'əd 362 trí troighthe ar leithead.

1.387 Functors

Functors are normally unstressed but they can occur stressed.¹ I shall present examples of stressed simple prepositions as well as verbal particles.

Simple prepositions

Simple prepositions are sometimes stressed, examples with contrastive stress are:

v' i: fə fə 'l'e dʒa:n [...], 'l'ef ən æhər' ə v' i: fə M
bhí sé seo LE Jan [...] leis an athair a bhí sé (i.e. against the mother);
 eg' l' æhuər' he:f ə fəxt ... 'riv' ə l' æhuər' he:f ə fəxt M
ag leathuair thar éis a seacht ... ROIMHE leathuair thar éis a seacht.

The preposition *eidir* (7.38) has singular analytic use and optional analytic use with plural personal pronoun objects, e.g. *eidir muid ~ eatrainn*. In the analytic plural forms, stress is generally placed on the preposition when the pronoun occurs phrase-finally, i.e.

'ed'ər' mid', 'ed'ər' fɪb', 'ed'ər' iəd *eidir muid / sib / iad*.

The innovative analytic use of *tha(i)r* also commonly stresses the preposition, e.g.

'hər' ə, 'hər' əf' e:, 'hər' i:, 'hər' əf' i:, 'harə mid', 'hər' iəd
thar é, thairis é, thair í, thairis í, thara muid, thair iad (7.75).

The preposition is also often stressed in the phrases:

'frə: x'el'ə, 'hrinə x'el'ə S frae chéile, thrína chéile;
seachtain ó inniu nú amáireach nú mar sin. | 'ma'r ʃin' | 05M.

Cp. *le haghaidh l'ehi*: >> *l'e hi*:, etc., (1.385). Similarly, stressed *t(h)a(i)r* is common in *tha(i)r cionn* and regular in *faoi 's ta(i)r*, e.g.

'hər' 'k' i:n thair cionn;
 fi: stər' 'e:n rud M faoi 's tair aon rud.

There is also stress on *thar* in elicitation in:

l' em' ə kəpəl. 'hərə'gləi 46.182 léim an capall THAR an gclá;

which is similar to an instance noted from this speaker's nephew:

... gət' ə 'hər' ə ɲ'ætə | 25M ... gaibhte THAIR an ngeata.

When the dependent noun is 'given' information, stress can be placed on the preposition, e.g. (given *Sceirde*, *sruthán*)

amuich i Sceirde ag gliomadóireacht ... tháinic sé isteach AS Sceirde
 hā:n'əg' fə 'f'æx | 'æ:s 'f'k'aird'ə | fliuch báite. 05M (perhaps (also) in
 emphatic style, see further below, 1.388).

sruha:n ... sruha:n ... trə'snə n truha:n ... sruha:n ... sruha:n ... xuələ fə
 b'el' mar ə v' ex b'el' æ:fr'ən' ən | 'er' ə ti:w 'el'ə gən truha:n |

¹ It is stated in ICF §345 that, apart from stress through schwa-elision, and exceptions such as *i ngan fhios*, 'certain words and particles can never be stressed, such as (i) the copula, (ii) the possessive pronoun, (iii) the particles *ar*, *an* (interrogative), *go*, *gur*, etc., (iv) the simple prepositions, (v) the proclitic *in-*, (vi) the adverb *chomh*.' There are similar statements in IEM §279 and ITM §385, with the important addition of the example of the stressed preposition *har' thar* in ITM §386. It will also become clear from my examples that simple prepositions can be stressed. The verbal particles noted in the citation from ICF are not generally stressed but it is important to note that particles such as *ar* (interrogative), *go* (1.389), and, more often, *nach* (examples in discussion further below), *dhá* 'if' (e.g. ICF §348 *dá gcúimhneochthá*), and *mara* (e.g. 'marə 'bil' marab fhuil) can occur stressed. The copula is as a rule not stressed, except when it combines with stressable particles such as *nach*, *dhá* and *mara*, and in the anomalous optative by-forms *gə 'mu h*, *gə 'ma h go mba h-* (5.337, 5.374).

17M *sruthán ... trasna an tsrutháin ... chuala sé beil mar a bheadh beil Aifrin ann AR an taobh eile dhen tsruthán.*

(The same prosodic strategy occurs later in the same tale told by speaker **17M**, where the 'given' noun *crann* (genitive *croinn*) loses stress but where another noun, rather than the preposition *ar*, gains the stress:

xuə ʃe nu:ŋ gə d'í: 'kra:n ə v'í a:n ... əŋ 'kra:n ... xur ʃe m pula:r' ə ŋ xotə | əʃt' æx er' 'je:ga:n ə xri:n' | 17M *chuaidh sé anonn go dtí crann a bhí ann ... an crann ... chuir sé an polláire an chóta isteach ar GHÉAGÁN an chroinn.*

Similarly, in a conversation about sailing and turf hauling in *báid mhóra*, the nouns *bád* (perhaps) and *taobh* gain stress through stress shift leftward or addition in relief from previously mentioned items (given *bád mór*, *an Daingean*):

Bhuel fua' mé héin aon oíche amháin síos ansin, i MBÁD mór, | ə 'ma:d ,mór | agus muid, ' goil go hÁrainn. ... Ach an fear a bhí, ag oscailt, Droichead, an Daingin, | ə 'dæ'ŋg' ən' | ... go raibh se ... goite abhaile, nuair a bhí muid ag déanamh ar Dhroichead an Daingin. 'Yrohəd ə 'dæ'ŋg' ən' | ... go bhfaca sé an bád, ag seoltóireacht, TAOBH thuas dhen Daingean. | 'ti:w huəs gən 'dæ'ŋg' ən | 20A.

This use of stress shift to the left is very common in speaker **20A**.)

1.388 *le, un, ag, ar, as*

Stressed *le* is found in the following example perhaps because the noun it governs is also felt as 'given', even though the phrase is added in final parenthesis qualifying a prepositional pronoun; or perhaps the speaker, in an interview for radio, is shy of mentioning, or bringing notice to, her brother *Seán*; or perhaps in emphatic use (as her other examples below):

... mé féin agus Seán. m'e 'he:n' ogəs ʃa:n | ... nuair ab éigin dom a ghoil isa ngarraí, in éanacht leis, LE Seán. | 'Y'e: ʃa:n | 05M.

A stressed example of *un* was noted, perhaps stressed through rhythmic shift from a 'given' noun:

ə t'íl'a:n ... | haíd'i:ʃ əʃt' æx 'un ə 'n'íl'a:n' | 06C
an t-oileán ... théidís isteach UN an oileáin.

Similarly, when *duine* is used as an impersonal pronoun, rather than as a full noun, it can be unstressed, leading to stress on its governing preposition in:

olk ə hiəxt ɔrt əs hu: ɔʒmpa:l' 'ig' dín' ə S
olc a thíocht ort is thú jumpáil AG duine.

Stressed *ag* occurs before *daoine* in:

| n'í r̃ ən' 'd'ej' 'eg' nə 'd̃i:n' ə 'boxtə | ā:n | 01P
Ní raibh an deis AG na daoine bochta, ann.

Speaker **892M** commonly uses a prosodic strategy of a relatively slow emphatic style whereby more words obtain stress than is usual. This he contrasts with an otherwise rapid delivery with reduction or loss of stress marking. The emphatic use can lead to the preposition being stressed, for example *le* in:

mar ʃ 'Y'e: 'ma:rkəni' 'talhu:nə | v'í: mid' ən 'a:n ə hiəxt ər nə stipo:gi s
or nə L' ærhəxi ʃo 'Y'ug | 892M1572 *mar is LE marcannaí talúna a bhí muid i ndán a thíocht ar na stopógaí is ar na leathracháí seo uiliug.*

In the example the first phrase is overstressed as it were, in contrast with the rapidly spoken long second phrase which contains only two main stresses. The preposition *le* is similarly stressed in:

[ɪ'ɛnə 'xapəl | ogəs ɪ'ɛnə 'xu:ʰ | ogs ɪ'ɛnə 'yʉnə | 889Ptn Rinne sí an cleas céanna, lena chapall, agus LEna chú, agus lena ghunna.

Similar examples in slow emphatic style occur with stressed *ar*, *as*, *ón*:

-Bhuel anis an gcaitheá stríocadh ... ?

-Ní chaitheá ná chor a bith, ní chaitheá. Ní raibh aon ghrutha stríocadh a'd, ach do sheol a choinneál AR do bhád. | ax də 'x'ɔ:l ə 'xɪn'ɔ:l 'or də 'wɔ:d | Ní raibh grutha bith stríocadh a'd. 889P;

teagann troid, teagann scliúchas, AS an iomarca dhen ól | 'æ:s | n'ɪmərka gən 'ɔ:l | 05M;

ach, nuair a bhí sé ag tíocht anuas, ag an dó dhéag, tao' thoir, soir, ÓN gcosán a raibh sé ag goil, | 'ser' | 'o:ŋ gusā:n ə ro fe 'gol' | bhí an fear ag tíocht chaige anoir. 05M.

Recall the example of full stress on the normally unstressed second syllable in:

| 'te'b'ɪn⁰ gə 'mā^ə | 01P toibeann go maith! (1.383).

1.389 Verbal particles

Verbal particles are also sometimes stressed. For instance, when seeking clarification:

-fæns nax d'ukə fe Seans nach dtiocfaidh sé.

-nax d'ukə fe b'æ S NACH dtiocfaidh sé, ab ea?

The stress of two tokens of *go* in the following example is accompanied by a slightly greater pitch range than usual. It seems to add emphasis to the statement in general and perhaps indicates the end of a sentence or discourse unit:

agus, bhíodh, mo mháthair ag casaoid orm, go minic. Mar bhí faitéas ortha go mb'fhéidir, go dtitinn, insa bhfarraige, agus, GO gcaillfí mé. | 'gə "gɑ:l'f'i: m'ē' | Agus d'abraíod sí liom, go raibh faitias ortha, go, go dtíochadh, u-, an u- mhaighdean mhara, agus go dtiúrtadh sí léithi mé gá mbeinn ag goil i mbád liom péin ná ag imeacht, le cladaí ... agus na hálltrachaí árd, agus gá dteighinn síos le fánaidh, áill, GO mbáifí mé. | gə "mɑ:f'i: m'ē' | 869P.

These verbal particles can similarly be stressed when combined with, or functioning as, the copula, e.g.

-Díontha' mise, a deir sí, rud leat rinne mé le cuid mhaith nach thú. ɪ'e kɪd' 'wā' nā'x 'hu:ʰ | 889Ptn.

1.390 Further examples

As mentioned above, words which can be taken as given information in a discourse may cause accent shift to the left:

-k'e: gə d'i: 56N Cé go dtí?

-hæ Ha?

-k'e: 'go d'i: 56N Cé GO dtí?

Prosody and emphasis may cause stress on otherwise unstressed syllables:

-k'e: nə b'ehi: 43M Cé na beithí?

↘ ↗ ↗

-də xud' 'b'ehi:xsə M Do chuid beithíOCHsa.

na d'i:n u'su ɛ:n "waiL' gə ... M Ná déan thuSA aon mhoill go

Before pausa with level intonation, secondary stress is doubled in:

| wel^ə 'v'i: | 'b'oga:n 'el' ən'jin' ,æ:kub | 894C

Bhuel bhí beagán eile ansin acUB — ;

| ɣə nə 'ru:di: ,fo | 894C *dhe na rudáí seo.*

Demonstrative *sin* generally takes the main accent, but its governed pronominal takes the stress in the exclamatory phrase:

gə dərhi: d'io jin' nax 'e: jin' ə kəs 14M *go dtarrthaí Dia sinn nach é sin an cás!* 'God help us, isn't he / it a terrible thing!'

The more common syntax before a definite predicate is *nach in é an ...*, *sin é an ...*. Cp. *Mar sé sin an fáth*, | ,māf ,je' jin' ə 'fa: | *chuaigh m'athair mór go Gaillimh ...* (13.8, line 4). Adverbs of direction in combination with other adverbs of place and direction have generally two possible stress patterns. For example, *soir ansin* meaning 'east in that direction' is normally *ser' ən'jin'*, whereas the more vague meaning 'round about there in the east, over there' is generally *'ser' ən'jin'*, e.g.

rə ti:l' ə mɔ:r 'ser' ən'jin' S an raibh taoille mór soir ansin?

Here, as in the example of the pronominal use of *duine*, the semantically more abstract referring expression loses stress.¹

Variation and change

Some more recent or peripheral phonetic and certain general phonological developments in traditional Iorras Aithneach dialect as well as some changes in young people's dialect are outlined briefly here.

Vowels

1.391 Reduction in sequences *ái* > ai, *úa* > u:ə, uə

Vowel sequence *ai:* > ai in *láihe lai:* (traditional) > lai 66N, 78C (younger speakers). Similar reductions in vowel sequences to diphthongs have been heard in the speech of other young people. This particular reduction is comparable to, and may well be related to, the *ai:* ~ ai alternation in English (borrowings), e.g. 'toy' *toi:* ~ *tai* (11.47).

u:ai > u:ə, uə in: *subháilceach su:ailk'əx* > *suáilceach su:ailk'əx* 66N; *fuaigheáil fu:ail' > ag fúáil fuail' 50N* (oldest speaker), *fúáileadh fuail'u:* 66Nq, *fhúáil uail' 79A*. The *u:ə* in *suáilceach* 66N may be distinctive from the diphthong *uə*, perhaps in being disyllabic. Cp. 1.393.

1.392 Reduction in diphthongs *ia*, *ua*; au, ai

The monophthongisation of *ia* and *ua* described in this section is independent of that found beside nasals (1.24, 1.27).

¹ Although my discussion is brief here, it does indicate the inaccuracy of the commonly held view that in Irish the main phrasal accent is placed without exception on the rightmost content word regardless of the semantics (cp. de Bhaldraithe 1968: 164, erroneously accepted in IEM §262 (Addenda); SIDI p.xxii, B and SIDI, vii note 1; McCloskey 1990: 228 and 1991: 269 n. 7). Cf. Wehr (2001) and works cited there for the phonology and syntax of stress and emphasis in Irish and other West European languages.

ia iə > e:

Commonly **ia > e:** in (s)*iad* > (ʃ)**e:d**, especially in unstressed position, e.g.

go bhfeictheadh sí iad **gə v'ek'əd ʃi: e:d** [or ʃi:^j e:d] M.

Also in unstressed position **ia > e:**, e.g.

beithíoch b'ehe:əx 11C, SM,

tóraíocht tɔr'e:əxt 11C, *nuaíocht nū:ēðxt* 11C.

Unstressed *ia > e(·)*, e.g. *barriall* **ba'lɛ:r** 64M. This young speaker has considerable reduction of vowel quality and quantity in unstressed syllables generally: see his tokens of the personal pronouns (6.16 ff.) and his <axi> noun plurals (4.218). Further lowered in *barriall* sg **ba'lɛ:r'** pl **ba'lɛ:rəxi:** 60Mq.

ia iə > e:; ua uə > ʊ:, ɔ:, u:^ə, perhaps u:; and other changes

Monophthongisation of *ia* and *ua* is characteristic of the speech of some speakers from Gabhla (North-West Iorras Aithneach). Examples from speaker 20M (underlined> are:

ia iə > e:, e.g. *an bhliáin chéanna* ə v'l'e:ŋ' x'e:nə; *Ciárán* k'ɛ:rən; *sa gcliabh* sə gl'e:v;¹

ua uə > ʊ:, ɔ:, e.g. *Uachtar Ard* ʊ:xtər a:rd (also 50M, son of 20M); *thug mé suas* dɔ́ é hʊg m'e sɔ:s dɔ: e; *thuas* hɔ:s; *chuala* xɔ:lə;

ua uə > u:^ə, *an uair sin* ən u:^ər ʃin'.

A speaker from Doire Iorrais (North-East Iorras Aithneach) has less common diphthongisation of *ia > e:*, e.g.

d'fhiafraigh sé d'ɛrhə ʃe 01P, *ag iarraidh əg' ɛ:rə* 01P.

This feature of monophthongisation is found in North Iorras Aithneach: in the townlands of Gabhla and, to a lesser extent, in Doire Iorrais.² Reduction is relatively rare elsewhere in Iorras Aithneach:

ua uə > u:^ə, perhaps *u:*, frequently in 892M's speech (Dumhaigh Ithir), e.g. *Cnoc na Cruaiche* kru:hə 892M1614, cp. *Cualáin* kuələ:n ~ ku:lən' 892M;

ua uə > ʊ: in *anuas* ə'nʊ:s 11P (Leitir hArd);

ia iə > i:, and *ua uə > u:* categorically in 71D's (Damhras) 'mixed' idiolect. He has acquired this feature from his mother who is a native of An Mám in North Conamara.

The optional diphthongisation of historical *e:* in 20M's speech can be taken to be in a chain shift relationship with the change *ia iə > e:* (all 20M):

é, ae e: > **ei, ai**, noted in *b'fhéidir* b'e'd'ər', *Gaeilge* gailg'ə ge:lg'ə.

Infrequent monophthongisation of **au** and **ai**, or at least reduction of the diphthong, is heard in the speech of 892M, e.g.

au *ocht n-orlaí déag, ocht n-orlaí déag* ɔxt nʊ:rli: d'e:g, ɔxt naurli: d'e:g ARN1459;

ai *sailcheánach* sei:l'hə:nəx ARN1520, sei:l'hə:n [loss of final syllable] ARN1532, sail'hə:nəx ARN1456,

le haghaidh oibre l'e he: eibr'ə ARN1528.

¹ I have not heard **kl'e:v cliabh** from any other speaker in Iorras Aithneach. It does, however, occur in ICF §404, independent of the general monophthongisation of *ia* (found in speaker 20M). Cp. higher register *sa chléibh* (10.48); and B. Ó Catháin (2001a: 248).

² Cp. II.V above and ITM §§79, 84, 420 as well as Ó Maolaithe (1948: §§30, 36).

1.393 Diphthongs: *ia* *iə* > *i:a* ; *ua* *uə* > *u:a*

The diphthongs *ia* and *uə* are sometimes realised by younger speakers **70S** (semi-speaker) and **84P** with a greater trajectory than in traditional dialect:

iasc *i:ask* **84P**; *suas* *su:as* **70S**, **84P**.

Cp. opposite tendency of reduction in sequences (1.391).

Consonants**1.394 The (SONh) variable → <SONh> <SON>**

A few typical examples of variation in post-sonorant *h* are given here.

carthanas *kaˈrənəs* **S**, also (in genitive) *carthanais* *kaˈrhənəʃ* **S**.

curtha: *Tuí churtha* *xurə*, *tá sí air an teach sin*. *Nuair atá sí curtha* *kurhə* *tá sí* ... **S**.

culaidh: generally *kolhə*, but (unstressed) in *culaidh éadaigh* *kol eːdə* **S**, *kol* (*kolə* pausa) *eːdə* 46.283.

coinín: generally *kinˈiːnˈ*, but *kinˈhiːnˈ* **20M** (Gabhla), **79MI** (Leitir Deiscirt).

tórramh: *təːrhə*, plural *təːrexiː*, is a common pattern with loss of *h* in the longer (plural) form, cp. *fˈe:hə féith* plural *fˈe:xiː* from Máire cited in 1.123.

There is a rare example of loss of written *f* of the future tense in a letter from Máire:

Pé ar bith an fhad a mhaireas sí **Mlt** (for *mhairfeas*).

It is clear that the subvariables (*lh*), (*rh*) and (*nh*) may be realised with or without the *h*. This set of three can be dealt with under the superordinate class designated as the (SONh) variable. The superordinate variant <SONh> will stand for <lh>, <rh> and <nh>; likewise <SON> for <l>, <r> and <n>. This class has developed from clusters with historical *h* and from unhistorical devoicing or *h* insertion, the former mostly from *th* with an important subset from verbal future stem *-f-*, the latter from devoicing of mostly lenited sonorants. These can be differentiated when necessary as historical (SONh) and unhistorical (SONh).

Different speakers and networks have various class membership and frequency of use. For two ‘extreme’ examples, it is convenient to contrast speaker **894C** (as found in folklore transcripts in RBÉ) with material from SID.46, my speaker **869P**; the former has a large (SONh) class, the latter has a lower than average frequency of <SONh> realisation. Speaker **894CRBÉ** has a larger than usual (SONh) class, containing members in all three subclasses which are rare or unattested from other speakers. The relevant lexemes noted are listed here; those in small capitals are unattested with *h* from other speakers:

(*nh*): *na buinnighe* > *na BUINTHIGHE*;

(*lh*): *Caolaigh* > *Caoltha*, *fáilí* > *FÁILTHÍ*, *FÁILTHÍOCHT*, *scáile* > *SCÁILTHe*, *talmhaíthe* > *TALTHAWAÍ*;

(*rh*): *arú* > *arhú amáireach*, *barainn* > *drochBHARTHAINN*, *Cruaich na Cara* > *Crua na CARTHA*, *comháireamh* > *ghá CHÚIRTHe* ‘g mrá.

1.395 Infrequent usage

On the other hand, speaker **869P**, in audio recordings, folklore transcripts, and in SID.46 material, shows a usage that appears to be lower than the norm for Iorras Aithneach. Although we find <SONh> in SID.46 and (*t*)*h* in **869PRBÉ** in many

words, e.g. *talamh* and *caonach*, it is noteworthy that lexemes with <SON> correspond in some instances in both sources, e.g. *deichneabhar* > *diniúr* **869P2**, *d'in'ur* 46.358b = Mp 108 (although there is at least one contrasting realisation, i.e. *breathnú* often *b'ranu*: in SID.46 (e.g. Mp 126), but regularly *breathnú* **869P2**). Similarly, *culaidh* shows <SON> variants but also probable conditioning with regard to stress. In the one token in the position of main stress *cultha* occurs (*a' cur na culth' air* **869P2**), whereas in position of weaker stress *cula* is the norm, e.g. *a chula ghaisce*, *cula bhreá*, *cula dhaor*, *cula pláta* **869P2** (6 tokens in all), *kol* (*kolə* pausa) 'e:da, 46.283 = Mp 84 *culaidh éadaigh*. There is only one token of stressed *cultha* in position of weaker stress: *a chultha bhreá* **869P2**. A further condition on the use of <SONh> (for some speakers) is the number of syllables in a word or its phonological weight: this is evidenced by the tokens of *tórramh* in SID.46: disyllabic *tór:hə(n)* (x3) with <SONh> in contrast with trisyllabic *tó:ri:əxi*: [x1] 46.702–3 with <SON>. Even the phonological weight of the lexeme might condition *h* use, cp. *múl'hin'ě* (pl. *múl'in'i*:) 46.287 *muinchille/f*. The elision of *h* in plurals is regular for other speakers. For example, speaker **19P**, e.g. *loinidh lin'hə* > *lin'e'xi* *lin'əxi*. Other words in this class with <SON> in SID.46 are: *buaille buəl'ə* Vocab, *fothrach forəx* 582, *saothraigh: sir:ru* *hir:ri:n sir:ro*: 321–3 (= Mp 95), *loinidh lín'ě* Mp 22, *mala mə:lə* plural *ma:l'i*: 424, *comhartha kō:ri:*; in **869PRBÉ**: *bóithre* > *bóirí*, *comhra(i)c* > *cûra(i)c*, *malairt* > *malrait*. With **869P**'s *cûra(i)c*, contrast his brother's *cûrhaic* **875T1**, also *cûr(h)aic* **875T1**, the parenthesis in the manuscript perhaps indicating an optional or weak realisation of *h*.

The speech of **869P**'s daughters (Bairbre and Winnie) resembles their father's in this feature, as in many others. They have a very low <SONh> yield indeed. In their speech *h* may even be lost initially following *-r*, particularly in common *thug*, e.g.

Ar thug Maidhcil aon scéalta dhuít? ər ug maik'il' e:n' f'k'e:ltə yit' 04Br,
gur thug sé lift dho ... gər ug f'e l'if' t' gə ... 04Br.

Speaker **04Br**'s son, **46S**, also has low <SONh> yield.

Speaker **66N** seems to have a lower yield of <SONh> than is usual. She may have been influenced by her mother's speech, her mother being a native of the district of An Cheathrú Rua, east of Iorras Aithneach. We can mention here that the rare use of *h* in the lexemes *sionnach* and *colbha* was noted in An Aird but other lexemes with rare *h* such as *coinín* and *spúnóg* are found in speakers from other areas.

1.396 Dialectology of unhistorical (SONh)

The evidence collated regarding this variable includes fifteen items from SID I and two items from SID III (excluding point 43b), i.e.

- (nh): *caonach* 300, *cúnamh* 30, *loinidh* 22, *sine* q 49, *siní* 18, *muinéal* 116, *sionnach* 42, *spúnóg* 165;
- (lh): *boladh* 268 also in Donegal, *culaith* 84, *folamh* 97, cp. *faoileog* 217 also in Donegal, *uillinn* q 443b;
- (rh): *comháireamh* 274, *caorán* 116 also in Donegal, *tórainn* 245 also in Donegal, *tórramh* 196 also in Leinster and Ulster.

First, it is clear from SID that unhistorical (SONh) is widespread in Ireland, e.g. *cabhrú* (SID1.30) in South-West Munster, *tórramh* in Leinster, Connacht and Ulster. Second, it can be argued that all of Connacht underwent this development and that the absence of both historical and unhistorical (SONh) in a considerably extensive area surrounding Galway city (points 35–42) is the result of a later loss of **h** beside sonorants. This **h**-less area is surrounded by an area with **h**. It is therefore surrounded by a much larger unhistorical (SONh) zone, i.e. the rest of Connacht (and, to a degree, the rest of Ireland).

The three highest scoring points in Connacht with unhistorical (SONh) lie south-west, northeast and west of Galway city. I shall return to these points shortly. The average score for all points in Clare and Connacht is calculated by scoring 1 for **h** only, and 0.5 for alternation of **h** and its absence, and 0.5 also for ^h and 0 for no **h**. Excluding points with no **h**, the average score is 4. (A more accurate score would be achieved by taking the gaps in returns into account. This will be necessary in any future study which should investigate a larger set of relevant words in SIDIII.) It can be seen from the summary in Table 1.27 that above-average scores occur consistently in South and West Galway, and South-West Mayo, but also in point 34 in North-East Galway; and less emphatically in North-West Mayo.

Table 1.27 (SONh) score from a small sample set of words in SIDI–III

(SONh) score	Points	Areas
0	22, 35–42, 47	Galway city hinterland (mostly)
≤ 4	23–27, 29–33, 52–4, 58–61, 63, 64, (87)	Clare, North and East Connacht
4.5–5	25, 27, 43a, 46, 50, 56, 57, 62	South Galway, greater Erris
5.5–7.5	43, 48, 49, 55	West Conamara and Joyce Country
8–9	28, 34, 44, 45, 51	South and North-East Galway

It may not be coincidental that three of the four highest scoring points in SID, although dispersed geographically, do have one factor in common: they border on or are near the central Galway **h**-less zone. One suspects that the high yield in border dialects within the **h** zone may be indicative of a hyperdialectism in reaction to **h**-less neighbours. This is comparable to unhistoric **h** insertion inter-vocally, a more restricted hyperdialectism, which Séamas Ó Murchú reports from An Cheathrú Rua with realisations such as *láir laħər* (personal communication; cp. hypercorrection in ICF §569 note 1; and in SIDIII point 41, q 195 (B. Ó Catháin 2001a: 246, footnote 19); M. Dillon 1962: 578).

1.397 Comparison

Iorras Aithneach has the highest recorded number of words containing unhistoric **h** beside sonorants, as is clear from Table 1.28 where figures collated from other Connacht monographs are compared.

Table 1.28 Unhistoric (SONh), number of lexemes per class

	<nh>	<n'h>	(nh)	<lh>	<l'h>	<l'h>
IA	20	5	25	13	18	1
ICF (AppI)		2	2	8	2	
ITM		2	2	2		
IEM	1	(1)	2			
	(lh)	<rh>	<r'h>	(rh)	Total	
IA	32	29	10	39	96	
ICF (AppI)	10	4		4	16	
ITM	2	6		6	10	
IEM	0	7	1	8	10	

Clearly, the previously published monographs have, in general, far less exhaustive listing than the present work. Nonetheless a comparison between these monographs and my own material is worthwhile, if only to stimulate fuller investigation which would fill gaps in the comparative record. No firm conclusions can be drawn concerning the total membership of the various subclasses. In our dialect (**rh**) is the biggest subclass, just as it is for ITM and IEM. In ICF (Appendix I), however, (**lh**) is the subclass with most members. Some further lexemes can be supplemented to these monographs from a cursory survey of SID:

uillinn to ICF (Appendix I), from point 43;

muineál, sinel-í, tórramh to ITM, from point 51;

loinidh, sinel-í, spúnóg, faoileog to IEM, from points 56–7.

Words in this sample of Connacht from SID can be categorised according to their **h**-scores (in brackets):

high: *loinidh* (19), *boladh* (19), *caorán* (19.5), *tórramh* (20); *faoileog* (4/4);

medium: *caonach* (7), *muineál* (7.5), *sine* (7), *siní* (8), *culaith* (7.5), *folamh* (9), *tórainn* (13);

low: *sionnach* (1), *spúnóg* (2), *uillinn* (3);

none: *cúnamh, comháireamh*.

Words reported in Connacht monographs with **h**, but recorded with no **h** variants in Iorras Aithneach include:

ICF (Appendix I) *gaíneamh* §642, *folach* §640 (the variant *falach* has **h** in IA), *éiliú* §644;

ITM (Only four words are cited in the relevant sections in ITM, but one can add at least six others: *anuraidh* §434, *coinín* §§185, 403, *loinidh* §175, *caorán* §223, *ciaróg* §§80, 349, cp. *cumhra* §436.) The only word from this ITM list not heard with **h** in Iorras Aithneach is *caorán* (cf. SID Map 170);

IEM *tanaí* §437, *muineál* (n' /hn' /x') §441, *caorán* §455; (*aireamhail* §455 is apparently not known in IA).

Ó Maolaithe (1948: §152) reports one word with unhistorical **h** not found in IA: *Máire* > *Máirhe* (as well as *gainhe*, *anorhaí*, *talhú*) 'in áiteacha'. This **h** is in contrast with Mionlach where he reports **h** (both historical and unhistorical) is absent beside sonorants. Cp. his reference to Leitir Móir (also §152).

Given examples like *gaineamh* in ICF Appendix I and the high, possibly hyper-dialectal, unhistorical (SONh) scores in points 44–5 (cp. also points 43, 43a), it is possible that the area between Cois Fharraige and Iorras Aithneach has an even larger unhistorical (SONh) class than Iorras Aithneach.

It is clear from Table 1.28 and from the various lists in the monographs that the development of unhistorical **h** occurs almost exclusively following historically lenited sonorants. The only lexeme with <L'h> is *taoille*, which has itself very limited occurrence of <SONh>, *tí:l'ə* being by far more common. The other two lexemes with historically unlenited palatal *nn* and *ll*, *buinneach* and *uillinn*, have **h** only in the variants with lenited consonants, i.e. *uillinn* *il'əN' il'əN' il'həN'*; *buinneach* *biN'əx*, genitive *buinnighe* *biN'i*; usually but *buinthighe* [sic] 894C.

1.398 Resonants and voicelessness with friction; (i)–(ii)

A very few speakers have a tendency to add friction to **h** beside a resonant (**h** > **x**) or to voiceless *r* preceding *t* (**r** > **ʁ**, **χ**). The specific developments are:

- (i) /rh/ > [rx]; /lh/ > [lx];
- (ii) /rt/ > [ʁt] ([χt]);
- (iii) /hr/ > [χr], [xr].

(i) /rh/ > [rx]

Speaker 66N (An Aird Mhóir) sporadically, e.g. *dhéarthaí* *je:rχi* 66N. Friction is common in speaker 64M's *céard déarthá?* *k'e d'e'χa* 64M.

/lh/ > [lx]

The optional change /lh/ > [lx] was noted in the speech of 30M (An Bhánrach Ard), brothers 33T and 40S (Cill Chiaráin), and 63S (Roisín na Mainchíoch), e.g. *talamh* *ta'lxə* 30M, 33T, 40S, *talúna* *təlxu:nə* 30M.

Both these changes, /rh/ > [rx] and /lh/ > [lx], were noted from four speakers, three of whom also have the realisation /rt/ > [ʁt]. A rare example was noted from 21Pt (An Aird Mhóir): *dhíolfá* *jiəlxə* 21Pt.

(ii) /rt/ > [ʁt], (perhaps also [χt])

The optional realisation /rt/ > [ʁt] has been noted in the speech of four speakers: 40S and his brother Mícheál and 79P (all three from Cill Chiaráin), 66N (An Aird Mhóir), (also from a male native of Camas, born c. 1950; cp. **r** > **ʁ**, 1.407). E.g.

ceart *k'a'ʁt*, *gortú* *gɔrtu*: (both Mícheál);

tart *ta'ʁt* 66N; *ort* *oʁt* 40S, 66N.¹ Cp. 'forty' *fa'ʁtʲi* 40S.

Máire (16M) finds this a curious feature, along with **n'** > **ɲ'**, in 66N's speech and remarks spontaneously citing *an bhfuil tart ɔrt?* and *do thóin* (relevant sounds underlined).

1.399 (iii) /hr/ > [χr], [xr]

Speaker 01P (Doire Iorrais) has frequent use of initial **xr** for regular /hr/ and an example of initial **xr'** for /hr' /:

hr > **xr** *dhá thraibhleáil mé a: xræ:v'l'ə:l' m'e |*, *ro-throm* *rə'xru:m |*;

¹ Cp. the 'reverse' change **xt** > **ʁt** in some Ulster dialects of Irish (e.g. Ó Dochartaigh 1987: 132–40).

hr' > xr' *do thrí mhéir dā xr'i: v'er'.*

The change **hr > xr** in this speaker may be related to uvularisation of *r* found in North-East Iorras Aithneach (in the lingual shift described in 1.407). This speaker also has a tendency to spirantise **k' > x'**, some **k > k^x**, **g > g^y**, **k' > xk'**, and initial **x(')** > **h** consistently in words which have lexicalised initial **x(')** (1.405). Some speakers, e.g. **22J** (Roisín an Tamhnaigh), **46C** (Cill Chiaráin), **64M** (Tóin an Roisín, Maínis) and **66N** (An Aird Mhoir), have optional spirantisation of initial **hr** (noted before nonlow long vowels from **46C**, **64M** and **66N**). E.g.

thraictar xræk'dər 22J (tractor); *obair throm obər' xru:m 46C*;

thréis (thar éis) xre:f 64M, *thraíáil xri:áil' 64M*;

a shrón ə xru:n 66N, *thriomaigh xr'umə 66N*.

Speaker **66N** also weakens palatal *r* in:

threabhsar x'jausər jausər 66N; similar to *xr'jausər 52P*.

In elicitation, however, speaker **66N** produces consistent initial **hr** and **hr'**.

Cp. intervocalic and prevocalic **h > x'**, **x'**, beside **i:** as well as **h > x** in:

gaoithe gi:x'ə 64M, *haon x'in 89M*; *bóthar bə:hər ~ bə:xər 64M*.

Speaker **63S** (Roisín na Mainchíoch) has many instances of **h** being spirantised:

intervocally: *máthair mæ:xər'*, *na hamhráin nə "xə:rə'n'*,

in clusters: *ina throid nə xrid'*, *caladh kalxə*, *malairt malxər't'*.

1.400 Loss of intervocalic h

The consonant **h** beside sonorants, denoted as the variable (SONh), is facultatively lost, i.e. realised as the variant <SON>, by many speakers, in contrast with the variant <SONh> where the **h** is realised. In some lexemes, however, <SON> occurs more commonly than <SONh> (1.394). In Galway Irish as a whole, a larger geographical area (where (historical and unhistorical) **h** does not occur or is rare beside sonorants (i.e. where (SONh) → <SON> is general)) encompasses a smaller core area which goes further in elision of **h** by having regular loss of intervocalic **h**. This dialectal dispersion reflects the higher phonetic markedness of voiceless sonorants, in contrast with intervocalic **h**, the implication being that if intervocalic **h** is lost in a given lect then so also will **h** be lost beside sonorants, but not necessarily vice versa.¹

Within Iorras Aithneach there is also evidence of this relationship. Clann Mhacaí speakers, in particular **869P** and his daughters **04Br** and **15W**, who have a lower than usual incidence of **h** beside sonorants (1.395), also seem to have a higher tendency than usual to lose intervocalic **h**, although this loss is decidedly less frequent in comparison with their <SON> realisations. For example, speaker **04Br** has:

regularly	<i>uafás(ach) u:əs and u:əsəx</i> ;
also	<i>Béib Chathail b'e:b' xa:əl', col ceatharacha kol k'æ:r-əxə</i> , <i>leathuair thar éis ... l'æ'uər l'e:f ...</i> ;
in inflection	<i>laethantaí le:ənti</i> : (cp. <i>le:hənti</i> : 46.1042 vs. non-inflectional <i>oícheantaí i:hənti</i> 46.1043), also <i>tightheadhaí t'f'wɪ</i> : (46.Mp 147, cf. 4.134), 04Br , 15W , ² 3f (<i>lé ></i>) <i>léithi l'e:ə</i> ;

¹ Cp. 'in those districts in which intervocalic *th* has been lost, the *th* drops out here [i.e. beside sonorants] also' (O'Rahilly 1932: 209).

² Contrast the presence of **h** in *d'i:həb* 46.209 *diobh* (7.19).

in sandhi *leath a ndóthain am l'æ' no:hənt' æm.*
 Also initially: *bhí sé thuas ar an gcnoc v'i: fe uəs er' ə gruk,*
 cp. *taispeáin do theach dhom 'sbə:n də 'a:x yəm* 46.291.

Pronominal forms of *chuig* are regularly *h*-less, i.e. in *ug*-.

The unstressed ending *-i:hə* of noun plural and verbal adjective formation is also commonly weakened in **04Br**'s speech:

coisíthe kof'i:hə q, sclábhaíthe sklə:wi:hə q, saothraíthe si:ri:(h)ə q;
athraíthe a:ri:hə, préachta pr'e:xti:hə, beannaíthe b'æ:ni:hə.

For facultative loss in the CAITH class of verbs, see 5.124 ff.

1.401 Optional vocoid lengthening preceding sonorants

There is a large class of words which have optional vocoid lengthening (i.e. lengthening or diphthongisation of short vowels) before sonorants *n*, *l* and (to a lesser extent) *r* in clusters, and before *m* and *ng* (1.172 ff., 1.203 ff.). Within Iorras Aithneach lengthening seems strongest in central townlands, e.g. Maínis and An Coillín. It is likely that this variable shows family network conditioning. The clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire network in An Coillín has a consistently frequent use of long variants, i.e. as noted from brothers **875T** and **869P** and **875T**'s son **11J**, and **869P**'s daughters. A speaker such as **23J** from Roisín an Tamh(n)aigh, on the other hand, has lower than usual use of the long variants. There is evidence that speakers who have a consistently high incidence of long-vocoid variants can also have a larger class of relevant words than the community norm. The clann Mhacaí network has been noted with long variants in words which are commonly short in Iorras Aithneach: *samtach sa:ntəx*, *stail > stal-trachai stə:lt'rəxi*: **11Jq**. Similarly, speakers with lower than average incidence of long variants can have short vowels in words that are categorically long for the majority of Iorras Aithneach speakers. Speaker **23J**'s use of *im im'* (and even *siúcra fukrə*) clearly illustrates this.

The toponym *Caladh Fhidhinse* is interesting in this context. It is categorically *kalhə wi:nfə*, in a long vowel, with all speakers I have noted. There are, however, two exceptions: one speaker from the far west of our dialect area and another from the far east of Iorras Aithneach both of whom have short by-forms: *kalhə winfə* **892M** (Dumhaigh Ithir), **897P** (Loch Con Aortha). If *Caladh Fhidhinse* is in fact the historically correct spelling for this place-name, indicated in the English version as 'Callowfeenish', the variant with short vowel can best be explained as a hyperdialectism in the areas where historical lengthening before sonorants is weakest. The short vowel, however, would be historically correct if the place-name were derived from *Caladh Inse*; it may have been folk-etymologised as *Caladh Inse* (it is even possible that it was folk-etymologised from *Caladh Inse* to *Caladh Fhidhinse*).

A very crude index for lengthening in this class can be calculated for Iorras Aithneach as follows: we assign the value of 1 point for a long token of a lexeme which is generally long in central Iorras Aithneach (e.g. Maínis), and 2 points for a long token of a lexeme which is often short in this central area, and 0 for a token without lengthening. If a speaker varies long and short tokens of a 1-point lexeme, we assign the value 0.5; variation of long and short tokens of a 2-point lexeme is assigned a value of 1.

1-point lexemes are: *Banrach*, *brionglóidí*, (*Caladh*) *Fhínse*, *cuimhne*, *cuimse*, *geimhreadh*, *imní*, *inti*, *muintir*, *scanraigh*, *suaimhneas* (etc.), *timpeall*.

2-point lexemes are: *iondúil*, *iontaigh*, etc., *suntas*, *uncail*.

This index has yet to be applied systematically to my data but some speakers have been covered and some others can be provisionally assigned general positions on the scale based simply on overall impressions from their conversation or recordings. Table 1.29 displays a provisional summary of the evidence regarding this isogloss.

Table 1.29 Isogloss of optional vowel lengthening in Iorras Aithneach

Area	Overall	Townland	Individual	Index	Impression
West	low	Leitir hArd	27Md	0/6	mid to low
		Damhras	26Pc		
		Dumhaigh Ithir	892M		mid
		Maoras	11C	10/10	high
Centre	high	Glinisce	894C		
		An Coillín	869P		very high
		Carna	12S		high
		Roisín an Tamh(n)aigh	23J	16/16	mid to low
East	mid to low	Maínis	16M		high
		An Aird Mhóir	21Pt		
		Loch Con Aortha	897P		2.5/16
			899P	6/9	
		Doire Iorrais	20A		low

For changes in vocalic length, cf. GEARR class (5.124 ff.).

1.402 Conamara

Lengthening of vocoids before all sonorants distinguishes Conamara and Árainn from the rest of Connacht and may be regarded as a distinct, sometimes fudged, Munsterism. Lengthening in Connacht covers points 39–48 in SID: Conamara and Árainn. Much of this lengthening is facultative, as we have seen immediately above from the specific example of Iorras Aithneach. Geographically, central southwestern Conamara has the strongest tendency for lengthening in this environment. Lengthening isoglosses, based on individual tokens, must often be drawn from Co. Clare (through Galway Bay) to include the points 41 and 42 of Oileáin Árann (the Aran Islands) and an area of the mainland surrounding Cuan an Fhir Mhóir (Greatman's Bay) and Cuan Chill Chiaráin (Kilkieran Bay), i.e. points 43, 43a, 43b, 44, and also, of course, our point 46 in Iorras Aithneach.

One can calculate an index for lengthening in environments which are facultative in Iorras Aithneach based on eleven words in SID:

muinntear 107, *inntinn* 142, *iontaighthe* 178, *iontaigh* 179, *neantóg* 249, *glionnda* 275, *coinnleach* 300, *trom* 81, *iompaighthe* 178, *iompaigh* 179, *brionglóidí* 79.

One can also include SIDIII *pionnta* q 758 which, lengthened, is an important Innis Oírr shibboleth, and its long Iorras Aithneach variant is sometimes also commented on by speakers in Conamara. A score of 1 is given for each word with lengthening, 0.5 with words which show both short and long variants, and 0 for those without lengthening.

The contrast in the scores between points is quite striking: in the greater Conamara area, i.e. points 39–51, the far East, West and North have little or no lengthening, i.e. points 39, 40, 45, 49, 50 and 51 all score zero, and points 47 and 48 score only one in *trom*. On the other hand, most of Mid-West Conamara scores in at least half of the twelve words: 41 (7.5), 42 (6), 43 (6), 43a (2.5), 44 (5), 46 (9). The high score in Innis Oírr (point 41) is unsurprising given its proximity to Munster. Surprising is the highest score of all, our point 46, which is geographically the furthest of the lengthening points from Munster. Points 41 and 46 also have lengthening of non-initial *-ionnt-* which is apparently only lengthened in points 41, 43, 43a, 43b,¹ 44 and 46 (cf. ICF §604, and *phionnta f'íntā* [sic leg] GCF §316 s.v. *aon*).

The limited geographical currency of non-initial *-ionnt-* lengthening can be clearly seen in the word *pionnta*. It is pronounced with Munster backing and lengthening as **p'íuntā** in Innis Oírr (point 41), distinguishing this lect from the rest of Oileáin Árann for island speakers, as has been reported by B. Ó Catháin (personal communication), and as is evident in SIDIII from (a) the self-conscious proffering of less salient **p'íntā** by the Innis Oírr speaker, and (b) the comment by the neighbouring Innis Meáin speaker on Innis Oírr people's pronunciation '*piúnta*'. I have also heard speakers from Cois Fharraige and An Cheathrú Rua comment on the Carna (IA) lengthened **p'íntā**. Point 43b has the short vowel in three tokens and one long token **p'ínti**: (from the younger informant). Point 44 has **p'íntā** here, which bears witness to the replacement of the older lengthened variant in recent times in Ros Muc; as noted in LFRM *pionta p'íntā*; **p'íntā** *ag an tseanghlúin* (among the older generation). There is evidence then of pressure on these Mid-West Conamara Munsterisms and it is my impression that they are being lost among many of the youngest generations.² It is likely that spelling now influences many younger speakers' pronunciation, this class of words having short vowels in the orthography.

Other words, which are short in Iorras Aithneach, in particular *cainnt* (SIDI.110) and *sláinte* (SIDIII.793a), show more diphthongisation in East Conamara; this is a Munsterism, with an opposing distribution to that discussed above. Map 110 *cainnt*, however, shows quite exceptional vocalisms in many parts of Ireland, e.g. **kain't'** point 61; no doubt [**kaint'**] with the prevalent off-glide in this context is phonemically /**kant'**/ in these northern points. In Conamara *sláinte* is reported to have a minority variant **ai** ICF §604, and **slāin't'** is returned for point 42.

1.403 Initial weakening

Fricative and, to a more limited extent, stop consonants may be weakened in phrase-initial position, particularly in less 'careful' articulation. Initial weakening is used by speaker **11C** frequently as a stylistic marker indicating hesitation or less formality.

t- ~ h- *tá sé sin ro-fhada anois* **ha fe** *fin' rəæ:də n'ij* St. Cf. *bí* (5.251).

s- ~ h- '*seans,*' *a deirimse,* '*go ...*' **hæ:ns ə d'er'əmʃə gə ...** St.

Cp. *híontach an smutachán thusa!* S, derived through elision of initial *nach* (*h-*) (or *is* (*h-*)) or through the phonetic weakening of *-ch* (in *nach*; or of *-s* (in *is*)).

v'- ~ h- *bhí go maith* **hi: gə ma: 11Ct**. Cf. *bí* (5.248).

¹ Point 43b (Ráth Cairn) was not given a score as there are no returns corresponding directly to SIDI.

² Cp. Ó Sé (2002: §3.3).

- h-** ~ Ø *thuas ansin a bhí sí ina cónaí uas an'fín' a v'í' fí' nā kūnī: 11C;*
na báid, thúmpeall ar an gcósta seo nā bād' | ímpəl er' ə gōstə fo
35E7034;
bhíodh, theagadh báid ... v'í:x, ægəx bād' ... 35E7046.
- j-** ~ Ø *'Dheaidín ó go deo! æd'ín' o: gə d' o: 05M.*
- d'-** ~ ə- *déarthaidh mé anois b'fhéidir ə:rhə m'e' n'í'f b'e:d'ər' 11C* (hesitant).
- d-** ~ Ø *Dúirt sé liom ... | ʊr ʃe l'um ... 11C.*

The weakening and loss of initial **d(')**- in the last two examples is not interpreted as realisation of the vowel-initial stem **erh-**, and elision of preverbal past functor **d'** respectively. Phonetic reduction is clear in both contexts, i.e. **d'-** > ə (half-long weak hesitant vocalism) in ə:rhə, and vowel-shortening with reduction of **r** in **dur-** > ʊr-.

Speaker **66N** has optional weakening and loss of initial **ɣ** in the clusters *ghl-* and *ghr-*, e.g.

má ghlaoid ma li:m' 66N,
a / do / dhá dhroim ə xri:m', ə hri:m', də ri:m', ga ji:m' 66N.

This weakening of **ɣ** in **ɣr-** > (**h**)**r-** can be contrasted with the opposite tendency of strengthening **h**, i.e. spirantisation, particularly in **hr-** > **xr-** (1.399). One can compare here the development of the numeral *dhá* (traditionally **ɣa**). Speakers born since the 1970s can have both hardening of initial **ɣ** to *dhá xa* and loss of initial **ɣ** to *dhá a*.

The change **ɫ** > **j** is found word-initially, e.g. *lean mé | jæn' m'e' 25M*. It is common in the younger speaker **72N** and his niece (Marian, born c. 1990) and is also heard from **79A** (all three are natives of Maínis), e.g.

líne ɫ'ín'ə ~ ji:n'ə, go leith gə jɛ², an leabhar ə jaur (all **72N**);
... bhíonn leath a ndóthain ... v'ín' jæ: nō:hən' ... 79A.

Speaker **73P** (Maínis) was heard with *sleán ʃɫ.ən ~ ʃa:n 73P*.

Cp. instances of **ɫ** > **ɫ'** in speakers **74N** and **81C** (1.164).

Cp. loss of **r** in *scríobh ʃk'i:v 84P*.

1.404 Loss of friction

Speaker **892M** often has uvular /**x**/ and /**ɣ**/, i.e. [χ] and [ʁ]. (His 'velar' stops are also frequently uvular.) These fricatives, in particular the voiceless member, are sometimes pronounced by him as stops: **k** for /**x**/, **g** for /**ɣ**/, e.g.

chuir kír' ARN1024, thochras hokrəs [x2], hoxrəs [x1] ARN1030,
chuile kil'ə ARN1086, 4602, 5976, choinneodh sé kin' o:ɖ ʃe: ARN1320,
chas sí i gceart ... xas ʃi: g'ært er', kas ʃi: g'ært ... ,
a dhó i dtine ə go: ə d'ín'ə ARN2004, dhá leith ga: l'e 892M4649.

Examples of **k'** for /**x**/, **g'** for /**ɣ**/ also occur:

ar cheann eile er'ə k'a:n el'ə ARN5891, sheoladar | k'o:lədər ARN1602,
bád Sheáin Antaine ... púcán Sheáin Antaine bád k'æn' 'æntən'ə ...
pu:kən hjan' 'æntən'ə ARN1620,
dhá dhreatháir ɣa: gr'eha:r'.

It is obvious from these examples that the phenomenon is one of phonetic delentition of the fricative (e.g. *sheoladar* *ʃ'olədər* > *k'olədər*) rather than non-application of (morpho)phonemic lenition. Cp. his sandhi in (892MARN):

dhe Dhumhaigh Ithir gə yuə jihər 4797, [g ?] *yuə jehər* 1523, *g guə jehər* 4835.

Such loss of friction is only sporadic in other speakers, e.g. (underlined> in speakers **852S** (kx), **869P**, **11C**, and **21Pt**:

an t-anam a bhí iontub sin anis, a choinic tú | ə 'kʰĩn'ə́k' tu: | ina n-eascannat **852S**;

chaith sé dhe a ... | ka fe: je hæ | ... , chuile shiamsa kul' ə hĩ:msə **869P**;

Coiglíodh an tine, chuaidh chuile dhuine a chodladh

kĩngl' i:y ə 't'ĩn' ə | kuə ,xul' ə ,yũn' ə 'xolə **11Ct**,

beidh an chaoi sin b'ei ŋ 'ki: ʃĩn' ar an áit sin fós. **11Ct**;

bhíodh an bháisteach anuas ar ... v'ix ə wə:ʃt'ək ə'nuəs er' ... **21Pt**;

dhá | gə: chlár péinne bhán ... dhá | gə: lá dhár gcionn **35E9226–33**.

Cp. *ar bhean Chiú (< Hugh) er' v'æ:ŋ' k'u:* **04Br**.

Also with labials, though less frequently:

na mairbh nə mar'əv' generally, but nə mar'ib' 46.701,

sé Vuilleam [< William] a bhí b'i: anseo thiar **21Pt**,

an fear ən' m'p'ær **894Cs** (possibly in sandhi),

'fánach' fə:nəx ... is focal maith 'fánach' pə:nəx **21Pt**,

ag plé le farraige pə:rəg'ə **21Pt**.

(Note the presence of other labials in all the examples.) Speaker **78MAO** shows reduction of **f** > **h**, e.g. *froisin* *hroʃən'* **78M**. So also an example in **892M**'s rapid delivery (with **h-** ... **-s h-** < **h-** ... **-s f'**):

bhí mé féin agus fear dhe Choscarach v'i m'e 'he:n' əgs hæx ə xoskərəx.

1.405 Spirantisation, post- and pre-affrication

The opposite phenomenon to loss of friction, i.e. spirantisation of stops, is less common. Some speakers from Coill Sáile and Doire Iorrais (North-East Iorras Aithneach), however, have remarkable spirantisation of initial *c-*, particularly palatal *k'-c-*. Another speaker, **05J** from Gabhla (North-West Iorras Aithneach) has examples of spirantised initial nonpalatal *c-* (at least). This impinges on the system of morphosyntactic lenition, and spirantisation may in fact be related to or affected by lenition. A systematic analysis of spirantisation in recordings from these speakers will be necessary before any conclusive description of their usage is possible. Speaker **889P** has the most spirantisation of my sample of speakers, speaker **20A** has it optionally lexicalised in *eicín* only. Some examples, with spirantised *c-* underlined, are presented here:

- 889P** *tonna cheilpe a dhíona, ... leihí, na cheilpe, ... thréis na ceilpe ... ar locht na cheilpe, ... go raibh cheilp mhaith aige ... badh in ceilp, ... bhí sú feamainne cheart [predicative], ... dódh na ceilpe, ... fios a bhei' a'd chéard a bhí tú, ... ní raibh aon mhaith dhó (ag) chaint, ... , choctha (= cocfaidh) tú suas í ina chocaí, ... a dtugann siad Chrompán Choill Sáile air ... le cheann dhe na, ... ' nús an chloiche ... , chéard tá tú a rá ... bhuail sé chic ar dhuine acub ... trí chinn ... gheithinn cheann, deas,*
- 01P** *ó fhear cheirde, ... as chíonn ... as a chíonn, [reference to bád] ... a*

gcuid chléibh, [perhaps ^kxl'e:v'] ... *ché raibheadar* ... *chén fáth* ... *rud eichín* ...

05J ... *bhfuil a fhios a'd cháil* [< cá bhfuil] *an* ... *ní raibh blas chaille air*.

20A *duin' eicíneach*, ... *duin' eichíneacht eile* ...

Examples of post-affrication of initial, medial and final **k** > **kx** and final **g** > **gɣ**, devoiced before pausa **g** > **gɣ** are also common:

cáil kxal' 01P, *i mbuicéad ə mikx'e:d 01P*, *ar buaic er' "buəkʰ | 01P*;

dearg ard 'd'ærəg 'ɣa:rd 01P, *beag | 'b'ogx | 01P*.

Examples of pre-affrication are common in **01P**'s speech:

mar fheiceann tú | 'ma'r exk'an tu: [sic] *na siúinéaraí* ... *minic m'in'əxk' a thugadar* ... *lighidís l'ixk'əd'i:f* ... **01Pt**.

Compare **d'** > **j** in *d'fhiafraigh jiarhə sé dhínn 889P*, and perhaps **g'** > **j** in *an geamhar ə jəv̥ə̃r | 01P* (arguably feminine *gheamhar* but the speaker has regular masculine genitive *garraí geamhair 01P*). Speaker **01P** has frequent uvular fricative **χ** for /x/. He also has initial **x**(') > **h** consistently in three words which have lexicalised initial **x**('):

achaon ə'hɛn, *achuile ə'hulə* [sic], *an chéad ə(n) he:d*;

even possible **k** > **h** in *hud'ə cuide* or *chuide* (cf. 8.234; all **01P**).

Contrast, however, retained (arguably) lexical **x** in *ar chor ar bith*, e.g. *ar chor ar bith é xor ə b'e he 01P*. Speaker **889P** has examples of **x** > **h**, mostly medial, e.g. *buachailleacht buəhəl'əxt 889P*, also *chomh* commonly *hə 889P*. Perhaps particularly common in plural *-íocha(t)*, e.g.

damhsaíochaí dāvseχi dāvsehi 889P.

There appears to be a classical chain shift relation of lenition (in the phonetic sense) in these data, although limited or conditioned in extent, between (ignoring palatality) **k** (> **kx** / **xk**) → **x** → **h**. This shift is involved in optional merger with the initial mutation system of lenition. The consistent elision of **h** in **01P**'s variant of the temporal conjunction *shula*, i.e. *or ə:*, may be a further link in the chain shift: **h** → Ø. This speaker also seems to have loss of initial **h** (from lenited *t-*, *s-*) more than most other speakers. Some of his tokens have possibly dissimilatory **h** ... **h** sequences:

chuile theach gaibhte ... | *hul 'a:k got'* ... ; *is chuile shórt s 'hul o:rt* |;

thall i gCeaileafóirne | *əl ə 'g'æ'l'ə'fə:rn'ə* | (all **01P**).

(Contrast his consistent *féin he:n' 01P*.)

The opposite tendency to loss of **h** is evident in his consistent use of prosthetic **h** in the preposition *eidir hed'ər' 01P* (for general *ed'ər'*, 1.229). There are also anomalous examples of initial **h** following **r** in:

nar fhéadadar nar he:dədər 01P, *triúr a'inn tr'ur hæn' 01P*.

One can present an occurrence of **χ** noted before *agus* in this context of possible velar shift and elision and insertion:

beithíoch, ná bó agus an jab céanna a dhéanamh léithi

b'ehiəχ | na: 'bə: χugəs ə 'dʒa:b 'k'e:nə jɪ:nə l'e'hə | 01P.

As mentioned above (1.126), speaker **13Jd** (Loch Con Aortha) has a tendency to spirantise intervocalic **h**, e.g. *mháthair wa:h'ər' 13Jd*.

The spirantisation in these speakers seems related to the series of consonantal shifts of place of articulation discussed below (1.407). Speaker **05J**, for example, has aspects of both spirantisation and lingual shift. In the latter case palato-velars

and alveo-palatals are involved in shifts of place of articulation; in the spirantising change, place of articulation is primarily retained, change occurring in the manner of articulation. Speaker **01P**, however, has a few examples of loss of palatalisation in palatalised velars; representing a change in place of articulation but in the opposite direction to that of the palatalised velars in the main shift (1.407), e.g.

tóigfidh tú ... gearrfaidh tú chomh gar ...

tó:kə tu: [otherwise **tó:g** -] ... **gə:rħə tu' gə 'ga:r ... 01P.**

Another related change may be the retention of place of articulation of *r* in the speech of **01P** (rather than shifting to the uvular) but with optional spirantisation of **hr** > **xr** **01P** (1.399).

It is in this context of spirantisation and consonantal shift that the single token of *chéard* (Semr68, with *h* written over the letter *e* in the manuscript) noted from speaker **866E**Semr may be significant. This speaker has regular *céard* ~ *téard*.

In speaker **18J**'s speech (An Aird Thoir) we find both occasional spirantisation (apparently purely phonetic), and occasional loss of friction, (relevant consonants underlined):

Spabhait an Tairbh spauʔ ə θer'əv' ARN7643,

na cīneálachaí sin nə x'ūnə:ləxi: ʃin' ARN8978;

ričheadar rik'ədər ARN8963.

1.406 Affrication

Affrication of palatal *d*, i.e. **dʰ**, was noted in the speech of two speakers of the older generation, occasionally in **04B**'s speech, e.g. *deoraí dʰo:ri:*; far more frequently in **11C**'s speech. Speaker **36N** also has frequent **dʰ**, e.g. **dʰo:** *deo*, *déarfainn dʰe:rhəv'*, *go dtí é gə dʰi:* *e*. Cp. in the salutation *Dia anseo!* **dʒi: əv'fo 33M.**

dʰ and **dʒ** are used by a small minority of younger speakers, e.g. *fear Bhríd f'ar vr'i:dʰ 64M.*

Palatal *t* > **tʃ** occurs occasionally in the speech of speakers **11C**, **36N** and **64M**, e.g. *gaibhte gotʃə 36N*, *taobh thiar tʃi:* **hiər 36N**, *Tigh Mhórain tʃi wə:rəv' 64M*. Speaker **27Md** also has facultative affrication of palatal *t* and *d*, which she may well have acquired from her father, a native of Árainn. Cp. post- and pre-affrication (1.405).

1.407 Lingual shift

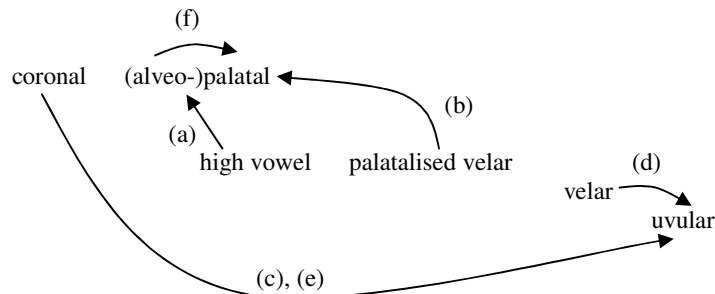
There are a range of changes in the place of articulation of consonants, and of prepausa *i:*, which can be taken as related phenomena in that (i) they seem to involve, primarily, movement from a relatively central place of articulation towards a more extreme position, either a higher or more front place of articulation or, alternatively, a place further back in the mouth; (ii) there is at least one implicational relation between the various movements in as much as coronal backing – interpretable as a vacation of the 'crowded' front space – is only found in speakers who also have palatalised velar fronting; (iii) the greater dialectological dispersion of the palatalised velar shift provides evidence for the primacy of this shift. One can contrast the change **/rt/** > **[ɾt]** (1.398), which, although coronal backing is involved, seems to occur (in Iorras Aithneach) independent of, and

unrelated to, this more complex shift. It is, however, possible that the changes are in fact independent (for some speakers in some areas) and that their co-occurrence is accidental. Much finer phonetic investigation and description is necessary to take into account all the subtleties of the various realisations, in particular with regard to the possible merger of /r/ and /l/, and further, in voiceless positions, of /r/, /l/ and /x/. The changes are not necessarily phonetically discrete. Realisation is apparently optional for all speakers. The shift is most prominent in the Coill Sáile and Loch Con Aortha districts. For related changes, chiefly in manner of articulation in Coill Sáile and neighbouring Doire Iorrais, see 1.398, 1.405. Of the five characteristics of this lingual shift, feature (b) is the most widespread:

- (a) final, prepausa, unstressed **i:** > **ər'**, or more weakly realised as **ə^{r'}**¹
- (b) palatalised velars > palatals or alveo-palatals, i.e. /k'/ > **c**, **t'**; /g'/ > **d'**
(**26P**, **27M** rarely (b)bis /t'/ > k')
- (c) /r/ > **ʀ**, in devoiced position > **χ**
- (d) /x/ > **χ**
- (e) /l/ > **ʀ**, in devoiced position > **χ**
- (f) /n'/ > **ɲ'**

Fronting is involved in (a)–(b) and retraction in (c)–(e); (f) is rare and unusual, involving retraction to palatal position.

The vocalic shift and range of consonantal and vocalic shifts are illustrated in the diagram below.



Speakers can be classified according to their range of change. Most speakers were noted with only one or two of these features.

- (a)–(d) Speaker **34MCS** is the only speaker noted with a high realisation in all four features comprising (a) to (d), e.g.
reithíochaí ʀohiəχər' | ; ciseog t'ifə:g.
(a) includes unstressed (clitic) **fər'** | *faoi* (3m). Note the sandhi effect

¹ Compare, in the context of limits to vowel raising in chain shifts, a similar change of [i] to a voiceless fricative in the Swedish of Stockholm mentioned in Labov (2001: 499 n. 1); also compare pre-pausa **i:** (especially unstressed **i:**) > **əs** in the speech of Tom Kelly (born 1913), Baile an Phoill, An Caisleán Gearr and related pre-pausa **i:** > **iχ'** in East Galway and elsewhere (Ó Maolalaigh 1999a: 210, n. 36).

of nonpausa position in, for example, *ginéachai g'in'e:χər' |*, but *ginéachai buí g'in'e:χi: bi:*. For his 3 plural verbal *-dís -di:f*, see 5.119. He has instances of loss of *t* following *r*, presumably attributable to *ʁ*, *χ* realisation:

| k'è'n so:ʁ 'a:t' e' ... 'tauχ ʁə'f'k' upi'
Cén sórt áit é ... ag labhairt ro-sciobthaí.

- (b)–(e) Speaker **32PLC** is the only speaker noted with regular application of all four features comprising (b) to (e), e.g.

coirce kert'ə; loch loχ; rinne ʁi'n'ə; ceart t'æ:χt;
Gabhlán gaubə:n; planda pχə'ndə.

- (c) Speaker **889PCS**.

- (d) [(a)] Speaker **43MDO** has shift (d) and a weak realisation of (a).

- (a)– [(b) ?] Speaker **27MMR** has weakly realised (a), e.g. *Ciarraítocháí > k'ia:riəxi: k'ia:riəxəʔ*¹; and (b) or related change *t' > k'* transcribed in *Stiofán > f'ifə:n ~ f'k'ifə:n* (perhaps *f'cifə:n*). Cp. **26PMN** below.

- (b) Speaker **05JGA**, e.g. *ag imeacht əd' im'əxt 05J; tóigthí ann tət'i: ə:n 05J*; contrast, for example, **894BIGA**, who shows no sign of this shift.

- (b), (b)bis Speaker **26PMN** has shift (b) in *fkr' ~ ftr'*, or a related but infrequent and limited change (b)bis in the opposite direction (all tokens noted are given):

t' > k': tine t'in'ə, plural *tintéachai k'i:n't'e:xi:* as though in dissimilation;

f't' > f'c: stéigeachai f'ce:g'əxi: perhaps also dissimilation;

fkr' ~ ftr': screamhóg ftr'əvo:g (initial token), *fkr'əvo:g*.

Cp. *d' > g'* in *deimheas ... leis an deimheas g'iv'əs ... l'ef ə ŋ'iv'əs* from a younger (English-dominant) brother of **20MGA**.

- (d) **35CLC**.

- (b), (f) Speaker **25TMN** has frequent shift (b) and some optional *n' > n'* which is labelled change (f) here and perhaps related to the lingual shift in his case. E.g.

chúig xud', geall d'a:l,
ceart t'æ:rt, ceathair cæ:hər', scéal f't'e:l;
amháin ə'wə:n', sin f'in'.

1.408 Discussion

These changes are now to a large extent obsolescent in Iorras Aithneach. Two younger speakers in Loch Con Aortha were queried as to a neighbour's use of *ʁ* for /r/, labelled feature (c) here. They take his usage to be caused by a speech impediment.¹ On the other hand, they connect the shift palatalised velar → alveo-palatal, part of feature (b) in this description, with Ros Muc speakers in particular. In Ros Muc I have noted both palatalised velars and alveo-palatals in (optional) merger in the pure palatal position, with further backing of alveo-palatals to palatalised velar position.² This movement includes the fricative *x' → ç*. One

¹ Aberrant forms are often (mistakenly) taken as speech errors or defects, e.g. Trudgill (1988: 40) regarding /r/ > [v] in Norwich English.

² The shift is a subject of comment and perhaps some stigma in Ros Muc. It is exemplified in the phrase *ə'f'k'æ:x gə ros muk isteach go Ros Muc* (Colm Mhainchín, An Turlach Mór, Ros Muc, who

speaker, who has frequent merger in palatal position, also has pervasive $L' \rightarrow j$ (a change in both manner and primary place of articulation). His elder sister, in a short conversation I had with her, has no aspect of the shift. (One of his sons has $t' \rightarrow t^f$.) This whole merger is on the decline in Ros Muc. I have heard it mostly from males, born before c. 1955. Merger or overlapping of palatalised velars and alveo-palatals, i.e. palatal(ised velar) \leftrightarrow alveo-palatal, is briefly mentioned in ITM §119. The shift $x' \rightarrow j$ is described for young speakers in Bun a Cnoc (Nilsen 1975: 33–4). It seems that these phonetically similar changes are found in an area stretching from Ros Muc and North Iorras Aithneach to Bun a Cnoc and to Tuar Mhic Éadaigh and there are examples in SID from further afield in East Connacht (to confine oneself to Connacht Irish).¹

Speaker **27J** (Loch Con Aortha) has nonpalatal d' **d** in the verbal particle, e.g. *d'inseodh sé* **dinʃoːd ʃe 27J**, also *déarfadh* **de:rhəx 27J**. His nonpalatal **d** d' may be related to the lingual shift described here as it involves fronting from the alveo-palatal position. Cp. 3 plural verbal *-dís* **-diːʃ 34M** (1.407).

The opposite of movement (b), i.e. (b)bis alveo-palatals \rightarrow palatalised velars is a frequent realisation in the speech of **78B** (An Aird Thoir). She also has some movement (b) and some backing of palatal n' : (h) $n' \rightarrow \eta$, thus a further shift relatable to palatal movement. I take her innovations to be independent of the shift of North Iorras Aithneach. E.g.

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|---|
| (b)bis | $t' \rightarrow k'$ | <i>cniteáil</i> kr'ik' a:l' , <i>caint</i> kaŋk' , <i>eicint</i> ə'k'i:ŋk' ; |
| | $d' \rightarrow j$ | <i>déanamh</i> ʃi:nə , <i>muid</i> mij ; |
| | $\rightarrow g'$ | <i>déanamh</i> g'i:nə , <i>muid</i> mig' , <i>b'fhéidir</i> b'e:g'ər' ; |
| (h) | $n' \rightarrow \eta$ | <i>againne</i> æ:ŋə ; |
| (b) | $g' \rightarrow d'$ | <i>ag iarraidh</i> d'iarə (not from historical <i>d'iarraidh</i>). |

I have also noted the change $n' > \eta$ in another young female, occurring frequently in the form *thainigh* **hæŋ (h)ə 72C** (Maínis).

1.409 Velarisation

The nonpalatal phonemes **n**, **s**, **t** and **h** are not generally phonetically velarised in traditional dialect, but they become velarised in some young people's dialect. Nonpalatal **n** is the most frequently velarised of these consonants among younger speakers. One young speaker (**66N**), however, has consistent **n^v**, **s^v**, **t^v** and **h^v**. Examples:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>n</i> n $> n^v$ | <i>naoi</i> n^vi: 66N, 72N, 79Ml . |
| <i>l</i> l $> l^v (= ʔ)$ | there is nontraditional progressive velarisation in sandhi in:
... <i>bhéal leis ...</i> v'e:l leʃ 66N (2.32). |
| <i>s</i> s $> s^v$ | s^v only sporadically noted from 43M , e.g. <i>bhí sí ina suí</i> v'i: ʃi: nə |

does not have the shift). Speakers in Ros Muc also recognise that the shift is found in Loch Con Aortha. In shift (b) and (b)bis there is also weakening and perhaps loss of *r* in palatalised *scr* and *str*. This is evidenced by the humorous rendition by **64M** (Maínis) of Ros Muc *striopach* as **ʃk'i:pəx 64M** (as vocative interjection). Speaker **64M**'s sister is married in Ros Muc and he is therefore familiar with Ros Muc speech.

¹ In the context of palatalisation in Hiberno-English, P. L. Henry (1958: 127–9) reports that 'the development of **t**, **k** to **d**, **g** [i.e. **t** to **k** and **d** to **g**] seems strongest in the North Midlands'. Further afield, mergers of front and back palatals are reported in MacAulay (1978–81: 84) for the Gaelic of three mainland villages opposite the island of Bernera, Isle of Lewis, Scotland.

sʲi: 43M. But 66N has regular *sʲi:* *suí* but neutral *s* in *Sasana* *sæsənʲə*.
t t > tʲ *tuí tʲi:* 66N, *taobh tʲi:w* 66N, *an t-uisce ən tʲʲkʲə* 66N.
th, sh h > hʲ *hʲi:* 66N and 66Nq for both *thuí* and *shuí* vs. *shíógat hʲi:əgi:* 66Nq, *thíos hʲi:s* 66N. Cp. *mə hʲikʲe:d* 43Mp *mo thuicéad*.
 Cp. *soithighe* perhaps *sohʲi:* 66N, 72N; *Othala ɔχəłə* 80L (< [i nD] *othala*).

The velarisation of lenited nonpalatal *t* and *s* in *hʲ* introduces a new (morpho)-phoneme to the dialect. Speaker 66N also has one noted instance of palatal initial *th > hʲ* for her more common and regular *h* in:

dhá theach ʲa: hʲæx 66N; similarly *do theach də hʲæx* 86R (in 1994).

Speaker 66N was queried for word internal intervocalic *h* but I was unable to ascertain whether or not she shows any intervocalic distinction in elicitation. I was unable to obtain recordings of her conversation as she was reluctant to be recorded. The development can be interpreted as a rationalisation of the feature +velar to mark nonpalatal consonants — as found in Munster, cp. Ó Sé (2002: §3.6). A further extension of velarisation is heard in speech which has even greater evidence of nontraditional (incomplete) acquisition: *kʲi:* *caoi* heard from a Ros Cíde, Ros Muc young girl (aged 4, born in 2000) whose first language is Irish.

1.410 Loss of palatalisation

Some younger speakers show (optional) depalatalisation of historically palatalised initial clusters containing *r*. For general initial palatal clusters *ʲrʲ* and *ʲrʲ*, four speakers were noted with a nonpalatal initial consonant: *ʲrʲ*. Speaker 893P (an emigrant long-returned from the U.S.A.) has initial *ʲrʲ* ~ *ʲrʲ*. Another old speaker had *a dhriobail ə ʲrʲubəlʲ* [x3] Máirtín Bheairtle Uí Chlochartaigh, brother of 897S; a slightly younger *ó dhream ɔʲrʲam* (brother of 21J). The younger speaker 66L has common initial *ʲrʲ*, e.g. *dhreatháir ʲrʲeharʲ* 66L, and her *nrʲ*- in *ndreatháir nrʲeharʲ* 66L is perhaps related to this phonetic change since it shows loss of palatal *nrʲ* in contrast to traditional *nrʲ*-. She also has nonpalatal *m* in *cúimhnigh ki:m-rʲə* 66L. Speaker 66N has reduction of palatalisation in traditional initial *trʲ*- and *brʲ*-, e.g.

triúr tʲru: 66N, *tréan tʲre:n 66N*, *triomaigh tʲrumə 66N*;
bréan bʲre:m 66N.

An even younger speaker has *trí trʲi:* 79S but nonpalatalised *agus trí agəs tri:* 79S (numeral). Likewise, in lenited historically palatal *thr*- speaker 66N has traditional *hrʲ*- and spirantised *xrʲ*- as well as partially depalatalised *x-rʲ*- and fully depalatalised *xr*-, e.g.

thriomaigh xrʲumə x-rʲumə 66N, *thréan xre:n* [x2] 66N.

The oldest speaker noted with loss of palatalisation in simple consonants in some words is 52P (female), i.e. before *a* sounds: *feabhsú fausu:* 52P, *cearc kærk*. Speakers born in and after the 1970s (52P's children's generation) tend to lose palatalisation, e.g. neutral *p* in *scaipeadh*, *scaipthe skapə*, *skapi:* 78E (traditional dialect has *skæpʲ*- only). Also *beidh bai* 72A (female) which is also found in Ros

Muc (east of Iorras Aithneach) from female speakers born after c. 1970.¹ Also indefinite pronoun *ceann ka:n* heard from young children in Mafnis and Carna, born c. 2000, as well as from children in Ros Muc, born since 1995.

Wagner's Survey, SID.46, An Coillín

1.411 General

Wagner's monumental 'Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects' (SID) is undoubtedly, and will remain, the most important single contribution to Irish dialect studies. This is evidenced, not least, in the frequent reference made to SID in the present work. Comparative analyses between points is of course the main purpose of dialect surveys. Thorough analysis of the data from individual points, however, deepens understanding both of the individual lects, and of the general nature of the material gathered in the survey. Much needs to be said about our point 46 and a full analysis covering all the relevant material from various sources pertaining to point 46 remains a desideratum. A cursory or template analysis of the data in SID from point 46 is presented here.²

We are very fortunate that Wagner collected a substantial amount of material for our dialect (point 46) in his survey. The amount of pages in SIDIII covering point 46 is well above the Connacht average; in fact, at fourteen pages it is twice the average for the area of greater Conamara and Árann (points 39–51). Another good fortune is that there is a relatively large amount of other material, including some audio recordings, from Wagner's main informant, Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire (Pádraigín Mhacaí, my **869P**); and further, given the network bias of my investigation, it is most fortuitous that his brother, Tomás (Team Mhacaí, my **875T**), and Pádraig's son, Ciarán (Wagner's second informant, my **08C**), were also audio-recorded, and their speech transcribed in folklore material. Furthermore, Pádraig's daughters (**04Br**, **15W**) and Tomás' sons (**11J**, **20T**, **25M**) have been recorded and queried by me. Wagner's main informant, it is safe to assume, is the storyteller who gave him the texts which follow the questionnaire (1.419). It is significant for our purposes that, in Wagner's own words, 'the storyteller was completely illiterate!' (note to Text I, p. 195). There is a citation in the Vocabulary s.v. *gasúr* which was 'said by a woman'. This implies that the Vocabulary (and perhaps other sections) may contain further material heard from now anonymous informants, weakening any conclusions about the clann Mhacaí network based on examples found in the Vocabulary in particular. It is, however, possible that the woman in question was Pádraig's wife, **872M**, or one of his daughters.

It is important to pinpoint the many inaccuracies and flaws found in SID as a positive critical contribution to Irish dialectology. This criticism should act as a

¹ Also before **a(i)**: *ceathair ka(hə)r'*, *ceird kaɪd'* heard in 2005 from TG4 (television) female announcers, one of whom is from Cois Fharraige, born c. 1970. The opposite change is found in *gabha gau* > plural *gaibhne g'aivnə* **51Pq**. Cp. 'kite' > **kaɪt** generally but **k'aɪt** **21Pt**. The nontraditional glide is noteworthy in *caoi k'wɪ*: heard in 2005 from a three-year-old in Ros Muc who had only Irish as her home language.

² Previous reviews of various volumes of SID have covered much of the same ground, e.g. phonetic transcription errors, problems of stress, influence of translation on speakers' responses, comparison with tape-recordings of the same informants, unexplained gaps in returns, insufficient notes or explanations in volumes II–IV. Important reviews include de Bhaldraithe (1959), Ó Cróinín (1967), Ó Con Cheanainn (1967), M. Ó Murchú (1967), Ó Dochartaigh (1987: Appendix 1).

counterbalance or antidote to the widespread use in the current monograph of often unannotated citations from SID.46. Many details of citations from SID.46 cannot be taken at face value. Nevertheless, I distance my own criticism as far as possible from the unfortunate negative and even dismissive statements of some commentators whose own contribution to the field has been paltry in comparison with Wagner's. The frequent accuracy and unique importance of SID is evidenced time and again for this study of Iorras Aithneach. For just two examples, see the discussion of *ṛ* (1.195) and the near complementary distribution of *iṛ*, *iṛ*, *i*; in the verb *déan* (5.267).

1.412 SID_I and SID_{III} compared

The English questionnaire of the survey is published in the introductory sections of volumes II, III and IV (in SID_{III} (Connacht), pp. xi–xvi), with numbers in square brackets therein referring to the maps of SID_I. The questionnaire source of many of the maps is not given but many of these can be guessed with a fair degree of confidence. These specific returns in SID_{III}, however, do not always correspond exactly to their maps. The anomalies noted for point 46 are listed below (1.413); but these comments exclude differences in inflectional forms, e.g. the genitive plural is found in the return for q 2 but nominative plural in Map 2, the genitive singular in q 1 but nominative plural in Map 3, verbal adjective and future in Maps 14 and 15 but other verbal forms in returns for q 39. Similarly, there are Maps in SID_I where the corresponding material is not given in SID_{III}, e.g. Map 11 has no corresponding return, i.e. no q 28, in SID.46. There are also alternants which are not found in one or other of the separate volumes, e.g. Map 57 gives two alternate forms, q 181 gives a third (with reference to Map 57). In such cases Wagner has avoided repetition between the Maps and the questionnaire returns (hence his two terms 'material [...] collected [...]', the bulk of which will be published' and 'residual dialect material', both of which describe volumes II–IV in the Introductions to volume I, p. ix, and volume II, p. vii, respectively). The actual question used to elicit returns in the Maps is not always given in the English questionnaire even though the corresponding Map is referred to. For example, the question 'when will you go (home)?' needs to be added to q 728 as it is the basis of Map 197; similarly, 'Palm Sunday' needs to be added to q 799.

The differences between the Maps and volumes II–IV, especially in cases where I have surmised correspondences, are in many instances genuine differences, e.g. Map 29 (probably citation form before pausa) vs. q 99 (within phrases) (see 'List' below, 1.413). Some differences may be actual by-forms which have not been preceded by 'or' or 'alt.' (cf. Map 227, 1.413). Some discrepancies may be the result of differences in Wagner's interpretation of the material with the passage of time. He occasionally explicitly corrects Volume I, e.g. *ṛRU*: Mp 264.46 *athrú* but 'eclipse! [...] correct map 264!' SID.46 q 1058, i.e. *urú*. Other discrepancies, particularly in the case of diacritics, may be errors which occurred in transcribing from the field notes onto the Maps and into volumes II–IV, or actual misprints.

1.413 List

In the following list '≈' indicates a question in the English questionnaire which is specifically noted in SID_{III} (xi–xvi) as the source for a Map. The comma ' , '

which is common in transcriptions in SIDIII is not included unless deemed to be of specific relevance.

SID _I	Maps		SID _{III}
'jiəl m'e	1	≈	jiəl m'e 2 <i>dhíol mé.</i>
gāvēn'	7		but the dialect word for 'calf' is <i>lao</i> and is translated as such lr , lɛ , lr'nti 15, 16, 18 <i>lao</i> , <i>laontaí</i> . In qq 19, 20 the form gāvēn <i>gamhain</i> is glossed 'one-year old heifer' (more correctly '... heifer or bullock'). Clearly the word <i>lao</i> is correct here.
q:ɡɡəd, a:d	10	≈	ɑ:ɡɡəd 30 <i>agad.</i>
Eir'k'	13	≈	air'k' 35 <i>adhairc.</i>
t'i:n'	13		t'i:n' 306, 710, 773 <i>tinn.</i> Cp. Mp 145 below.
l' aũnəxt	20		l' āvnəxt (61), 68 <i>leamhnacht.</i>
vil' ... ə 'taʃtə:l' vet'	24	≈	vil' 'd'ɔx ə 'ta:stə:l' vet' 74a <i>an bhfuil deoch ag tastáil uait?</i>
ɡau'r	29		nə 'yqur 'mo:r ... sɡaur ... 99 <i>ina ghabhar mór ... is gabhar ...</i>
vɑ:rə; mɑ:ro:	37	≈	'vɑ:rə 133 <i>mharaigh</i> ; mɑ:ro: 143 <i>maróidh.</i>
ig' ə 'ŋ'a:tə	38	≈	ig' ə 'ŋ'a:tə 123 <i>ag an ngeata.</i>
g'e:vi.	44	≈	g'e:vi. 158 <i>géabhaí.</i>
'qʊv	45		,qʊv 162 <i>ubh.</i>
xo: 'k'r'i:ənə	47	≈	xo 'k'r'i:ənə 150 <i>chomh críonna.</i>
lɑ:xə	48	≈	lɑ:xə 162 <i>lacha.</i>
kūm'.əl't'	60	≈	... yɑ: 'xūM'əl't' he:n' 206 ... <i>dhá chuimilt féin.</i>
'fɑ:n mīd'	82	≈	fɑ:n mīd' 278 <i>faigheann muid.</i>
sɑ:ləx	83	≈	'sa:ləx 285 (also sa:ləx 286) <i>salach.</i>
ə 'rɪx' tu	91	≈	ər ɪx' tu 304 <i>ar ith tú?</i>
fɑ:lhə	97	≈	fɑ:lhə 320 <i>falamh.</i> In SID _{III} xiv q 320 one needs to add 'empty' following 'pocket'.
m'ɪ:n't'ər'	107		m'ɪ:n't'ər' 350 <i>muintir.</i>
gè:l'g'ě	114	≈	'gè:l'g'e, 356 <i>Gaeilge.</i>
'ā.fərk	127	≈	'ā.fərk 405 <i>amharc.</i>
q:məda:n	129	≈	'a:məda:n 417 <i>amadán.</i>
'n'i:hi mīd'	137	≈	n'i:himīd' 449 <i>nífídh muid.</i>
t'i:n'	145	≈	t'i:n' 479 <i>tinn.</i>
b'i:n'	149	≈	b'i:n'. 485 <i>binn.</i>
ə 'fɫ'i:	158	≈	l'ig'i: fɫ'i: 504 <i>ligí a scíth.</i>
t'in'ě	164	≈	t'in'ě 540 (also 542, 545, 548) <i>tine.</i>
l'ehi:	175	≈	l'e hi: 586 <i>le haghaidh.</i>
t'r'qvə	176	≈	t'r'avə 609 <i>treabhadh.</i>
go:l'i:n'	190	≈	go:l'i:n' 687 <i>ag gabháil fhoinn.</i>
daũsə	191		dāvsə 696 <i>damhsa</i> (ū noted as consonantic in Map).
n'i: jaxə	198	≈	n'i: 'jaxə 726 <i>ní dheachaigh.</i>

SID _I	Maps		SID _{III}
ig' 'xíl'ě yín'ě	202	≈	ig' 'xíl'ě yín'e, 741 <i>ag chuile dhuine</i> .
Ø	205	≈	'xíl'ě 'xöik'i:f 784 <i>chuile choicís</i> .
loxm'	211	≈	loxm' 817 <i>luchain</i> .
faskə	222	≈	'fa:skə 858 <i>fascadh</i> .
bou'k'ahə	224	≈	bou'k'ahə 857 <i>bogha ceatha</i> .
n'is ri:v'r'ě	227	≈	n'is ri:v'r'ě or n'is ri:v'r'ə 884 <i>níos reimhre</i> .
taūrə	231	≈	sa:ūrə ... tā.ūr.ə 905, but taūrə 904 (t)samhradh.
nụ:m'e:d	234	≈	nụ:me:d ... nụ:m'e:d 925 <i>nóiméad</i> .
ān'hě vāh	240	≈	ān'hě 'vāh 931 <i>aithne mhaith</i> .
də:gə, d'ig'ɪ	243	≈	də:gə, d'ig' 949 <i>dtaga, dtige</i> .
fə:t'ias	250	≈	fa:t'ias 981 <i>faitíos</i> .
m'ei m'e:	258	≈	m'ei m'e 1013 <i>mbeidh mé</i> .
gouu	258	≈	gouu: 1014 <i>gabhadh</i> .
f'ā.mīn'	269	≈	ə 'N'a:mīn' 1087 <i>an fheamainn</i> , f'a:mīn' [x6] 1088 <i>feamainn</i> .
mə:ri:v	281	≈	mə:ri:v 1160 <i>maráíodh</i> .
gə:'x'e:l'ě	291	≈	gə:'x'e:l'ě 930 <i>dhá chéile</i> .
'sbq:n	295	≈	'sba:n 291 <i>spáin</i> .
'b'e ^a	299	≈	'b'e, ^a 305 <i>ar bith a ...</i> .

1.414 Stress; Persistent discrepancies

The presence of the stress diacritic in SID_I in contrast with its absence in the same word in SID_{III} is unremarkable, main stress being indicated relatively; SID_I frequently extracts words from their phrasal context, so that the longer phrases of SID_{III} contain stress markers on other elements. The omission of stress in a map, however, can be misleading, e.g: n'í: jaxə 198, n'í: 'jaxə 726 *ní dheachaigh*; also Mp 240. Differences in spacing of unstressed elements are of no real significance, with the exception of f'ehi: Mp 175 ≈ f'e hi: 586 *le haghaidh*, the former of which is the most common realisation in the dialect. When stressed elements are written together a missing stress diacritic is of course of significance, as in go:'f'i:n' Mp 190, but erroneous go:l'i:n' 687 *ag gabháil fhoimn*; cp. also Map 202.

There are, however, a number of persistent discrepancies, condensed in Table 1.30, the majority of which involve the application of diacritics.

Table 1.30 Persistent discrepancies between SID_I and SID_{III}, point 46

SID _I	SID _{III}	SID _I	SID _{III}	SID _I x5	SID _{III} x5
v	v	7, 24, 44	20, 74a, 158		✓
C'	C	7, 234	20, 925	✓	
t''	t'	13, 145, 164	306, 479, 540	✓	
aū	āv	20, (191)	68, (696)		(✓)
a	a:	24	74a		
ɑ	ɑ:	222	858		

SID _I	SID _{III}	SID _I	SID _{III}	SID _I x5	SID _{III} x5
q̣	a	176	609		
q̣.	ɑ	37	133		
q̣̃.	ã.	127	405		
q̣:	a:	37, 83, 97, 129, 250	143, 285, 320, 417, 981		
q̣:	ɑ:	10, 295	30, 291		
ɑ:	q̣:	48	162		✓
ɑ:	q̣:	281	1160		✓
ě	e,	114, 202	356, 741	✓	
o	q̣	211	817		✓
ī:	i:	227	884	✓	
ā:	a:	269	1087–8	✓	

The length-mark seems misplaced in *m'ē*, *gouu* Mp 258 which should presumably read *m'ē*, *gouu*: as in q 1013–4 *mē*, *gabhadh*. A similar misplacement, this time of the voiceless diacritic, occurs in 'sḅq̣:n Mp 295 for correct 'sḅq̣:n q 291 *spáin*.¹ There are, in addition to the *spáin* error, thirteen instances of disagreement between SID_I and III regarding the /a/ phoneme. Most persistent are the five instances of the q̣: SID_I ~ a: SID_{III} alternance. It is important to note with regard to the distinction between /a/ and /ɑ:/ that there are three instances where a: occurs in error for q̣: (x2) and q̣: (disregarding 'sḅq̣:n Mp 295, 'sḅq̣:n q 291 *spáin*). For further discussion of /a/ in SID, see 1.32. The two far right columns in Table 1.30 indicate which volume contains the extra diacritic (shown by ✓). Excluding most instances of /a/, one can generally presume that the version with the extra diacritic is the appropriate form. As discussed in 1.324 ff., āv is also probably more accurate than aũ.

Given the relatively high number of discrepancies between SID_I and III, we can be almost certain that there is a significant number of problematic entries in SID_{III} for which we have no control sample.

1.415 Comments and corrections

In SID_I (xxii–xxiii) the symbols ´, ¨, and _ are explained as indicating palatalisation, strong palatalisation and slight palatalisation respectively. A footnote (SID_I xxiv) states that 'ṭ, ḍ [...] are almost identical with English alveolar *t*, *d*'. No example is given of a combination of ´ and _ . This combination has nevertheless been noted in a few tokens in SID.46. It seems likely that it represents a sound intermediate between normal and slight palatalisation, or intermediate between palatalised and alveolar:

g'ē:ṭ 153 *geit*, 'ḥiṭ m'ē, 442 *thit mé*;
'buḍ'e:l, buḍ'e:l 750, 753 *buidéal*, *buidéil*, ḍ'il'aṣk 1085 *duileasc*.

¹ There may be other examples of the subscript dot being misplaced. Instances of nonpalatal initial *t*- in the verb *teighre* are doubtful. There is, nonetheless, a possible instance in the transcription *tair'* 894C. Nonpalatal *t*, however, is transcribed three times in *teighre* in SID.46: *teimīd'* 732, *teir'ə*, *teig'í* s.v. *teighim*; although palatal *t'* is more common in SID.46, e.g. *t'eir'ě* 874. The transcription *tē-*, in particular, looks suspicious; ē is a raised variant of e and would be phonetically unmotivated following nonpalatal *t*. In fact, following the palatal initial in this verb Wagner regularly transcribes (unraised) *t'e-* and even *t'e-*. Another possibility is that confusion with the orthographic form *téi-* may have caused the probably erroneous phonetic transcription *tei-*.

Misprints

Examples of misprints include:

Missing diacritic	SID	recte
palatal	ěkě 341 <i>aici</i>	ěk'ě
	nų:me:d 925 <i>nóiméad</i>	nų:m'e:d
	'kark <i>cearc</i> s.v. <i>méaduighim</i>	'k'ark
reduced	... ig'e ... <i>aige</i> Mp 250, q 981	ig'ě
stress	il'ug 1 <i>uiliug</i>	i'l'ug (better ə'l'ug)
	kəndèrəsķomə:n' 365 <i>Conndae Ros Comáin</i>	kəndèrəsķomə:n'

There are instances of absent pronouns in transcriptions of analytic verbal forms in SIDIII:

thug [mé] 53; *an gcuirfidh* [tú] 221; *chodail* [sé] 508; *rinne* [mé] 538;
téann [sɪ] 784; *chuaidh* [mé] 856.

See further 'Individual words' (1.418).

General accuracy and method

1.416 Transcription; Morphophonemics; Borrowings

The indefinite adjective *eicint* (*éigin*) is consistently transcribed as cliticised but with full initial vowel, i.e. -ek'i:n't' (e.g. 'rədek'i:n't' 307 *rud eicint*, 'din'e'k'i:n' 952 *duine eicín*). This should doubtless be more accurately transcribed as, for example, -ěk'i:n't' or -ək'i:n't'. There may well be confusion with the vowel of the orthographic form *eicint* here (cf. p. 420 n. 1).

Stress marks are not always as accurate as might be desired. In particular, secondary stress in compounds is generally not indicated. For example in the Vocabulary s.v. *comh-fhad* there are two tokens, transcribed as kũ:q:d and ku:q:d. It is highly possible that these were actually stressed 'kũ:q:d and 'ku:q:d as might be expected and as the alternate length of /a/ in the second syllables suggests. Similarly, elements without primary stress are sometimes written together although it is unlikely they form one stress unit. For instance, ,fəxt 'fəxtin'i: o:hin', 900 *seacht seachtainí ó shin* is doubtless more accurately o: hin', with at least some degree of independent stress on *shin*, if not stronger than on *ó*.

For transcription of vowel nasalisation in SID.46, see 1.320, 1.329 ff.

Morphophonemics

For discrepancies regarding the quality of *f* in the impersonal endings -f(e)ar and -f(a)í between Wagner's and my own transcriptions, see 5.55, Table 5.16.

Borrowings

English borrowings are notated in a very broad transcription in SID. The indication of alveolar place of articulation, in particular, is unsatisfactory, e.g. fʃ'örəbout 258 'stirabout' should presumably be indicated in Wagner's transcription more accurately by *fʃ'örəbout (cp. *storaí* LFRM). Similarly, I have heard the vowel in frə:g 819 'frog' only as fra:(i)g, in Wagner's transcription *frə:g.

1.417 Unlenited / and n; R-sounds

Wagner very often transcribes Connacht unlenited palatal / and *n* as (lenited) /' and n', rather than l' and n', as expected. In general, SID does not satisfactorily distinguish weaker variants of l' or n', particularly in unstressed position and following long vowels, from genuine tokens of /' and n'. For example, the transcribed /' and n' in m'i:l't'əx 46.581 *millteach*, t'i:n' Mp 145, t'i:n' 306, 479, 710, 773 *timn*, are unquestionably to be interpreted as l' and n' in our dialect. This is a major point of disagreement in interpretation between SID on the one hand and myself and all Connacht monographs (and de Bhaldraithe's review 1959: 17) on the other. In contrast these unlenited sounds are generally transcribed in SID as unlenited in Donegal. Obviously the weaker unlenited realisation of Connacht has not generally merged with the lenited palatals but Wagner's transcriptions give this false impression. The audio recordings of speaker 869P show regular l' and n'. A case in point is SIDt.261 *taoile* which has almost exclusively ti:l'ə, including points 46 and 40 (and 43a, SIDm, p. 166, transcribed by H. H. Coyle); only point 42 (transcribed by M. Dillon) returns ti:l'ə (but also tr:l'ə [x2] 42.1054). In the audio recording, speaker 869P has ti:l'ə. I have heard only l' in this word, agreeing with GCF and FFG (although omitted in ICF) against SIDt. (It is tempting to explain Wagner's wholesale error in this specific lexeme through the omission of the development *taoide* > ti:l'ə in ICF. If Wagner had not been familiar with the change he was less likely to hear the actual pronunciation properly. The word *faoileán*, however, although given as fai:l'ə in ICF, and heard exclusively as such by me in Iorras Aithneach, is just as erroneously transcribed, it has l' in only two points in SIDt.217 (40 and 42, the latter transcribed by Dillon).) Similarly, *cíle* has been heard by me as k'i:l'ə only (as in Cois Fharraige: *cílle* FFG20) but is given as k'i:l'ě in 46.1092. None of these three examples, *taoide*, *faoileán*, *cíle*, have ll in the standard orthography, and perhaps significantly, given the auditorily reduced contrast between l' and /' beside high front vowels (1.160), all three words have a high front vocoid i(:) preceding (actual) l'.

As far as initial l' in *liom* (< *le*) is concerned, SID.46 has more l' than in speaker 869P's audio recording (cf. 7.65). Also doubtful is the transcription of l' (g'l'ə-) in *gliomach* (and related forms) 46.1124 and in *gleoiteog* Vocab. It is perhaps significant that the examples I have noted here from SID.46 occur before nonlow back vowels where the palatalisation of the liquid is audibly most salient. Here we may be dealing with the opposite phenomenon of that found in *taoide*, i.e. the over-reporting of l'. In contrast, expected /' is found in *gliomach* (and related forms) g'l'i- 46.581 (note the fronted vowel) and g'l'- in *gleanntaí* 46.1078 and k'l'- as in *climsíní* 46.1126, etc. One can contrast *caiple* ka.p'l'ě 168 with the speaker's audio-recorded kəp'l'ə.

R-Sounds

As noted by de Bhaldraithe (1959: 17) in a review of SIDt, *r*-sounds are under-differentiated in the transcription, so that, for example for point 46 weakly palatalised *r* is notated as r. Actual sound recordings of speaker 869P do show frequent weakened tokens of both r and r', including some possible loss of palatalisation, but not nearly as frequently as indicated in SID.46. On the other

hand, the importance and accuracy of **r** tokens in SID has been stressed in the discussion of that sound above (1.195), in stark contrast to earlier Connacht monographs.

1.418 Individual words; Independent attestation

There are individual words transcribed in SID.46, the accuracy of which must be doubted.

Q 38 **m'ehi:x mbeithíoch** is aberrant; usually **-iəx**.

Q 297a **'donə dona** may be a misprint for **'dɔnə** (as in, for example, **'dɔnə** 862).

Q 482 **magər'l'ə magairle** "testicles" is the singular in my experience, i.e. 'testicle'; the plural I have heard only as **magərli:**.

Q 824 'crow' **ə xq:ru: (kqru.)** (i.e. *éan gránna dubh*), which was proffered before *préachán*, is most likely a mistranscription of *caróg*, the usual term for 'crow' in Iorras Aithneach. In fact *caróg* is **869P**'s usual term in material in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann. For another apparently absent unstressed final stop compare **gɔrɔ 'mɔ:s fad 'si:l'è**, 46.938 most probably *go raibh maith is fad saoil a'd* [i.e. *agad*].

There are many cases where Wagner's transcription disagrees with my own from audio recordings. Entries are particularly doubtful if they are otherwise unknown in the dialect and disagree with forms which are independently attested from speaker **869P**. For example:

Q 669 ... **'m'í:ən' an' (or ... qgĩn' ə 'm'í:ənə)** *i mbliain a'inn* or ... *againn i mbliana*. A form **i mbliain* is doubtful as is the nonpalatal *n*, finally in **sə 'm'í:ən**, 576 *sa mbliain* and initially in **na:p'ik'i:n'** 430 *neaipicín* and the palatal *n* in **sə dɔn'** 535 *sa domhan*.

Q 690 **'ba:n'ɪf bainis** but **bā:nəʃ 869P** as is the norm (indeed intervocalic **n'** is not very accurate in SID.46, cp. q 669).

Q 969 **dil'ur' duilliúr** but I have heard only **d'i-** (cp. most probably erroneous broad initial *t* in Text II *tuit* and *tuilleadh*);

Q 1053 **ma:l.ur' (or ma:l'uər')** *mallmhuir* where I have heard only **malu:r'** (similarly, **malu:r'** LFRM); the optional glide following **u:** before **-r'** can of course be phonetically rendered as **-uər'**.

Vocab *gáileas* (?): **gə:l'əs** 'braces' known to me only as **g'æl'əs geaileas** (< 'gallows'); similarly **g'æl'əsəxi:** NIGCF §§22, 78.

Vocab *greim*, pl **graməni**, doubtless should have some indication of palatality in the initial cluster.

Vocab *ionnam* (**sax 'il'ə**) *is gach uile (sa chuile)*, most likely an error for **səx 'il'ə** or **sə 'xil'ə**. This is probably a confusion with orthographic *sa*.

Vocab *lucht luxt*, heard by me as **loxt** only.

Note the **ā:** in **mɔd'i: rā:və** Mp 272 *maidí rámha* but **ā:** in **ma:d'ə řā:wə | 869P** *maide rámha*. Cp. 1.10.

In the Vocabulary given the spelling *bambairne* one should perhaps read (ignoring lenition) **bā:mbərn'ə** for transcribed **bā:mbərnə** (the more usual realisation of palatal *rn* is **rŋ'**). In response to query from me regarding this entry an informant (whose name I did not note, probably **12S**) pronounced **bā:mbərl'ə**.

1.419 Texts and Vocabulary

Texts I–VIII

It is important to note the highly unsatisfactory nature of the Texts (I–VIII) in SID.46. The mode of transcription and high number of indisputable errors in these Texts in fact resemble those found in a collection of folklore taken down from Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire (my **869P**) by Wagner and published posthumously (Wagner and McGonagle: 1995), referred to by me as ZCP. (The phonetic transcription in ZCP is 'modified here and there to facilitate printing' (94; my translation), but unfortunately no further details of these modifications are provided, thus hindering any careful analysis of ZCP.) The impression one gains from both these valuable collections is of a transcriber who is acquainting himself with Connacht (or Iorras Aithneach) Irish, perhaps from a Munster or more precisely Kerry perspective (where Wagner first learned Irish). Some of these stories can be juxtaposed with speaker **869P**'s audio-recorded versions. It seems these Texts and those published in ZCP were transcribed by Wagner, not during his main dialect survey in 1953 when he visited An Coillín, but during an earlier stay there in 1946. It is stated in the 'Annual report; 1987' of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies that Wagner 'contributed an article ... (based on material collected from Páraic Mac an Iomaire in 1946) to a forthcoming monograph by N. McGonagle'. In his monograph on Teileann Irish (GT), completed in 1948, Wagner often refers to Carna, Conamara, e.g. GT §507. Forms he cites from Carna are again in a broad transcription and all tally with the dialect of his informants from An Coillín as presented in Wagner's later publications. Wagner states as much in a review of Wigger (1970): 'Mein Material habe ich 1946 und 1953 von einem achtzig Jahre alten Manne und seinem etwa vierzig Jahre alten Sohn gesammelt' (Wagner 1972: 300). (I collected my material in 1946 and 1953 from an eighty year old man and his son who was about forty years old.)¹ It is, however, implied in Wagner and McGonagle (1995: 94) that the folklore texts contained therein were all collected, over a period of approximately one month, at the same time as the main Atlas survey.²

Vocabulary

The Vocabulary in SID.46, or the bulk of it, is more accurate than the Texts but may have slightly less phonetic detail, principally less diacritics, than the questionnaire responses. This suggests that the Vocabulary may have been collected at the same time as the main survey.

¹ Wagner collected much lore in phonetic transcription in Co. Kerry in 1946 (Wagner and Mac Congáil 1983) while learning the local dialect. See Almqvist (2004) and works cited there, especially, from the linguistic viewpoint, Ó Sé (1985). According to B. Ó Catháin (personal communication) material collected before 1950 is published in SIDII for point 1.

² The great convenience of the 'ac Con Iomaire household, for folklore and dialect collectors alike, was Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire's reservoir of Irish and *seanchas* or 'lore', and the warm welcome and lodging afforded scholars there. Although visiting scholars were no longer kept in the 'ac Con Iomaire household in my later period in Iorras Aithneach, I myself have been fortunate enough to have experienced the welcome and kindness of Pádraig's daughters and grandson.

1.420 Elicitation

Translation

As is unavoidable in a survey such as SID, some responses are influenced by the task of translating (from English, cf. de Bhaldraithe 1959: 16–7).

Q 240 ‘manure-heap’ **kærna:n ‘i:l’əx** (or **kær:n i:l’ě**) *carnán aoileach* or *carn aoiligh*. Here the initial literal translation, the dialect word for ‘heap’ followed by *aoileach* (note lack of genitive), is followed by the actual term in use (note the lexicalised genitive) (cp. *aoileach* ~ *aoiligh* point 19). This pattern of translation influencing responses seems common to this query; *carnán* alternates with *carn* in point 35; in point 40 *carnáin* occurs in the plural, corresponding to GCF §16 note 2 and §131 note 1. In point 41 *carnán aoiligh* is the only term returned (*carnán aoileach*), but this response was probably influenced by the English original. In other points, where *carnán aoiligh* only is returned, it may be the genuine term; in East Galway it is quite consistent (points 30–4, (35), 37–8; compare South Mayo 50, 51 (*carragán, cnap*); note also in point 63). A summary of responses to q 240 and some monograph information regarding this lexeme is added here. The discussion is also of relevance to the return for q 455 ‘fist’ (1.422).

IWM §252 **kærən i:l’ig’** [sic leg].

GCF §131 **kær:n i:l’ə**, plural **kær’ni:l’iəxi**, **kær’ni:l’i**, in the index **kærən i:l’ə**, s.v. *carn*.

Not found in ITM, IEM.

SIDII–III, q 240:

1 **kærən ‘i:l’ě**; 2 **kær’ni:l’ě**; 3 **kær’ni:l’e ‘i:l’ig’**; etc.;

19 **kær:n ‘i:l’əx kærŋ ‘i:l’ig’**; 20 **kærən i:l’ig’**; 21 **kær’li:n’ě**;

22	kær:n i:l’ə	44	kær’ni:l’ə
23	kær:n ‘i:l’ig’	45	‘kær’ni:l’ě
24	kær:n ‘i:l’ə ~ ‘i:l’ig’	46	kærna:n ‘i:l’əx ~ kær:n i:l’ě
25	kær:n i:l’ə	47	kær:n ‘i:l’ě
26		48	kær’ni:l’ə
27		49	kær’ni:l’i
28	kær:n ‘i:l’ə	50	kærna:n i:l’i
29	kær:n ‘i:l’ə	51	kærəga:n ~ krap i:l’i
30	kærna:n ‘i:l’i	52	kær:n ‘i:l’i
31	kærna:n ‘i:l’əx ~ i:-	53	kær:n ‘i:l’i
32	kærna:n i:l’i	54	kær:n ~ kærŋ ‘i:l’i
33	kærna:n ‘i:l’i	55	kær:n ‘i:l’i
34	kærna:n ‘i:l’i	56	kær:n ‘i:l’i
35	kær:n ~ kærna:n ‘i:l’i	57	kær:n ‘i:l’i
36	kærŋ ‘i:l’i	58	kær:n ‘i:l’i
37	kærna:n ‘i:l’i	59	gær’ni:l’ə
38	kærda:n ‘i:l’i	60	kær’ni:l’i
39	kær’ni:l’ě	61	kær’ni:l’a ~ sə gær’ni:l’
40	kær:n ‘i:l’ě ~ kærna:n ‘i:l’ě	62	kær’ni:l’ ‘i:l’əx
41	kærna:n ‘i:l’əx	63	kærna:n i:l’i Vocab
42	kær:n i:l’i	87	
43	kær’ni:l’ə		
43a			

Q 895 *Tá fuacht faighte a'm* (or *slaghdán*) seems influenced by the English query 'I have a cold'; *slaghdán* being the general term for the common viral infection.

There are also indications that the syntax of responses approximates the English models. For example, the pronoun is placed in, or close to, the English position instead of the more common end position for Irish in:

rinne sé é dhen bhuíochas dom 932;
... *nuair a casadh dhom é inné* 936, cp. 929, 930.

1.421 Nonvernacular: Q 11b — Q 390

Some responses derive no doubt from a higher register. Often an initial higher register response is followed by the vernacular, e.g. *cat* 204–8, *dorn* 455–6, *líontaí* (*eangachaí*) 1108. The reverse order is also found, e.g. *a'inn*, *againn* 669, also 1006 (1.423).

Q 11b 'dog' *ar an madadh*; Q 317 *dhon mhadadh*; Mp 56 *madadh*, Q 202 *madaí* (or *gadhar* pl *gadhair*). Although *madadh* does occur occasionally, *gadhar* is by far the more commonly used word in the area.

Q 22 'milch cow' pl. **ba: va:n'ɪ** *ba bhainne*. (For **a:** corresponding to /a/ here, see 1.32 and the discussion of Table 1.30 (in 1.414)). Only rarely have I heard *ba* (from **12S**) for *beithígh*. The current term is *beithígh bhainne*, from whence presumably the unhistorical lenition in *ba bhainne* in this response, perhaps (also) influenced by singular *bó bhainne*. The lenition in the phrase *ba bhainne* may be an instance of unadjusted replacement of vernacular *beithígh* with conservative *ba*. Cp. plural without lenition as expected in *Ba seascair* **!894C9**, *ba bodhra* (in saying).

Q 30 '... have you?' *agad*; Q 669 *a'inn* or *againn*. The *ag-* by-forms of the prepositional pronoun are, in general, stylistically more formal. Cf. 7.5.

Q 112 'pigsty' *cró na muc*. The word *cró* is not (or is no longer) current. I have heard it referred to, e.g. by **12S**, as a form used in An Spidéal and environs. The current terms are *scioból na muc* and *teach na muc*.

Q 204–8 'cat' *cat*. The initial response **ka.t** is nonvernacular (cf. 1.31).

Q 329 'win' *buaigh vuə fə ... vuə fə*. The only form of this etymon I have heard in the traditional dialect is **buəx**. I take the response to be either higher register or a mistranscription. Speaker **869P**'s forms noted from **869P2–3** (RBÉ) are all *buach*, e.g. pst *bhuach*, pstsbj *mbuachat sé*, vadj *buachta*, VN *a' buacha*. The etymon *buaigh* seems to be a lexical Munsterism in Connacht confined to Conamara and Árainn. In SID q 329 it occurs in points 41, 42, 43a, 44, 46, 47, 50. The by-form **buəx** is found in SID in 43a and 44. ICF §538 reports, apparently categorical, *buadhaim* > **buəxim'** but GCF §161 (note) has verbal adjective **buəf'ə**. Máire was noted using **buəx** only, except in query where she offered as verbal adjective: **buəxtə**, **buəxt'ə** Mq, and permitted **buəf'ə** Mperm. The term elsewhere in Connacht is *gnóthaigh* (which has limited use in Iorras Aithneach).

Q 390 'could you hear it?' *an gcluin tú mé?* **ŋ glin' tu: m'e:**. This **ŋ** is a unique attestation for traditional vernacular interrogative **ə an**. Cf. 8.46.

1.422 Q 455 'fist' *dorn*

Q 455 'fist' **də ʔorŋ** (or **ʔaurnə**) *do dhorn*, Q 456 **vuəf' fə gə. 'ʔaurnə m'e:**, *bhuail sé dhá dhorn mé*. It seems that the form **dorŋ**, given initially by the infor-

mant to Wagner, is not vernacular. In fact, one must travel quite far from Iorras Aithneach to find vernacular **dorŋ** (or **dorən**): to the far south of Co. Galway (and in Munster), and North-East Galway and central Mayo (and North Connacht in general). The form *dorna* (**dornə** to the north and south, whence central **daurnə**) is found in an extensive area on all sides of Iorras Aithneach (points 28–31, 35–51). Yet a (conservative) undiphthongised **dornə** *dorna* is not given by the speaker. Unfortunately, *dorn* is not returned for neighbouring points 47 and 48. Given, however, the forms **da/ournə:n** *dornán* points 47, 48.666 and **daurn'ín'í** *doirníní* point 47.590, it is most likely that **daurnə** was vernacular there. These points (47–8) agree with South Conamara (and point 46) in having **au** in, for example, similar *toirneach* Map 219 and **o:** in *scórnach* Map 138 (cp. also Q 240 *carŋ aoiligh* above). It would be interesting to discover the actual source of **dorŋ** in our point 46; for instance, whether it is a direct survival of the older vernacular usage, or a survival in higher register, or a reintroduction through higher register. It is worth recalling that Wagner's main informant was apparently illiterate (1.411). Speakers have occasionally given **dorən** in reply to query from me, but I have always suspected the written word may affect my speakers here (speakers then admit to **daurnə** as vernacular). A summary of responses in SID and some monograph information is added below.

IWM §320 **dorən**.

ICF Appendix II (i.e. East Cois Fharraige) §666 **dornə** ~ **daurnə**, GCF §89(d) **daurnə** (index).

ITM §497 **dornə**.

IEM §330 **dorən**.

SIDII–III, q 455; key, font of point number:

Bold = *doran*, *dorn*; *Italics* = *dorna*; Underlined italics = *d[au]rna*.

1 **yorŋ** **dorŋ**; etc.; **21** **dörŋ** **yorŋ**;

	Q 455	Q 456		Q 455	Q 456
22	dorŋ	yorŋ	<u>40</u>	dəurnə	yəurnə
23	dorŋ	yurŋ	<u>41</u>	dəurnə	dəurnə
24	dorŋ	yorŋ	<u>42</u>	dəurnə	dəurnə
25	dorŋ	yorŋ	43		
26	cp. du:rn'ín' -N' - Vocab		<u>43a</u>	daurnə	yəurnə
27		yorŋ m' -	44		
28	dəurnə	yəurnə	<u>45</u>		yəurnə
29	dournə	dournə	<u>46</u>	yorŋ (yəurnə)	yəurnə
30	yorŋə		47	cp. daurn'ín'í : 590,	
31	dornə	yorŋə		daurnə:n 666	
32			48	cp. dournə:n' 666	
33	dorŋ	yorŋ	49	yor.nə	yorŋə
34	dörŋ		50		
35		yorŋə	51	dornə	yor.nə
36	dornə	yorŋə	52		dörŋ
37	dor.nə	dor.nə yorŋə	53	yorŋ	dörŋ m' -
38	yəurnə	yəurnə	54	dörŋ	yorŋ
39			55	dorŋ	yorŋ

	Q 455	Q 456		Q 455	Q 456
56	dɔrŋ	dɔrŋ m' -	61	dɔrŋ	ɣɔrŋ
57	dɔrŋ ɣorŋ	dɔrŋ	62	dorn	dorn
58	dörŋ	ɣörŋ m' -	63		
59	dorn	dörŋ	87		
60	ɣɔrŋ	dörŋ			

1.423 Q 637 — Q 1108; Quantitative effects

Q 637 ‘small potatoes’ *póiríní pur’hi:n’i* (pørh-). My recollection is of hearing *pur’hi:n’i*: more often but that speakers feel that *pør’hi:n’i*: is the older form, which of course it is.

Q 793a ‘to God’ *chun Dé xən’ d’e*: for vernacular *chun ən*. Religious context and higher register often coincide.

Q 972 ‘a briar’ *coinnigh do thóin as na driseachaí kün’i: də hu:n’ asnə d’rifəxi:*. Imperative *kün’i*: for vernacular *kün’ə ...*. This is a line from a song (CABI §170(a)), verses of which are given in Text II.

Q 986 ‘children’ *páistí*. This may be an obsolescent usage of *páistí* but in my experience *gasúir* is used for ‘children’ and the word *páiste* means ‘infant, baby’.

Q 1006 ‘avoid bad company!’ *tréig / seachain droch-chomhluadar*. The initial token is vernacular *drə’xu:lə:dər*. The following two tokens have *-luədər* and, if correct, are presumably higher register tokens perhaps associated with the proverbial context. In fact, the use of *tréig* was identified by Máire in this admonition as bookish. (I entered ‘*an leabhar M*’ beside this SID return in my notes.)

Q 1108 ‘fishing-nets’ *líontaí (eangachaí)*. In Map 273 the current term *eangachaí* is given.

Quantitative effects

Some forms tend to occur more in elicitation than in conversation, whether this is because of higher register marking or morphological salience or the like. For instance, the yield of 2 plural imperative ending *-əɟ’i:*, in contrast with *-i:*, in SID.46 (including following velar stops, 4/10) seems higher than expected and higher than in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann material (see 5.72).

1.424 Further comments; Q 11b — Q 852

Other responses in SID.46 can benefit from some further explanation or glossing.

Q 11b ‘bitch ... in heat’ *öil’f’ě* in *faoi adhailte, an mbeadh adhailte ar an madadh?* The terms found in other points in SIDIII are *adhall, adhair, gadhair, adhasach*, and by-forms thereof (cp. 14 *haidheas*). The form *adhailte* is not otherwise attested. It resembles closest the verbal adjective *adhalta* FFG20 ‘served (of bitch)’. It is difficult to know whether or not *adhailte* is in any way corrupt formally or syntactically. In elicitation I have heard unfamiliar or obsolescent adjectives sometimes used nominally. This may be what has happened in the present instance.

Q 149 ‘den’ *prokəx pl proki*, contrast *æ’s ə mrokə(x) | 869P* as an *mbrocaigh / mbrocach*, *br-* being the usual form in the dialect.

Q 296 ‘food’ the speaker gives *bia* and *beatha* as synonyms. This is true although

bia is more literary and in vernacular is specialised in the meaning 'edible substance, (soft, edible) contents'. The word *bia* 'food' is frequent in **869P**'s recorded stories.

Q 852 'thunder and lightning' *toirneach* (alt. *smiochóid*); *tinteach* or *lasair*; *tine toirní*. Here *smiochóid* cannot be strictly equated with *toirneach*, but rather with *lasair* and *tine* referring to 'lightning'. My informants in query did not permit *smiochóid* 'ember' in either transferred meaning of 'thunder' or 'lightning'. It is not found in other points in q 852 (in Connacht). The nonpalatal initial cluster in **smuxo:d'** *smiochóid* (< *smeachóid*) is doubtful; contrast **sm'ixo:d'** q 549 (and **869P**'s daughters **04Br**, **15W**). The absence of *r* in **t'i:n't'əx** *tinteach* is noteworthy. I have had the auditory impression from some speakers of the absence of *r* in this word but when speakers were queried *r* was present (in their citation form). The word *tint(r)each* is returned without *r* in points 37–8, 44–6, 50 (generally West Co. Galway and adjoining South-West Mayo); *r* is present at points 31–7, 39, 49, 51–4, 58–62 (most of Connacht). The lexeme is absent in q 852 in other points in SIDIII where *solas*, *lasair*, *tine*, etc., occur, commonly in the plural; *tint(r)each* is common only in Connacht. There is of course similar variation in *r* in the plural *tine* > *tinte*, *tint(r)eachaí*, etc., which is commonly used in this meaning. Plural *tintreachaí* is in fact ambiguous and can be a plural of both *tine* or *tintreach*. Cp. *tintreach*; *tintreachaí sa gcnoc* SID.49.852.

The relevant returns for 'lightning' can be summarily set out from q 852 SIDII–IV (especially III, Connacht) here.

Key (font of point numbers): **bold** = *tinteach*; underlined = *tintreach*.

1 *splan(r)eacha*; 2 *splan(r)eacha*; etc.; 9 *splanca*; etc.; 11 *lasaracha*; etc.; 15 *splan(r)eacha*; etc.; 19 *lasaracha*, *splanca*; 20 *splanca*; 21 *splanca*;

22	<i>splan(r)eacha</i>	43a	<i>lasrachaí</i>
23	<i>lasair</i>	44	<i>tinteach</i>
24	<i>lasaireacha</i>	45	<i>tinteach</i>
25	<i>larsachaí</i>	46	<i>tinteach</i> , (<i>smiochóid</i>), <i>tine</i>
26			<i>toirní</i>
27		47	<i>tintí ceatha</i>
28	<i>splan(r)eacha</i> , <i>tinteacha</i>	48	<i>tinidh ghealá(i)n</i>
29	<i>lasair</i>	<u>49</u>	<i>tintreach</i> , <i>tintreachaí</i>
30	<i>lasóg</i>	50	<i>tinteach</i>
<u>31</u>	<i>tintreach</i>	<u>51</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
<u>32</u>	<i>tintireach</i>	52	<i>sibhneáin</i>
<u>33</u>	<i>tintreach</i>	<u>53</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
<u>34</u>	<i>tintrí</i>	<u>54</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
<u>35</u>	<i>tintreach(t)</i>	55	<i>solais</i>
<u>36</u>	<i>tintreach</i>	56	<i>solais</i>
<u>37</u>	<i>tinteach</i> , <i>tintreach</i>	57	<i>solais</i>
38	<i>tinteach</i>	<u>58</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
<u>39</u>	<i>tintreach</i>	<u>59</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
40	<i>scaltrachaí</i>	<u>60</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
41	<i>lasrachaí</i>	<u>61</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
42	<i>lasaire</i> , <i>lasrachaí</i>	<u>62</u>	<i>tintreach</i>
43	<i>solas</i> , <i>lasrachaí toirní</i> , <i>tine toirní</i>	63	
		87	

86a *splanacacha*; 74a *soilseach*; 71 *soilseach*; 70 (no return); 69 *splanacacha*; 67 *tine ...* ; 65 ... *thinidh*.

1.425 Q 1070 — Q 1169; Length; Analysis

Q 1070 *bālən dīg' balla an duig* with *d* presumably representing alveolar *d*, influenced by 'dock'. Cp. q 1167.

Q 1167 *kā:ðo:g cadóg* glossed "haddock" with *d* presumably representing alveolar *d* (**kā:ðo:g*) perhaps influenced by 'cod'. Cp. *dīg'* 1070 *duig* (genitive) 'dock'. I have heard dental *d* only, i.e. *kā:ðo:g* Sq *cadóg*, *dug dug*, and it is likely that Wagner's transcription has been influenced by the English forms here.

Q 1169 '(the fish are) spawning' ,*tā n 't'iašk fē:su:r 'f'k'èhè*, represents, presumably, *tā an t-iasc i séasúr* immediately followed by the alternative (*tā an t-iasc*) *ag sceitheadh*. The schwa of *i* may have been absent or may have been voiceless (and thus not heard) between the voiceless consonants in *iasc i séasúr*.

Some phonemically, and normally phonetically, short vowels are transcribed long in SID.46. This can be attributed to speaker 869P's slow speech rate, which is in fact noticeably slower than usual in the community; e.g.

i:f'k'è 44 *uisce*, *'i:n'iv'* 1.3 *linbh*, *f'g'risfi:* 1.40 *scriosfaí*, *br'i:x'ə* 644 *bruithfidh*, *f'w'i:f'k'ə* 749 *fuisce*, *v'i:k'* 118 *mhuic*, *'g'e'f'* 153 *geit*, *'xlə:x* 415 *chloch*, *ə:l'k* 159 *olc*, *s'fə:k'r:* 225 *stocaí*, *o:xt* 576 *ocht*, *klo:'xi:v'ir'* 592 *cloch fhaobhair*, *hə:rt* *ngort* Vocab s.v. *corr scréachóig*, *po:s'tul'* *postúil* Vocab s.v. *póstúil* (i.e. correct spelling *postúil*);

also half-long in *m'w'i.k'* 105 *muic*, *sm'i.g'* 383 *smig*, *'klo.x* 955 *cloch*, *kə:rk'è* 210 *coirce*, *kri:u'b'* 198 *cruib*, *fü:l'* 474 *fuil*.

Cp. *α:* presumably for *é* in *'x'i:n' fē orəm α: 'ji:ənə*, 980 *chinn sé orm é a dhéanamh* (possibly for *q:* < *e:*); or perhaps *chinn sé orm, dhá dhéanamh*.

Rarer words, when transcribed with long vowels, can be doubtful as to their actual phonemic status, e.g. *mu:gəl't'* 34 *mu(n)gailt*.

A short stressed vowel occurs in *sb'er'əti* 331 *spéireataí* otherwise long in the dialect.

For *gə:qə 'mə:s fə:d 'si:l'è*, 46.938 one can transcribe *go raibh maith is fad saoil a'd*, the cliticised *a'd* probably had no release in final *d*. Similarly, *x'f'e:* 191 *chléibh* seems to reflect final consonant weakening (or elision).

fad wən' η ə:əxo:d' 46 Text VIII. 8 *fad uainn an urchóid!* I have heard this phrase as *fada uainn an urchóid!* and (more commonly) *i bhfad ...*. The initial fricative of *i bhfad* was perhaps devoiced by Wagner's informant (perhaps in emphatic whispered speech) or the schwa of *fada* reduced or elided in this often rapidly spoken parenthetical phrase.

The by-forms *buəl'u* (*bə:l'u*) Vocab s.v. *bualadh* are presumably past impersonal not 'VN' (which, in my experience, has *-lə*).

1.426 Translations and notes

Some of Wagner's translations and notes are amenable to emendation.

Map 58

In Map 58 'pannier-baskets' it is noted by Wagner that "the 'párdóg / feadhóg' type of pannier-basket (on donkey's back) is only common in 32, 47–86, ...".

Máire Bean Uí Cheannabháin (speaker **04M**) has told me she remembers the first donkeys coming to her district (An Aird), implying that donkey-specific pannier-baskets were first used in the area in relatively recent times. An incident which happened presumably before or around 1900 is narrated in S. Ridge (1969: 106) where a donkey is straddled with baskets for carrying seaweed. Donkeys carrying baskets did become common and some carried slip-bottomed creels. Panniers carried by humans and donkeys are both usually called *cliabh* in Iorras Aithneach (as in points 41–2), and this includes slip-bottomed creels. De Bhaldraithe (1959: 16) is surprised at the large gaps in Co. Galway in this Map. He suggests the English word was perhaps not understood. In GCF ('Clár na bhFocal') *cliabh rotháin* is glossed 'a basket with bottom which opens'. In SIDIII, point 41, **k'í'e:v' 'rā:n' cléibh rotháin** is glossed 'baskets for drawing sand'. The term *lóidíní* is reported in the SID.46 Vocab s.v. *cliabh*, these *lóidíní* were seen by Wagner's informant in Ros Muc.¹

Questions

- Q 9 *capall* "mare" is of course more literally 'horse' in our area.
 Q 38 *péirsealachai* "ticks" should read 'warbles'.
 Q 65 *bréan* "sour" is more literally 'foul'.
 Q 158 *seod* "that's" more accurately 'this is'.
 Q 175 *go réidh* is untranslated, add 'easily, unhurriedly'.
 Q 191 *iris* "pins" should read 'creel handle'.
 Q 198 *cruib* "creels" but this is simply 'crib (of cart)'.
 Q 428 *do pholláirí* '[your] nostrils'.
 Q 463a *trácht* "upper part of the foot" but I have heard this used only as 'instep' (FGB *trácht*² 1(b)).
 Q 785 *Comaoineach* 'Communion' [sic].
 Q 824 *éan gránna dubh* translates as 'an ugly black bird'.
 Q 825 *tá sé ag rith ar na beithí* means 'it runs (flies at, about) on the cattle'.
 Q 860 'freezing' **turni: fakə** is translated "hail-storms" but this is more likely to be for **ta:rn'i: fakə** *tairní seaca* 'frost-nails (on horseshoes)' or possibly **ta:rn'i: ... fakə** *toirní ... seaca* 'thunderly ... frosty ...'.
 Q 980 *chinn sé orm é a dhéanamh* and *tá sé cinnte orm* can be more idiomatically translated 'I wasn't able to do it' and 'I cannot/am unable to do it'.
 Q 1002 **,er' 'a:nə**, for *uair annamh*, i.e. more common **uər' 'a:nə**. Presumably the diphthong is reduced (phrase-initially) in weaker stress, cp. **k'en or' ə m'ei** ... M87 *cén uair a mbeidh ... ?*
 Q 1058 *urú* corrected by Wagner from *athrú* Map 264.
 Q 1061 *brisfidh sé ar an gcarraig* "it will break on the rock" is literally correct. This is probably an example of consuetudinal future so that 'it breaks ...' is an alternative translation.

¹ The etymology (from English 'baldrick' via Welsh 'pardwgl'), meanings and northern distribution of *pardóg* (also *bardóg*; Scottish Gaelic *pardag*) are discussed by T. S. Ó Máille (1968: 24–8) although SIDi Mp 58 is not mentioned. In Mp 58 the southern limit of *pardóg* is formed by points 47, 49 (North-West Galway) and point 32 (South Roscommon). For *cliabh*, *pardóg*, *lód*, see J. Hogan (2001: especially 19–27, 52–6 and Glossary). Both *pardóg* and *lód* are identified as having slip-bottoms. (Note *cléitheog* 'slip-bottom of creel' FFG31 (East Galway).) In Tomás Ó Máille (2002 [1936]: 65, 79) *pardóg* and *lód* are conjoined apparently as synonyms: *na pardóga nó na lóid*. Cp. *Tá an tsíat ann a dhéanfadh cis, cliabh agus lód* in a song attributed to Colm de Bhailís (but only in later sources; Denvir 1996: 82–3, 106–7).

Q 1067 *le fánaidh aille* “down the cliff” more accurately ‘down a cliff’.

Q 1074 *muirbhigh mūr’iv’ě* “name of a sandy beach”. This is perhaps *Muirbheach* (*Muirbhigh*) in Iorras Mór; the noun *muirbheach* does not refer specifically to “sandy”. Also *dumhach gainimh* ‘sandy beach’ better ‘sand-dune’.

Q 1085 *diúilicíní* “shells” are more precisely ‘mussels’.

Q 1091 *geál* literally ‘yawl’. In *bord an choraigh* “board” is unclear; the ‘gun-wale’ is probably meant here.

Q 1102 *seol mór* “big sail” often lexicalised as ‘mainsail’. The slightly retroflex initial sound is striking here: *ʃol mór seol mór*. It may not be coincidental that it occurs in q 1102 on a line immediately above a consonant with the same diacritic: *ʃīb jib*, whence *ʃol* might have been erroneously copied.

Q 1105 *galún* is glossed literally as a “gallon-tin” in *é thaoscadh amach le galún* but appears in this context to be more accurately a ‘bailing vessel’.

Q 1108 *snáithe líon* “net-thread” probably better ‘linen thread’. Seán (12S), in query, has *snáithe lín* ‘linen thread’.

Q 1167 *scodal* “other type of jellyfish”. This gloss was accepted by Sq and Mq but *scodal* is more accurately ‘cuttlefish’;

lannach ‘mullet’ in FGB, described by Seán (12S) as *breac mór millteach ... ar nós an mhangai* S (not “mackerel”, which is *ronnach* as in Mp 283);

breac mór should translate ‘big fish’, the gloss on *scoirneachaí móra* is translated as “big trouts”, again one should read ‘big fish’ (cp. 46.1135 where *breac* is correctly translated as “fish” twice);

hə:gəni should be transcribed *hagannaí*, a borrowing from English ‘hog’ (short for ‘hog-fish’).

Note that *ballach* is translated as “rock-fish” (this is the English term I have heard locally, as well as ‘rock bream’ from nonlocals) and “connor-fish”. It is translated as ‘ballan wrasse’ in the index of GCF, the Latin name of which is ‘*Labrus maculatus*’.

Texts

Text I: for *heg’ě ri: nə tri:* 46.I.47 as *chuig an rí na Traí*, not *chuige rí*, see 10.79.

Text VIII. 11. *Bhí coithíos a’m leis* is glossed *Thug mé iasacht mo phíopa dó*. This is, in a way, the opposite to how I have heard *coithíos* used. Perhaps one should read *Níor thug mé iasacht mo phíopa dó*. Alternatively, there may have been further explanation for the cause of the apparent ‘aversion’, which was, however, left untranscribed, e.g. *thug mé iasacht mo phíopa dhó is shalaigh sé é* or ... *is níor thug sé ar ais go ceann seachtaine dhom é* or the like.

1.427 Vocabulary

Cf. 1.418.

amhrán: *ag rá amhrán* ‘saying songs’ is more accurately ‘performing songs’ mostly ‘singing songs’.

binn: pl *beanna* ‘rocks’. This translation is anomalous; more usually ‘gables’.

breac ‘trout’ but generally means ‘fish’.

Brochán: *Baile an Bhrocháin* is a nickname given to *Glinsce*. See 14 *brochán*.

ceann-aghaidh k’ə:nəi: the vernacular form of this word is *k’ani*, but it is

recognised as a compound of *ceann* and *aghaidh*, i.e. 'k'ʌn.ai, by informants queried.

cliabh: *cléibh scaoilte* is glossed as 'pannier-baskets' but *cliabh scaoilte* is not a term recognised by Seán (12S), who was a basket-maker, nor by other informants. It was perhaps used by Wagner's informant describing the slip-bottom creels, perhaps designated by *lóidín*.

cliamhain: more accurately 'in-law'.

coinnleach: *páirc coinnlí* 'stubble-field' is followed by what transliterates as *an pháirc achrannach*, followed by a question mark to indicate doubt regarding the equivalence of both terms. My informants tell me there is no equivalence. The phrase *an pháirc achrannach* was presumably used by the informant in describing *páirc coinnlí* which is notoriously difficult to walk barefoot.

dlighe: *teach an dlíobh* 'the Courthouse'. This is usually *teach na cúirte*.

loiseac: (*luiseag* FGB lɔʃək) more accurately 'stem of fishing hook (to which the snood is attached)', as indicated by Ó Con Cheanainn (1967: 149).

maidhm: 'type of wave', i.e. 'a wave'. The word *maidhm* is the general term for 'wave'.

pimín: one should read headword as *fimín*, and take *ar fimín* as an example of unlenited *f*- (*feimín* FGB; cp. *feimíneach* BBeo.81).

póstúil: read *postúil*. Speaker 869P's slow speech may have caused Wagner to interpret a phonemically long vowel here. The phrase *asə d'əŋgə* is *a dteanga* 'of our / their, etc., tongue / language' (not *as an dteanga*). Perhaps one should read (*tá siad*) for (*tá sé*), i.e. *tá siad postúil as a dteanga*. (The semantics of *postúil* is noteworthy here. I have heard *postúil* used with negative connotations only, i.e. 'haughty'.)

sáltracha: more accurately 'beams' (sg *sail*² FGB) as indicated by Ó Con Cheanainn (1967: 149).

teaghlach: read *teallach* 'hearth, household'. Informants queried claim that, strictly speaking, *teallach* does not stand for 'family'.

2 Sandhi and collocational conditioning

2.1 General

The sandhi and elision rules described in ICF, chapters IX and X, are regularly applied in Iorras Aithneach, with some minor exceptions and gaps in my material. The discussion below focuses in particular on supplementing the description found in ICF. Regarding consonants, *ag gabháil liom*, etc., is regularly **ə go:l' l'um** / **l'at** / **l'ef**, etc., with **l'** only; contrast ICF §252 which has lexicalised **ə go:l' l'um** ~ **ə go:l' l'um**; for lexicalised obsolescent phrases such as **g'au:l' l'e** *geall le* and other instances of **l'-** in the preposition *le*, see *le* (7.65; cf. **g'au:l' l'e** ~ **g'au:r l'e** *geall le* 'resembling', 2.57). The subrule described in ICF §254(ii) of **d', d, t', t** > 'unexploded velarised alveolars' **ɖ, ʈ** / **n, s, r** is apparently applied less regularly than other sandhi rules in Iorras Aithneach; see 'Alveolarisation' (2.22). In this context, where the final stop is generally not released, the alveolar articulation is auditorily difficult to distinguish from dental. In fact, there are also examples of depalatalisation of **n'** before **s** and **r**, i.e. **-n' > -n** / **s, r**. The change **s > ʃ** in **ij' f'iar S** *is fíor* (rare) corresponds to the exception given in ICF §261 (i.e. **n'i:ʃ f'au:r níos fearr** ICF) where, with optional loss of initial *f*, copula *is* occurs directly before an historical front vowel, cf. 9.127. I have no examples of the sandhi rule **-C^{+lab,+fric} > -C^{+stop} / -C^{+lab,+stop}** described in ICF §269. Sandhi usage in proclitics is described separately below (2.73 ff.). Consonant elision is different from the rules described in ICF §304 in only some minor details. Regarding vowel sandhi the only major difference with ICF lies in the phonemic description of unstressed /i/ in ICF (e.g. §§289–290); unstressed /i/ is interpreted here as /ə/ (cp. 1.2).

Sandhi rules as a whole are undergoing a process of depletion in the speech of many of the younger generations, especially those born since c. 1960 (but cf. **-l l'- > -l l-** in speaker 66N, 2.32).

Vowel sandhi

Schwa loss

2.2 Beside vowels

The rule of schwa loss adjacent to a vowel, i.e. **ə > Ø** / **V**, is generally applied, e.g.

mif' əs [**< mifə əs**] **fuər ə boləg nax d'e: he** [**< d'e:hə e**] **S**
muise is fuar an bolg nach dtéithidh é.

Schwa is less frequently retained. As in the application of sandhi in general, there are morphosyntactic, rhythmic and other constraints involved as well as degrees of emphasis. Some examples of retention are listed here.¹

¹ There seems to be a higher proportion of non-elision in my material in comparison with the very few examples of non-elision found in GCF, e.g. **x'er'ə a:ngə** *cheithre eanga* GCF, p. 289, n. 2. There are three instances in text §357, lines 30–3, of ICF: *D'fhágaibh siad aige é; eg'ə e: ach [...]* *lampa lasta*

Bhíodh mo mháthair ag iarraidh a bheir' ag scaradh iomaire sceallán is iomaire athleasú. Ach níl athleasú ar bith ... 'skar' umər'ə 'ʃk'ulən s umər'ə 'ʔæ'ʃæ'su' ax ... 05M.

t'e: nax wuər' ən' ol' nar wɔ:r əs f'u: ən' a:n̩rə S té nach bhfuair an fheoil nar mhór is fiú an eanraith, with retention of ə in ən' a:n̩rə on two separate occasions, as well as elision: ... əb' u: n' a:n̩rə S ... ab fhiú an eanraith.

gə d'o: ʲən daun' 23Ms go deo an domhain.

ən ai ən tru [x3] 23J in aghaidh an tsruth.

... rud ə b'i ə iərho:s tu' M ... rud ar bith a fhiathróis tú.

n'i: yu:n'hə b'e:l na: ə kla:b M ní dhúintheidh a béal ná a clab.

ma ta nɑ:ns gə wil' tæ:də 'er' ma: ta tæ:də 'er' M

má tá i ndán 's go bhfuil tada air. Má tá tada air; with strong stress on er' in both instances, similar to it'ə 'a:kəb ite acub in the final citation below.

əs ma:rt'i:n' vroxə er' ə æhər' M is Máirtín Mhrocha ar a athair.

ta ba:l'hə grɑ:nə er' ə ʔunɑ:l' ʃin' M tá baladh gránna ar a anáil sin.

... gə æntən'ə [x2] M ... dho Antaine.

k'e: əs mu: M cé is mó (an bord seo ná an ceann eile?).

ə dɑ:gə ən ʃk'i:n M a d'fhága an scian.

hiər t'i: ɔ: ə ti:r' M thiar tigh Jó an tSaoir, regularly for Máire (6.86 (vii)).

ma:rə wɑ: tu k'æ:d e ə xir' ən'ʃin' t'air'ə ... ma:rə wɑ: tu k'æ:d e ə xir' ən'ʃin' t'air'ə ... marə wi: tu k'æ:d e xir' ən'ʃin' t'air'ə ... 11C mara bhfaighe tú cead é a chuir ansin teighre ... mara bhfuighidh tú cead é a chuir ansin teighre ...

ax n'i: e:tən' ə 'ʃk'e:l' i:nʃæxt gən e' ə xir' əʃt'æx sə ʃk'e:l' | 11C

ach ní fhéadthainn an scéal a inseacht gan é a chuir isteach sa scéal.

thriomaigh sí a chosa ʃi ə xosə le brata míne síoda (run)11C.

... ən bɑ:d ə in'v'in'tɑ:l' ... blɑ:s ə in'v'in'tɑ:l' 01J

... an bád a inbhinteáil ... blas a inbhinteáil.

agəs dæ:r'ə ʃiəd ə t'um'rə huku: ə'nuəs | ku:n' x'i:l' x'ia:ɾən' | ... hæ:rtu:

ma:x | 897P agus d'airigh siad an t-íomradh chucú anuas Cuan Chill

Chiaráin. ... thartú amach ...

ʃe: ŋ kl'æ:sə lu: gəs ga:ʃk'ə ə v'i:x eg' ə ri: 11Ct

sé an cleasa lúth agus gaisce a bhíodh ag an rí.

fuə e P 'fuaigh' é.

ʃk'i: ə hɔ:rt do:b' 27Js scíth a thabhairt dóib.

-bə x'æ:rt gə m'et fe it'ə 'a:kəb ə'n'if M

Ba cheart go mbeadh sé ite acub anois.

-hæ Hea?

-ʃans gə wil' ʃe it'ə 'a:kəb ə'n'if M Seans go bhfuil sé ite acub anois.

2.3 Prepausa; Linking h; Phrase-initially

Examples of elision before pausa, which is followed by a vowel, have been noted in 892M's speech only:

ar speic chuile fhear aca lɑ:sdə er' sb'ek' xil'ə æ:r a:kəb. For schwa insertion between consonants as well as alternations such as *méid* ~ *méide*, see 1.367 ff.

e: ʃin' | ə f'uk | a's ən olən | ARN1111 *é sin a phiocadh as an olann*;
 ʃiəd ə v'i:x ə g'ær | a:məd | gə nə si:r'hə bɑ:dʰ | gʊs ... ARN1291
siad a bhíodh ag gearradh adhmáid do na saortha báid agus ...;
nuair a bhí an claimhe ionann's 'klæv' | ānəns abhus aige, ARN3187;
chuir sé eanga i 'æ'ng | ə gcloch acub seo ARN3748.

When linking **h** is absent (2.40), schwa is sometimes retained, e.g.

mah ə f'ær u' he:n' [also] **ma' ə f'ær u' he:n'** *maith an fear thú héin*.

Similarly, some speakers (e.g. **11C**, **12S**), regularly retain schwa following verbal adjective suffix **-i:** (in **11C**'s case for his more common **-i:hə**), e.g.

tə tu' re:t'i: ə'ma:x mar 'fo 12S *tá tú réitithe amach mar seo*.

This can also be interpreted as, for example, **re:t'i:hə ma:x**. If, however, verbal adjective suffix **-i:** is not commonly used by a given speaker in other contexts, an interpretation of word boundary directly following **-i:** is defensible. For further examples, see 'Verbal Adjective' (e.g. 5.185, 5.187, 5.188).

Initial schwa loss is frequent, i.e. **ə > Ø /###_**, e.g.

| di:w air'i: nɑ' tæ:də S i dtaobh éirí ná tada;
 | kant' er' ə g'a'ləx 892M1280 *ag caint ar an gCeallach*;
 | d'i:nə ... *ag déanamh ...* ; | gəl træ:snə 892M1404 *ag goil trasna*;
 | x'a:n' | x'a:n' | M a Sheáin, a Sheáin;
 | d'ukə tu: S an dtíochtaidh tú?
 | no:lhə tu' k'a:n el'ə S an ólthaidh tú ceann eile?
 | nə hæ:sə 897P *ina sheasamh*;
 | nə v'il'i: 'mɔ:r l'e rɑ: 11C *ina bhfilí mór le rá*;
 | ogəs | n'is ə hukəd'i:ʃ 899P *agus aníos a thíochtaidís*;
 | n'isəd'i:ʃ l'o:həb 21Ptq *aníosaidís leothub*;
 | maxi: l'ib' M *amachaí lib!* | ma:xəd fe l'ej 21Ptq *amachadh sé leis!*
 | f'ax ən'fo isteach anseo;
 | s eg'ə v'i: n' fupə S *is aige a bhí an siopa*;
 | f d'aulti: m mā'k hu' S *is deabhailtá an mac thú*.

Cp. loss of conjunction **go** in initial position (8.7).

2.4 Between consonants

Schwa loss between homorganic consonants is common, i.e. **ə > Ø /C₁_C₁**; often with coalescence of the homorganic cluster.

-tə t- > -t t-: f'et tu: spauʃ i:n' iʃk'ə xur' æ:s ə g'it' l' a:n M
féadthaidh tú spabhaitín uisce a chuir as an gcitl ann.
 f'et tu: 'fā'nəxt ... 11C *Féadthaidh tú fanacht ...* .
-hə h- > -h h-: ən' e:n' əx l'e'h he:n' 21Pt *in éineacht léithi héin*.
-hə h- > h-: i: hā'vnə oíche Shamhna.
-kə g- > -k g-: ən' imərk gən æ:skən'i: 892M *an iomarca dhen eascainí*.
-x ə x- > x-: gə m'e tu re:t' ə xolə M
go mbeidh tú ag réiteach a chodladh.
gə ʏ- > g ʏ-, g g-: gə ʏuə jehər' ~ g ʏuə jehər' ~ g guə jehər' 892M
dhe Dhumhaigh Ithir.
gə x- > g x-: gə xid' ə ~ g xid' ə 21Pg *dhe chuide*.
-n ə n- > -n n-: t'a:n nɑ:l e ʃin' l'um S *Teann anall é sin liom!*

- n' ən' - > -n' n' -: də [sic] k'el'is fin' n'if 21Pt na 'Kellys' sin anois.
 -v' ə v' - > v' -: k'el' ə v'erhə Céibh an Bhéaraigh generally (including 60M), also k'e: v'erhə 60M.
 -f' ə f' - > f' -: f'ied ə tr'ur ə b'ar iəd ə jeha: ma' f'e ma:ləəə bakə f'enə [sic] | !!894C Siad an triúr ab fhearr iad a gheothá i mbaile le mála bacaigh a líonadh.
 -sə s- > -s s-: n'i:l' fe na:m fæ:s suəs M níl sé i ndan seasamh suas.
 Cp. reduction of *go* in *go Gaillimh*, etc., (7.40).

2.5 Between similar consonants

Between similar consonants, distinguished by palatality, also -hə x'-, schwa can be elided:

- k' ə k- > -k' k-: n'i:l'əs ek' ka:l' fi: got' ə 21Pt
 níl fhios aici cá bhfuil sí gaibhte.
 gə g' - > g g' -: g g' r' et' a: 892M4589 go gcreidtheá.
 -gə x' - > -g' x' - gə he: nu: fæx g' k' æ'nə 'poti: 892M1564
 (> -g' k' -): dhe shé nó seacht dhe cheanna potaí.
 -s ə f' - > -f f-: ... ə x' ukə^f f' f' æ:x ə'n 21Pt ... a thiocthas isteach ann.
 -f' ə s- > -f s-: t'urhə m'if ser' sə gər hu' 21Pt
 tiúrthaidh mise soir sa gcarr thú.
 -n' ə t- > -n' t-: riŋ' tu b'æ:ləx d'e: nə h'u's | 17M
 rinne tú bealach Dé ina thú.
 -hə x' - > x' -: ka:l'u: n i: x'e:m i' S cailleadh an oíche chéanna í.

A less common instance occurs in rapid speech in the phrase *áit eicín(t)*:

- f' ə k' - > k' -: v' i: dər ən a: k' i: nt' el' ə 892M1569
 bhíodar in áit eicint eile.
 gə rə fe n ā: [sic] k' i: ŋ gər ka'su' er' i: 04Br
 go raibh sé in áit eicín gur casadh air í.

Schwa loss is common in the vicinity of sonorants, particularly *r*, i.e. ə > Ø /C^{+son}.

- r ə m- > -r m-: fir'ədər ma'x sə'n' æ:spək' əl' gər b'ə xi' ... M
 fuaireadar amach san easpaicil gurb é an chaoi ...
 -rə s- > -r s-: ho:r se:rə go:l' ə S84 Hóra Saera gabh i leith.
 -rə b- > -r b-: ta m'e g' iər blək' ais kri:m' M84
 tá mé ag iarraidh blac aidheas-cruím (< block ice cream).

Devoicing

Schwa may be voiceless between voiceless consonants, e.g.

- kə f- > -kə f-: n' i' a' kə fe e: 894C ní fhaca sé aon chapall.

2.6 Weak schwa

Certain versions of schwa seem more prone to loss, or omission, than others. A quantitative analysis would be necessary in order to investigate what the various lexical and phonological constraints might be on the realisation of a given token

of schwa. Those types of schwa which seem more prone to absence include: the relative particle *a*, verbal noun particles *ag* and *a*, the preposition *i* in *ina* (*i mo*, etc.), *is* (copula and conjunction ‘and’), perhaps also the vocative particle *a*, possessive *a* (3sg, 1, 2, 3pl), interrogative particle *an* and (certain) copula forms. These are monosyllabic functors whose word-initial schwa is frequently absent and which should be studied separately from other instances of schwa. They are tentatively grouped together here under the label ‘weak schwa’. In the case of relative *a*, its absence is in fact historical. The presence of relative *a* is, in general, a historical innovation; whether it patterns synchronically exactly as other instances of what I term ‘weak schwa’ is as yet not known.

2.7 (i)–(vi); (i)

The phonological contexts where weak schwa may be absent can be conveniently set out under the following six headings. (The relevant lexemes are underlined in the examples.)

(i) Between homorganic consonants, i.e. $\text{ə} > \emptyset / C_1_C_1$.

- xt ə t- > -xt t-: **nax u:əsəx xɑ:səxt tɑ: ort M**
nach úthásach an chasacht atá ort!
 -d ə t- > -d t-: **gəs tɑʃi'd tairən't dɔ:l 21Pt** *agus tá siad ag tarraint deól.*
 -d ə d/t- > d/t-: **k'ər dɔ:l' fɛ céard a d'ól sé?**

This omission of relative *a* is all but categorical between *céard*, *séard* and commonly collocated words in *t-*, *d-* (including particle *d'*):

- k'ər tɑ: céard atá ... , fɛr tɑ: séard atá ... ,**
k'ər du:rt' céard a dúirt ... ,
k'ər d'air'ə céard a d'éirigh

A rare example of retention in this environment is:

- | wɛl' fɛ:rd ə tɑ: m'e: 'hjæ:pə gə ... 889P**
Bhuel séard atá mé ag cheapadh go

- n ə n- > -n : **fɑ:n ə d'io 892M1775 fan ina diaidh.**
 -gə ə g- > -g g-: **gɑ m'ex kog gol' ə tosi: 21Pt**
dhá mbeadh cogadh ag goil ag tosaí.
 -x ə x- > -x x-: **eg' də 'hɑ:ŋxɑ:l'əx xɑ:l' i:n' M**
ag do sheanchailleach, a chailín.
luəx xid' l'aurhə 17M luach a chuid leabhartha.
 -hə h- > -h h-, h-: **kɑ:h hi:l' S ag caitheamh a shaoil.**
 cp. **sə dre:n' ʃin' ə'mu huɾ' [sic] ʃɛ M**
sa draein sin amuigh a thit sé.
 -r ə r- > r-: **k'ɛ:rd v'i:də rɑ: 892M1780 céard a bhíodar a rá.**
 -s ə s- > -s : **ogəs ɑ:rd ə knūk e | 892M1614 agus is ard an cnoc é.**
 -f ə f- > -f f-: **tɑ ɔ̃ɑ:ni: he:məf ʃæ:n' ən M**
Tá Janaí Shéamais i Seáinean (< Shannon (airport)).

2.8 (ii)

(ii) Between similar consonants, i.e. $\text{ə} > \emptyset / C_x_C_y$ ($x \approx y$).

- m' ə m- > -m' m-: **sə t'it'əm' mə xolə 21Pt** *is ag titim i mo chodladh.*
 -xt ə d'- > -xt d'-: **v'i:x di:n'ə t'ixt ə kuərtixt d'ihəwi: 21Pt**

-f əs > -f s:	<i>bhíodh daoine ag tíocht ag cuartaíocht i dtitheabhaí.</i> bri sə fɪnt̪ sə ʃe:d̪ə M <i>ag bruith is ag fuint̪ is ag séideadh.</i>
-xt ə l̪ - > -xt l̪ -:	hɪəxt l̪ i'v̪ ɔ:l̪ ən̪ e:n̪ əx l̪ e'h he:n̪ 21Pt <i>thíocht ag libheáil in éineacht léithi héin.</i>
-n̪ ən̪ - > -n̪ n̪ -:	g̪ i:n̪ t̪ā:m̪ə:l̪ i:n̪ nə j̪iə 17M i gcionn tamaillín ina dhiaidh. v̪ i: ʃe 'ʃi̪ n̪ə 'hau ʃi̪ l̪ ə 'froʃən̪ 11C <i>bhí sé sin ina thogha file froisin.</i>
-n̪ ə m̪ - > -n̪ m̪ -:	gə rə n̪ t̪ ax ʃin̪ m̪ ə:hə S <i>go raibh an teach sin i mbáthadh.</i>
-r əs > -r ʃ:	mar ʃ l̪ e: 'm̪ a:rkəni: 'talhu:nə 892M1572 <i>mar is le marcannaí talúna.</i>
-r ə t̪ - > -r t̪ -:	mar t̪ a: ʃe mar at̪ a sé.
-r ə d̪ - > -r d̪ -:	mar d̪ e:rha: mar a déarthá.
-ʃə əs > s:	o:rə v̪ i: m̪ i s iəd he:n̪ xə mo:r 21Pt <i>Óra bhí mise is iad héin chomh mór.</i>
-s ən̪ - > -s n̪ -:	'h̪ a:n̪ ək̪ ʃi: 'N̪ i:s əs nə ,p̪ i:si 899D6430 <i>tháinig sí aníos as ina píosaí.</i>
-s ə t̪ - > -s t̪ -:	ugəs t̪ o:rt̪ ... əgəs t̪ o:rt̪ ... 21Pt <i>agus ag tabhairt ... agus ag tabhairt ...</i>
-s ə d̪ - > -s d̪ -:	v̪ e d̪ ə hi: sə 'n̪ i:hə s d̪ ə xolə sə 'l̪ a: 11C <i>bheith i do shuí san oíche is i do chodladh sa lá.</i>

2.9 (iii)

(iii) In the vicinity of sonorants, *r*, *l* and *n*, i.e. ə > Ø /C^{+son}. Cp. the instances of *i mo* and *ina* (*i* + possessive) cited in other contexts.

-r ə g̪ - > -r g̪ -:	d̪ e:r ʃiəd g̪ ər g̪ a:r̪ i: l̪ eʃ nə hæ:ŋgl̪ ə v̪ i:n̪ ʃiəd S <i>deir siad gur ag gáirí leis na haingle a bhíonn siad.</i>
-r ə x̪ - > -r x̪ -:	ʃi: d̪ i: ma: x̪ u:r g̪ o:bər̪ S84 T.D. maith a chuir ag obair.
-r ə x̪ - > -r x̪ -:	mar xuələdər 892M1261 mar a chualadar.
-r ə x̪ - > -r x̪ -:	v̪ i:dər x̪ ə:pə gə rə xul̪ ə hæ:x nə xolə M88 <i>bhíodar ag cheapadh go raibh chuile theach ina chodladh.</i>
-r̪ ə v̪ - > -r̪ v̪ - (v̪ > ʋ):	ʃin̪ e: n̪ uəʃ̪ ʋi:dər nə N̪ iəskər̪ i: ma: 892M1540 <i>sin é an uair a bhíodar ina n-iascairí maith.</i>
-l̪ ə s̪ - > -l̪ s̪ -:	gol̪ si: n̪ 'fo 04Br ag goil ag suí anseo.
-n̪ ə h̪ - > -n̪ h̪ -:	e: spr̪ uə ʃe o:r̪ a:n̪ ho:rt̪ du:n̪ M <i>é a spriogadh le amhrán a thabhairt dúinn.</i>
-n̪ ə ʏ - > -ŋ ʏ -:	gəŋ ʏol̪ hri: nə rudi: N̪ əxə m̪ e hri:d̪ 19P <i>gan a ghóil thrí na rudaí a ndeachaigh mé thríd</i> (note assimilation in place of articulation).
-n̪ ə f̪ - > -n̪ f̪ -:	m̪ a: t̪ a: ʃiəd ʃin̪ f̪ a:s ə dalhə ʃəw̪ ə 892M1453 <i>má tá siad sin ag fás i dtalamh ro-mhaith.</i>
-m̪ ən̪ - > -m̪ n̪ -:	d̪ im̪ ə ʃe hæ:rəm nə j̪ əndər M <i>d'imigh sé tharam ina gheandar.</i>
-x ən̪ - > -x n̪ -:	gə rə xul̪ ə hæ:x nə xolə M88 <i>go raibh chuile theach ina chodladh.</i>
-k̪ ən̪ - > -k̪ n̪ -:	n̪ i:l̪ pl̪ iŋk̪ pl̪ əŋk̪ nə kolə f̪ o:s 23B <i>níl plinc pleainc ina codladh fós.</i>

2.10 (iv)–(vi)(iv) Between other continuants, i.e. $\text{ə} > \emptyset / C^{+\text{cont}} _ C^{+\text{cont}}$.

- f ə h- > -f h-: l'e:f hiəxt 15W *thar éis a thíocht.*
 dúirt fí: fə l'e:f hiəxt l'iv'ə:l' ən' e:n'əx l'e'h he:n' 21Pt
 dúirt sí seo leis a thíocht ag libheáil in éineacht léithi héin.
 Cp. -h ə x- > x-: n'i:r wə:r it' t'i: d'i: ma: xur gobər' S84
 (2.40): níor mhór dhuit T.D. maith a chuir ag obair.

(v) Between stop and continuant, i.e. $\text{ə} > \emptyset / C^{+\text{stop}} _ C^{+\text{cont}}$ and $/C^{+\text{cont}} _ C^{+\text{stop}}$.

- d' ə h- > -d': cp. br'i:d' ug um e M Bríd a thug dhom é.
 -d ə v' - > -d v' -: k'e:rd v'i:də rə: 892M1780 céard a bhíodar a rá.
 -s ə k- > -s k-: kə luə s kæf'ər 892M2015 chomh luath is a caithfear ...

(vi) Between two stops, i.e. $\text{ə} > \emptyset / C^{+\text{stop}} _ C^{+\text{stop}}$.

- b ə t- > -b t-: wil' əx'e:n-n' akəb to:rt ku:nə gə: x'e:l'ə 17M
 a bhfuil achaoon-nduine acub ag tabhairt cúnamh dhá chéile.
 -g ə t- > -g t-: d'arəg tə: fí: 892M1540 dearg a tá sí.

2.11 Retention

Retention of weak schwa is remarkable, rather than more common elision, when schwa is preceded by **h/x'** of *bith* (or if schwa be retained, **h/x'** is often omitted; *bith* is a member of the variable **x'**-class, 2.49). An example of regular loss is:

- h/x' ə j- > j-: n'i f'e:d'ər' blas ə b'i ji:nə ji:b 892M1453
 ní féidir blas ar bith a dhéanamh dhíobh.

Examples of retention are:

- h ə v' -: n'i' rud ə b'ih ə v' e ki:n'ə M
 ní rud ar bith a bheith ag caoineadh.
 Cp. -h e-: rud ə b'ih ek'ə:l P rud ar bith a fheiceál,
 where rud ə b'i ek'ə:l is more common.

For weak schwa and linking **h**, see 2.40.

2.12 Other instances of schwa

The schwa of the preposition *un* **ən** seems to be retained more often than weak schwa. Examples of elision are (perhaps significantly in *un na* > **nə**, similar to **nə ina**):

- l' ə n- > -l' n-: gol' nə skol'ə 15W ag goil un na scoile.
 -l' ə n- > -l n-: v'i:dər ə gol nə skol'ə 'n' ē:nəxt | 11C
 bhíodar ag goil un na scoile in éineacht.

Similarly, omission strikes one as less common in the article *an*. Examples of elision are:

- t' ə t- > -t t-: an seol a thabhairt an taobh ho:rt ti:w eile dhen chrann
 18J7122.
 -g' ə g' - > -g' g' -: gə n'əxə mud' eg' 'g'ə:n 'el'ə je | 01C6536
 go ndeachaigh muid ag an gceann eile dhe.

- eg' g'e:d ... 892M1772 ag an gcéad
 -x ə x- > -x x-: nax u:ə:səx xə:səxt tɑ: ɔrt M
 nach úthásach an chasacht atá ort!
 -x ə x- > x-: huəs er' i:nə 'xə:fəl' | 892M thuas ar aonach an Chaisil.
 -x əN' > -x N' : nər' ə v'i:x N' imərkə sə mɑ:d 06C
 nuair a bhíodh an iomarca sa mbád.
 sə s- > -s s-, s-: v'i:x bɑ:d ə gɔl' əʃt'ax sə sãvřə | t'am bɑ:d əʃt'ax s
 sãvřə | ... hain' əʃt'ax sãvř er' ə mɑ:d 21Pt
 bhíodh bád ag goil isteach sá samhradh, téann bád isteach
sá samhradh ... théinn isteach sá samhradh ar an mbád.

The lexeme *agus* is often weakly stressed and so reduced (recall that its by-form *is* has weak schwa; 8.164 ff.), e.g.

- əgəs f- > əg f-: əg f'e:rd' ə v'i: fkr'i:ftə st'ih ɑ:n 17M
 agus séard a bhí scríobhta istigh ann.

Vowel quality

2.13 Front–Back axis; High vowels

Short front vowels may be backed and short back vowels fronted in the environment of consonants with opposing quality or opposing quality affection on vowels, e.g.

$$V^{+front} > V^{+back} / \underline{C}^-; V^{+back} > V^{+front} / \underline{C}^+.$$

Retroflex 'palatal' s_{f} is treated as '+back' in this context.

u ~ i

- u > i: er' ə hin' 'fin' | er' hun ə wuər' mid' ə'r' iəw | !05M
 ar a shon sin, ar shon a bhfuair muid ariamh.

sə rið fin' M sa rud sin.

gi k'i:n' 17M guth cinn.

fri g'er 23J sruth géar; sri k'etəx 35E sruth céadtach.

- u > i: eg' iŋkəl' 18J ag uncail.

- i > u: əgəs u də v'e:l'i: | ... d'i fe ... 11Ct agus ith do bhéilí, ... d'ith sé
 f'ɪ gə | f'u g ā:məd | f'i ā:məd' | ... | æs | f'ɪ | raunā:l't ā:məd' | ...
 er' ə v'i fin' | ... | ənsə v'ɪ ... 894Cs fiodh dhe, fiodh dh'adhmaid,
 fiodh adhmaid ... as fiodh rabhnáilte adhmaid ... ar an bhfiodh sin ...
 insa bhfiodh

ax hug muð l'ūn nə 'xū:nto:r' e' | 892M

ach thug muid linn ina chúntóir é.

fil' lofə ~ ful lofə S fuil lofa.

... din' ə b'ɪ ro | re:su:ntəxt ə b'u ɣən tlæ:nt' eg' ə | 894C

duine ar bith a raibh réasúntacht ar bith dhen tslainte aige.

uər' ə b'u xi:hən' 894C uair ar bith choíchín.

ēř ən 'ɪfk'ə f'in' | ... | 'ē:n 'ɪfk'ə ... ,ha:r ən 'ũfk'ə f'in' | 852S

ar an uisce sin ... aon uisce ... thar an uisce sin.

ax ufk'ə 892M2871 each uisce.

ɣən ufk'ə ɣən sa'lən 894C gan uisce gan salann.

er' ən obəʃ ʃ.ūn' 892M *ar an obair sin*; ən tun' u:n 21Pt *an t-oinniún*.
 ,du:rt mid' ən' ʃūn' gə ɲohəð ʃe | M dúirt muid ansin go ngothadh sé.

The backing of **i** > **u** in the verb *thit* in:

sə dre:n' ʃin' ə'mu huʃ' ʃe M *sa draein sin amuigh a thit sé*,
 may be a result of velarised **h** (due to the preceding **u**, 2.31) or of vowel harmony
 (with the preceding **u**) or perhaps a combination of these factors but hardly of the
 affricate **ʃ** being treated as '+back' (cp. **ʃ**, as seen in example **ʃ.ūn'** *sin* above).
 Note the example of **u** alternating with **i** in prepalatal position as well as **u** in
 prevelar position in *rith*:

rith sé ri ʃe ... bhí mé i ndan rith, rith mé rix' | ru m'e ... rith chuile dhuine
 ru xur'ə [sic] ʃun'ə ... 897P.

2.14 Nonhigh vowels

o ~ **e**

e > **o**: e:dəx ok'ə P *éadach aici*; gəŋ xín' o:g ok'ə P *dhen chuinneog aici*.
 ər nə stɪpɔ:gi s or nə l'ærhəxi 892M1572
ar na stopógaí is ar na leathrachaí;
 e vr'e:g o'r' hædə P *aon bhréag ar thada*.
 gər ɔft'ədər i: 892M4171 *gur fheisteadar í*.
 ax v'i ʃi: t'o 'brit'ə | 894P *ach bhí sí te bruite*.

a ~ **æ**

a > **æ**: ə sp'æ:l' ʃin' S *an speal sin*.
 dən' ʃe d'fhan sé regular for Seán and Máire.
 Contrast **də'n** ʃe regular for siblings 64M, 66L. Similarly,
 æt SM *at* > əg 'at SM *ag at*, but əg 'æt 66L *ag at*.
 cp. er' 'hæ:n,æti: S *ar sheanfhataí*.
 æ > **a**: ga:r'həʃ S *ag aithris*, ga:p'əxən S *ag aipeachan*,
 ga:nsrə:l' M *ag ansráil* (< 'answer').

The second element of a diphthong can be retracted through depalatalisation of a
 following consonant, e.g.

[ui] > [uə]: ən uər ʃ.ūn' 892M1569 *an uair sin*.

2.15 Vowel harmony and assimilation

Some examples of short vowel harmony and assimilation are listed here. There
 are instances of both anticipatory and perseverative application. Many of the
 changes found are on the front–back axis and therefore resemble the sandhi
 resulting from consonant quality described in 2.13 ff.

i > **e** /_h **e**: Possibly in *bith* in:
 n'i: e'n' d'inə wən' xər ə b'eh e' 892M1518
ní aon déanamh amháin ar chor ar bith é;
 k'ar:go: b'eh e'l'ə ... 899P *ceárgó ar bith eile ...*.
e > **a** /_o: **kur'hə m'a orəm e ʃin'** S *cuirthidh mé orm é sin*.
e > **o** /u: **kī:mr'u: or' 869P** *cuimhniú air*.
 /a: **Fairthidh mé, a deir sé, an chéad lá eile í. la: 'ol' i' | 11C.**

- æ > a /_h a : gə rə ma had ~ gə rə ma hæd S go raibh maith a'd.
 a > a: /_nla: : tɑ: tu: 'ɑ:n'la:x S tá tú an-lách.
 /a: h_ : ə lɑ: hɑ:nə 18Pd an lá cheana.
 o > a /a: r_ : trɑ: gɑ: rɑ a:məda:n mo:r 04Bl tráth dhá raibh Amadán Mór.
 ə > a /_æ: : rɑ'æ:də 892M1398 ro-fhada;
 ə > o /_(w)o: : ro'o:g S ro-óg, ro'wo:r SM ro-mhór.

For e > i, see *feic* (5.281).

Note the long vowel change in:

- ɑ: > æ: /e_ : nah m'ed fe æ:hu:l' [perhaps æ:hu:l'] ə j̥i:n 'ã:n | 892M
 nach mbeadh sé ádhúil a dhéanamh ann.
 Cp. u: > əu /e_ (1.377); transcribed *dhá fhús* < *dhá fheabhas* (1.88).

Consonant sandhi

2.16 Homorganic consonants: coalescence

Homorganic consonants or consonants which are almost homorganic may coalesce, e.g.

- d t- > t- : er' ə g'e: ti:l el'ə S ar an gcéad tsaol eile.
 -t t- > t- : ə ri:n' t'e: 43M ag roinnt tae.
 -s f- > f- : nə l'æ:d fin' [x2] 04Br na leaids sin.
 -rə r- > r- : harə regularly, e.g. harər fɔ:s fe 04Br shular phós sé,
 reduced in sandhi:
 har' rə mid'ə l'æ: b'a:lə 04Br shula raibh muide leath bealaigh.
 -x γ- > γ- : i:nə γor'ə n'e: 897P aonach Dhoire an Fhéich.

For further examples, see 2.4 ff.

There is sometimes lateral release before l:

- d l' > -d' l'- : ə x'e:d l'auər | ... ən x'e:d' l'aur 869P an chéad leabhar.

With optional loss of plosion, only the devoicing is heard in clusters *ntn* > *nhn*, *ntm* > *nhm* (2.35).

2.17 Assimilation

For denasalisation and delateralisation, particularly of unstressed functors, see 'Historical Phonology' (1.150, 1.171). See also palatalisation (2.25) and depalatalisation (2.26).

Devoicing preceding unvoiced consonants occurs commonly. Before **h** devoicing is quite frequent (2.36), e.g.

- d' h- > -t' h- : br'i:t' hūmā:f vroxə | 11C Bríd Thomáis Mhrocha.

Labial assimilation is common between *-n* and a following labial:

- n b- > -m b- : n'i:r a:m bla:s f'o:l' ə'n'e: M níor fhan blas feoil inné.

t'am bɑ:d ə'f't'ax s sãvĩrð | 21Pt

téann bád isteach sa samhradh.

-n' p- > -n^m p-: gə tu:n^m pail' 35E7772 go tóin poill.

-n v- > -w v-: ə n'i: 'ẽw̃ 'vɑ:ad | 01P i ndiaidh aon bhád.

The articulation may be labio-dental before labio-dental fricatives, e.g.

-n v- > -ŋ v-: e:ŋ vla's aon bhl̥as.

One of our two oldest speakers has optional dental assimilation of *s* preceding dental *l*:

-s l- > -ʃ l-: nð | ə f'ir' | ʔəʃ 'lɑ:d'ər'ə | 852S na fír is láidire.

2.18 Velar assimilation

Velar assimilation is common between *-n* and a following velar, e.g.

-n g- > -ŋ g-: ... ʃɑ:ŋ gɑ: g'æ:nəxt 04Br ... Seán dhá gceannacht.

-n ɣ- > -ŋ ɣ-: kɪʃl'ɑ:ŋ ɣu:ŋ guər'əx [or -l'əx ?] | !894C

Caisleán Dhún Guaire.

e:ŋ ɣruhə aon ghnotha.

-n x- > -ŋ x-: e:ŋ xɑ:pəl aon chapall.

-n k'- > -ŋ k'-: ɣən kɔʃ ɣəŋ' k'ɑ:ən | !894C gan cois gan ceann.

ən æŋ' k'ɑ:l' er' ə v'æ:do:ŋ ʃm' 11C

i ndan ceol ar an bhfeadóg tinn.

-n' g- > -ŋ g-: mɑ:r' ʃuŋ gɑ: r'e:r' 892M1019 mar sin dhá réir.

v'i: ʃi: ʃi'ŋ gə mā' | 892M1056 bhí sí sin go maith.

v'i: dæ:rən¹ ʃiŋ gə kahər nə mā'rt 11C1161

bhí a dtarraint sin go Cathair na Mart.

n'i:r wæ'n' ʃe ʃi'ŋ gə f'e:l'əm' !894C

níor bhain sé sin dho Féilim.

-n' k- > -ŋ k-: gə m'ox k'e:d bl'ia'ŋ kart'ə 892M1090

go mbeadh céad bliain caite.

-n' ɣ- > -ŋ ɣ-: fruʃəŋ ɣɑ: l'e:r' | [or] 'fru:ʃiŋ ɣɑ: l'e:r' | 894C

froisin dhá réir.

-n' x- > -ŋ x-: ʃuŋgɑ:ŋ xlo:kə S seangáin chlóca.

-n' g- > -ŋ g-: tr'i: k'i:ŋ gə xlo:xə 11C1168 trí cinn dhe chlocha.

x'er'ə k'i:ŋ gə rohi: cheithre cinn dhe rothaí.

-n' k- > -ŋ k-: xlin'əŋ 'kant' er' 892M1064 chluininn caint air.

-n x'- > -ŋ x'-: b'æŋ' x'u: 21Pt bean Chiú (< Hugh).

2.19 Rhotic assimilation of *s*

A retroflex *s* develops before *r* in the speech of 892M, 894C, 894Cs, 896P, 899D, 01C, 03S, e.g.

-s r- > -ʃ r-: əŋʃ rə'hɛ:su:rəx | 892M1453 agus ro-shéasúrach.

ə'gəs huə gəʃ ruka:l' e' 892M2063 agus chuaigh agus rucáil é.

ʃ. 'rud e na ro mid' ə 'ji:nə 892M1573

is rud é nar raibh muid a dhéanamh.

e'n vla:ʃ rɑ:n' 892M1177 aon bhl̥as aráin.

n'i:ʃ. rĩ:vr'ə 01C6147 níos rainhre.

- s r- > -ʃ r-: ʃi: n tlat əʃ ˌaɪn' i: 892M1456 *Sí an tslat is righne í.*
 guʃ ˌaɪn 'pʰæ:dər er' 01C6835 *agus rug Peadar air.*
 | ʃ ˌaɪn m'e gə ˌjɪ:nə ... 03S *is an raibh mé dhá dhéanamh ...* .
- s hr- > -ʃ r-: ɾ'enə xur ʃi: ʃ ˌri:d' 899D6090 *lena chuir síos thríd.*
- s hr- > -ʃ hr-: | tɪʃk'ə xir'ə ʃe suəʃ ˌhri:nə ʃɾi:m' | 896P
 An t-uisce chuirtheas sé suas thrína dhroim.

This is rare in other speakers, e.g. Seán (12S) was recorded with frequent application in the place-name:

- s r- ~ -ʃ r- rəs ruə << rəʃ ruə S *Ros Rua.*

Similarly, ʃ can retroflex a preceding s :

- s ʃ- > -ʃ ʃ-: əgəʃ ʃ ru ɡol' ʃiər 892M1612 *agus sruth ag goil siar.*

Another rare sandhi is (cp. 2.20):

- r sl- > -r ʃl-: si:r ʃl'ən gə he:r'ən' (Smbb)04B *saor slán go hÉirinn.*

2.20 s following r

A retroflex ʃ can also develop following r ; regularly in the speech of 892M and 899D, less so in the speech of 894C:

- r ʃ- > -r ʃ-: tɑ:dər ʃ ˌin' id'ər ʃe ɡ' e:ʃt'əxt 892Mt
 'tádar sin,' a deir sé, 'ag éisteacht'.
 mar 'ʃ ˌun' 892M (ARN1470 and regularly), 894C *mar sin.*
 n uər ʃ ˌun' a:n 892M1501 *an uair sin ann.*
- r' ʃ- > -r ʃ-: er' ən obə' ʃ ˌun' 892M *ar an obair sin.*
 xur ʃ ˌib' 892M *chuir sib.*
 ʃæs or ʃ ˌun' 892M *seasamh air sin.*
 ɾ'enə xur ʃ ˌi:ʃ ˌri:d' 899D6090 *lena chuir síos thríd.*

Most speakers have weaker retroflexion than 892M, e.g.

- r' ʃ- > -r ʃ-: laur ʃe labhair sé; wa'r ʃi'r mhair sí; wa'gər ʃe' bhagair sé.
 ən æ:k'ə ɡa:ri: n' ɾr ʃo | 894C *in aice garraí an fhir seo.*
 ənsə t'ɪr ʃo fə:s 11C1124 *insa tír seo fós.*

Younger speaker 78Pb is unique in my sample in apparently having s > ʃ in sandhi following r (all 78Pb):

- r s- > -r ʃ-: ʔɜ:n'ər ʃurʃ 'Junior Cert', also word-internally:
 ærʃnəl 'Arsenal' (contrast ɾi:v'ən sɛrʃ 'Leaving Cert').

2.21 Alveolarisation

Consonants may be alveolarised preceding alveolar consonants, i.e. C > C^{+alv} /_C^{+alv}. Alveolar ʃ, ɖ, ʈ, ɾ cause preceding s, l(l) and n(n) to become ʃ, ɾ and n'. For n > n' /_s, sh, see further below (2.22).

- s ʃ- > -ʃ ʃ-: n'i:ʃ ʃl' æ'v'n'ə [x2] Mq *níos sleamh(aí)ne.*
 fo:ʃ ʃe M *phós sé.*
- s ʃ- > -ʃ-: xa ʃe ēɾ' æ'ʃ 894C *chas sé ar ais.*

-s f- retained in some instances:

- mæ's fín' e: n'íʃ ə b'æ'ləx e: 892M**
más sin é anois an bealach é.
fó:s fɛ M phós sé.
- s d- > -ʃ d-:** **n'ain'ʃi: paunʃ dɔ:l S** 'ninety pounds' 'dole'.
mæ:r'i:n' guʃ dʊŋkən P Máirín agus Diuncan (< Duncan).
ag déanamh gaisce as æʃ Deainilí [< Donnelly] ARN1792.
- s l' > -ʃ l'-:** **ogəʃ l'e: fɛ: n tæfr'ən 17M** agus léigh sé an tAifreann.
suəʃ l'e ʔa: v'l'ian' d'e:g 'giuʃ 17M
suas le dhá bhliain déag d'aois.
v'i: v'æ:l' hi:ʃ l'ɛʃ he:n' 21Pt bhí Veail thíos leis héin.
gəʃ l'ædər i: 892M1102 agus leádar í.
-l f- > -l' f-: **i:d fɛ d'ial' fi:b'i:n' 899P** bhíodh sé ag díol síbín.
-l l' > -l' l'-: **g'æl' l'e gə:lə | 892M** geal le gála.
-l l' > l'-: **v'i: fɛ fu: l'ɛʃ 17M** bhí sé ag siúl leis.
-d l' > -d l'-: **ə wə:d l'ɛʃ i bhfad leis.**
-d' l' > -d l'-: **f'ek' ə mi:d l'in' S** feicthidh muid linn.
ka:rəd l'ɛʃ ə bə:ʃt' e 21Pt caraid leis an bpáiste é.
-d f- > -d f-: **gus d'i:l' fɛ wə:d' d' fɛər ... 21Pt** agus níl sé i bhfad siar
-d' f- > -d f-: **sə ru:bəd' fɛər ə l'ig' e 21Pt** sa rabóid siar uilig é.
-d' n' > -d n'-: **də xu:d' n' æ:p' ək'i:n' i: 'pa:fjʊ:ntə** (Angt)11C
do chuid neapicíní paisiúnta.
-t l' > -t l'-: **kl'ian ə ho:rt l'ə:həb 21Pt** cliabh a thabhairt leothub.
ə bə:n' t l'ɛʃ ag baint leis.
-nt d- > -n' t d-: **ta:rən' t dɔ:l 21Pt** ag tarraint deól.
-nt f- > -n' f-: **v'i: dæ:rən' fɛʃ gə kahər nə mæ:rt 11C1161**
bhí a dtarraint sin go Cathair na Mart.
-n f- > -n' f-: **ən æ:n' fi:l'əm' ən' fɛʃn' fæ:s ə'ma:χ 892M1090**
i ndan sílim ansin seasamh amach.
-n l' > -n' l': **v'æ:rhəd' fi: n' iəsə:g' gə də l'ek'ən' l'e fuəxt 21Pt**
bhearrthadh sí an fhéasóig dhe do leiceann le fuacht.
-n t- > -n' t-: **e:n' tɛ: o:l 21Pt** aon tae a ól.
-n' d- > -n' d-: **xuplə ʃk'il'ən' dɔ:l 21Pt** chupla scillinn deól.

2.22 s and neutral alveolars

In the environment of front vowels, *s* may cause a preceding *n* to become a palatalised alveolar, e.g.

- n s > -i: n' s-:** **v'i: n' 'si:l' ā'xruə 894C** bhí an saol an-chrua.
n' i ro he:n' si:m' ə'r'ian am ... 15W
-n s- > -e:n' s-: **ní raibh aon suim ariamh a'm ...**
 This includes suffixed *s*, e.g.
-n+sə > -n' +sə: **mə v'æ:n'sə 875P** mo bheansa.

Final *n* becomes a palatalised alveolar preceding **hi-** (< *shio-*, commonly **x' u-**) in:

- n hi- > -n' hi-:** **... ə g'ræ:k'ən' | hinəx nə sai.əd | ... | 'kræ:k'ən' |**
'hinəx nə 'said | 869P ... i gcráiceann Shionnach na
Saighead ... craiceann Shionnach na Saighead.

Final *n* can become a palatalised alveolar preceding **x'**, e.g.

-n x' -> -n' x' -: **ðæ'n' x' a:n' i:n'** SM *Jan Sheáinín*.

Neutral alveolar s produces neutral alveolars **ð**, **t** and **l**, **n**, **r**. Initial alveolar **n** can be quite neutral or velarised and can therefore cause neutral or velarised **ð**, **t** and **l**, **n**, **r**, e.g.

-d' s -> -ð s -: **l' enə xuð spor' ə 'ɣla:sə** | 894C *lena chuid spoir ghlasa*.
v' i fe nə xū:nī: sən a:rd skahə | 11C
bhí sé ina chónaí san Aird scaitheadh.

-d' #s > -ð #s -: **də xuðsə** *do chuidsa*.

-t' s -> -t s -: **n' i 'm' æ:sə yuʔ solə to:rt' 'iʃk' ə ...** !11C
ní measa dhuít Solamh ag tabhairt uisce ...

-t' #s > -t #s -: **mə xu:rtʃsə** 11C *mo chúirtsa*.

-nt' s > -n' t s -: **ə kǎn' (t) sə ko:ra:** 11C *ag caint is ag comhrá*.

-nt' #s > -n' t #s -: **ə də ri:n' tʃsə** 21Pt *i do roinntsa*.

-nt' s > -nt s -: **v' i:dər ə kanʔ s ə ko:ra:** 894C
bhíodar ag caint is ag comhrá.

-l' s -> -l s -: **ə gol sor s ə'ner' i:nt' ə** 21Pt *ag goil soir is anoir inti*.

-n' s -> -n s -: **na: du:n suəs ə'l' ig' i:** 894C *ná dúin suas uilig í*.

ən' jūn sə 'gahir' 21Pt *ansin sa gcathaoir*.

ʃu:l nə dru:x gə daun sən i:hə [also **daun' sən**] P

ag siúl na drúcht go domhain san oíche.

-n' s > -n s -: **ʃk' il' ən sə lo:** 18J7050 *scillinn sa ló*.

-n' #s > -n #s -: **ʃin' e t' ursənsə** Mtrans *sin é t' ursainnsa*;
mə l' i:nsə M *mo linnsa*.

-r' s -> -r s -: **'mā: əg ,obər 'snā:həd' əgəs ...** (Angt) 11C

mná ag obair snáthaid(e) agus ...

xur se: er ʃra:d' m' e !21Pt *chuir Saera ar sráid mé*.

ə gol sor s ə'ner' i:nt' ə 21Pt *ag goil soir is anoir inti*.

-r' #s > -r #s -: **eg' mahərs er'** 894C *ag m'athairsa air*.

eg' mə wā:hərsə 894C *ag mo mháthairsa*.

-d' n -> -ð n -: **hə:n' ək' mið ner'** 21Pt *tháinig muid anoir*.

-l' n -> -l n -: **a:l nə bru:n** 21Pt *Aill na Brón*.

-n' n -> -n n -: **grə:n na: tæ:d er'** 21Pt *gráin ná tada air*.

-r' n -> -r n -: **kəhər nə mā:rt** 11C1161 *Cathair na Mart*.

tə' ka:l' wə:r ər nax wil' 892M1176

tá cáil mhór air nach bhfuil?

2.23 Before palatalised labials

Palatalised **d'**, **t'**, **n'** (and **l'**) may be alveolarised when preceding palatalised labials,¹ i.e. **C' > C^{+alv} / _C^{+lab}**. In this sandhi the reduction of palatalisation in consonants preceding other palatalised consonants (i.e. preceding palatalised labials) seems remarkable. It appears that the phonetic realisation of palatalisation in labials, i.e. a lack of contact of the front of the raised tongue at the palatal region, is anticipated in the preceding (alveo-)palatalised coronals, which as a result become alveolar.

¹ Cp. -n b' -> -n' b' - in **ʃu:l' ən' b' æ:n** 894C *siúileann bean* ('Palatalisation' 2.25) and -n f' -> -n' f' - in **e:n' f' æ:g' aon feaig** GCF §482.

- d' b' - > -d' b' -: mō xīd 'b'ehi:əx 46.2 *mo chuid beithíoch*, similarly, 46.288.
 də xuð b'ehiəx M *do chuid beithíoch*.
 tr'i: f'ihəð bl'ian' o: h'in' | 869P *trí fichid bliain ó shin*.
- d' p' - > -d' p' -: də xuð p'i:n'əxi: *do chuid pínneachaí*.
 ʏoð p'æf bi: m 'ba'gū:n 18J7729 *ghoid Peait Buí an bagún*.
- d' m' - > -d' m' -: mō xīd 'm'ito:gi:, 46.288 *mo chuid miotógaí*.
- t' b' - > -t' b' -: tɔ:rɪ br'eh er' S *ag tabhairt breith air*.
- t' m' - > -t' m' -: nuər ə 'hiɪ' m'e, 46.442 *nuair a thit mé* (for ɪ', see 1.415).
 du:rɪ m'e l'ej dúirt mé leis.
- t' f' - > -t' f' -: du:rɪ f'i:n 11C *dúirt Fionn*.
- n' v' - > -n' v' -: 'k'i:n' 'v'ogə 31P *cinn bheaga*.
- l' f' - > -l' f' -: cp. kaɪ' + f'i: > kaɪf'i: 20Cq *caillfi*.

There are also examples of alveolarisation of r' and d before palatalised labials:

- r' m' - > -r' m' -: ẽɸ m'ə'n'ũ:vərɜ 72N *ar 'manoeuvres'*.
- d v' - > -d v' -: 'x'e:ð 'vl'iə'n' 'ẽɪ'ə 72N *an chéad bhliain eile*.

2.24 Nonpalatal r

Nonpalatal *r* is post-alveolar and thus produces post-alveolar phones from preceding coronal and palatal consonants. Nonpalatal *r* is velarised to varying degrees in the dialect; it is often either neutral or slightly palatalised. It therefore may or may not velarise a preceding consonant. It is often difficult to determine the precise place of articulation of the depalatalised consonant preceding *r* in sandhi; sometimes the impression is alveolar, sometimes dental, e.g.

- d' r - > -d r -: nə | sp'i:l'e:d reɪ'i:hə | 899D6378 *na spilléid réitithe*.
- d' hr - > -d hr -: v'i: bæ:ð hrumə goɪ' f'iar 899D6221
bhí báid throma ag goil siar.
- n' r - > -n r -: f'in rud nar xuələ m'e gə ... 897P
Sin rud nar chuala mé go ...
- gər a'rhədər fun rudi: 21Pt *gur athradar sin rudaí*.
- l' r - > -l r -: ə v'ail ruə S *an Mheill Rua* (< genitive *an Meall Rua*).

Consonant quality

2.25 Palatalisation

The results of sandhi can become lexicalised in certain instances, for example the palatalisation of *s* in *tinneas cinn* is universally realised: tɪn'əf k'i:n'. This is confirmed by the following instance from speaker 04B's singing. The ə, inserted by the singer between *tinneas* and *cinn* (10.40), does not 'block' the application of sandhi:

tɪn'əf ə k'i:n' !!(AcB)04B *tinneas cinn*.

Unpalatalised consonants may be palatalised preceding palatalised consonants, i.e. C' > C' /_C'. See also (palatalised) velar assimilation (2.17) and (palatalised) alveolarisation (2.21).

- t d' - > -t' d' -: go bhfuil ... neart díb sin a'm 'n'ært' 'd'i:b' 'fin' ,am 11C.

- l d' -> -l' d' -: g' e:ʃt'əxt l'e' k'ou:l' d'e: f'o:s 17M
ag éisteacht le ceol Dé fós.
bri:n a:l' l'e' no:l' d'e' 899P braon a fháil le n-ól de.
N'i' rə ʃe' g' ou:l' 'd'ou:r' ə 'b'ih əgəs ... 11C
ní raibh sé ag ól deoir ar bith agus
- n b' -> -n' b' -: fu:l'ə'n' b'æ:n 894C siúileann bean.
-n j- -> -n' j-: ta ʃi' 'æ:n' 'ju:məɾəx M tá sí an-ghíúmarach.
-n d' -> -n' d' -: yɑ: x'ɑ:n' d'e:g 17M dhá cheann déag,
yɑ: v'æ:n' d'e:g 17M dhá bhean déag.
k'ɑ:n' d'æ:s ceann deas.
N'il' m'e' na:n' d'æ:rəfə 894C ach níl mé i ndan dearfa.
-n t' -> -n' t' -: er' v'ogɑ:in' t'e:ʃkl'əm' !894C ar bheagán téisclim.
ē'n' t'a'nəxəs !894C aon tseanchas.
-n l' -> -n' l' -: gə k'ɑ:n' l'æhuər' ə xlog' 17M
go ceann leathuair an chloig.
v'i n tæfr'ə'n' l'e:t' eg'ə 17M bhí an tAifreann léite aige.
k'ɑ:n' l'e' fɑ:n er' ə'xə:n ti:w 894C
ceann le fána ar achaon taobh (7.65).
-n' d' -> -n' d' -: eŋ yruh eg'ə he:n' d'e' 869P aon ghnótha aige héin de.
-nt d' -> -nt' d' -: ʃe: fɪnt' 'd'e' S sé phunt deich.
-n n' -> -n' n' -: wɪl' 'ē: x'ɑ:n' n'is 'm'æ:s æ'd | 11C
An bhfuil aon cheann níos measa a'd?
-s d' -> -f d' -: ax æf d'er'ə nə ku:ʃə | 894C ach as deireadh na cúise.
ogəʃ d'im'ə l'ef 17M agus d'imigh leis.
ugəʃ dʒr'æ:gər [sic] ʃe' e:t' | 894C agus d'fhreagair sé é.
yə du:rəxtəx ugəʃ d'e:ɖ ʃe' e' | 894C
chomh dúthrachtach agus d'fhéad sé é.
ri:n'ə m'e' 'a'n'i:ntəʃ d'i 17M rinne mé an-iontas de.
er' ə ʃæ:ʃ d'er'ə 899P ar an seas deireadh.
-s ɖ- -> -f ɖ-: m'i:nhəx nə hɑ:rd'ə guʃ ɖo: fɑ:ʃə wo:r 05M
mianach na hAirde agus Jó Phaitse Mhór (saying).
-z t' -> -z t' -: ... e:n | x'ɑ:ŋ gə nə gɑ:d'i:z t'impəl er' ... 892Mg
ar airíodar aon cheann dhe na Gaidíoz timpeall ar
-s k' -> -f k' -: t'ɪn'əʃ k'i:n' tinneas cinn.
s g' -> f g' -: ʃ g'ɑ:r gə ... is gearr go
-s l' -> -f l' -: əgʃ 'l'æ:həsna akəb ʃin' ə hɑ:rənt' 892M1507
agus leatheasna acub sin a tharrait.
guʃ l'ehənəx 892M1532 agus Leitheanach.
mɑ:x əʃ l'aur 892M1558 amach as leabhar.
-s l' -> -f l' -: ʃæŋʃ l'e' n'im'əxt 892M2510 seans le n-imeacht.
ɪʃ l'e:b'ər | l'e:b'ər mo:r i' | 894Cs
is léibear (< labour), léibear mór í.
-s n' -> -f n' -: gəʃ n'i: ro k'e:v'əni: ə:n, ogəʃ n'i: ro ... 892M
ní raibh céibheannaí ann, agus ní raibh
ugʊʃ n'i:l'əs a'm ... !894C Agus níl fhios a'm

In *agus* / *is* ní sandhi -f n' - is regular (for older speakers). In other phrases, in contrast with *tinneas cinn*, s is regularly retained, e.g.

æ s k' iəri: as *Ciarraí*, karəs kr' i:st caras *Críost*,
 ka(i)s k' o:l SM, 18Pc cas ceol!
 æ s k' i:n as *cionn* (including 892M, e.g. ARN1746, SID.46 s.v. *cionn*);
 rare in ,aʃ 'k' i:n, SID.46 s.v. *cionn*.

2.26 Depalatalisation

Palatalised consonants may be depalatalised preceding nonpalatalised consonants, i.e. C' > C' / _C'. See also (nonpalatal) velar assimilation (2.17) and alveolarisation (2.21).

- d' d- > -d d-: agəs ə 'm' e:d 'd'i:n' ə 'v' i: ā:n | 852S
agus an méid daoine a bhí ann.
- rt' d- > -rt d-: ... ə 'v' i: ʃe: ho:rt dum 21Pt ... a bhí sé a thabhairt dom.
- lt' l- > -lt l-: fa:lt() la:d' ə'r' 897P ag fáilt láidir.
- l' l- > -l l-: fil' lofə ~ ful lofə S fuil lofa.
- l' t- > -l t-: gol træ:snə ag goil trasna.
- l' d- > -l d-: uŋkəl dum 899P uncail dom.
- l' d- > -l d-: buəl də hū:n' 894C buail do thóin.
- nt' d- > -nt d-: n' i r e:n tred' ə f' e'l u:nt do: 21Pt
ní raibh aon troid ag feiliúint dó.
- nt' d- > -n d-: ə spə:n do:b S a spáint dób.
- nt' t- > -n t-: ax ,k' i:n' ə 'v' i: 'r'i:n 'træ:snə gə ,mā | 11C
ach cinn a bhí roinnt trasna go maith.
- r' t- > -r t-: laur tu: labhair tú.

There is partial depalatalisation of the cluster in:

- nt' hl- > -n' tl-: ə ba:n' tla:t 11C1521 ag baint shlat.

2.27 Rarer examples

Rarer examples of depalatalisation are:

- v' w- > w-: v' i: bl' i: wo:r sə sa:l' t s ə tə:m ʃin' S
bhí beiliv (< belief) mhór sa sáilts (< salts) an t-am sin.
- d' m- > -d m-: loskə gid mō:nə (Ascen)04B ag loscadh a gcuid móna.
- d' b- > -d b-: lena gcuid bradógaí gud 'bræ:do:gi | 25M.
- d' g- > -d g-: g' o:hən mud gə l' o:r 15W geothann muid go leor.
- nt' g- > -nt g-: v' i: n tæ:r' əg' əd ri:nt gə:n sə t' i:r ʃo 11C1202
bhí an t-airgead roinnt gann sa tír seo.
- r' ɣ- > -r ɣ-: huə ʃe sɔr ɣə l' e't' ə'r' m' ulə:n' 894C
chuaigh sé soir go Leitir Mealláin.
 Cp. lexicalised *torəm* *tabhair dhom*.
- r' x- > -r x-: na f' i:r chomh láidir nə f' i:r xə 'la:d' ə'r' | 899D6628.
- r' g- > -r g-: əs nə ,f' ur gə 'mā | 899D6645 is na f' i:r go maith.
- r' k- > -r k-: bheadh sé an-diocair cloigeann 'æ:n' d' ukər klog' ən a —
ceann a chuir ortha 11C.
 g obər kruə l' ɛʃ | 25T ag obair crua leis.

2.28 Older speakers' s

Change of ʃ to s when preceding s is frequent only among some older speakers:

- f s- > -s s-:** **gə m'ed'i:s smaxti:hə 892M1516**
go mbeidís smachtaíthe.
tə f'i' n'is sə 'mā:s ə,r'i:ft' 06C tá sí anois sa Más aríst.
haid'i:s sor f'e | loxt mū:nə 899P théidís soir le lucht móna.
tə:s eg' ə 'lɑ: ə'n'is sən 'ā:t' ə wil' ... 11C4211
Tá fhios ag an lá anois san áit a bhfuil
- f s- > s-:** **f'agəd'i: suəs er' ə lot iəd 892M1539**
leagaidís suas ar an lota iad.
durt' dín'ə k'i:n't' f'e sə d'er'ə 897P
dúirt duine eicint leis sa deireadh.
huru: f'e si: 11C4087 hÚradh leis suí.
e' v'e nə ju:ft'i: s na'x umu' ... !(NUath)11C
é bheith ina ghiúistís, is nach iomú
- Also:
- fə əs > s:** **o:rə v'i: m'i s iəd he:n' xə mo:r 21Pt**
Óra bhí mise is iad héin chomh mór.
- ft' s- > -s s-:** **i: mid' ə'r'i:s sən 'ā:t' 'x'ē:nə | 892M2316**
bhí muid aríst san áit chéanna.

2.29 Rarest and lexicalised examples

The following are the least common examples of depalatalisation of **f**, noted from **892M** only:

- f t- > -s t-:** **n'ir in'əs tu 'tə:də yūmsə 're:r' | 892M4532**
níor innis tú tada dhomsa aréir.
- f d- > -s d-:** **i info: m'if' ə'nīs dít' ,e' | [sic] 892M4162**
inseoidh mise anois duit é.

In place-names, final **s** occurs in *Innis* (in lexicalised sandhi, 1.130), e.g.

in'əs tro 892M1523 Innis Troigh;
in'ə srahər' SM Innis Srathair, also **in'ə frahər'.**

The preposition *le* followed by the plural article, i.e. *leis na*, is regularly in our dialect **f'ef nə**, but speaker **01P** often has **f'es nə**, e.g.

f'es nə 'fati: 01P leis na fataí.

This speaker also provides the only example I have noted of perseverative:

-s f- > s-: **əgə se:r durt' fe | 01P agus séard dúirt sé,**

where the opposite change, anticipatory palatalisation, i.e. **-s f- > f-**, is the regular sandhi.

2.30 Palatal *r* before *l*, *s*; -ann sé

Palatal *r* is depalatalised preceding palatalised lenited and unlenited *l*:

- r' l' - > -r l' -:** **er l'ehəd ar leithead.**
- r' l' - > -r l' -:** **her f'enə loxt mū:nə 894C thoir lena lucht móna.**
haid'i:s sor f'e | loxt mū:nə 899P théidís soir le lucht móna.
kahə tu' kur f'ef S caithidh tú cuir leis.

Depalatalisation of **r'** can occur before **f**. The **f** in turn can become retroflexed, e.g.

-r' f- > -r f-: laur fe labhair sé; wa'r f' mhair sí;
 -r' f- > -r f-: xur f'ib' 892M chuir sib.

Note the slip of the tongue extending depalatalisation to the initial of t'ir' tír in:
 er' ə 'ti:' fo | 11Ct ar an tír seo.

For further examples of depalatalisation of *r* before palatal *s*, see rhotic assimilation (2.20).

In query, contrast in sandhi between palatalised verbal stem-final -*n sé* and unpalatalised suffix -*ann sé* was noted from 31Mq, i.e. -n'##f- vs. suffix #ən##f- (31Mq):

stem -n + f- pronoun > -n' f-: L' i:n' fe, L' i:n' f'iad líon sé, líon siad.
 suffix -ən + f- pronoun > -n f-: L' i:nən fe, L' i:nən f'iad, kir'ən fe
 líonann sé / siad, cuireann sé.

In spontaneous speech, however, palatalisation of verbal -*ann* is optional, e.g.

892M n' i' hugən' f'iad ní thugann siad ARN1258;
 11C kroxən fe 'f'ef ,e' crochann sé leis é t95.

2.31 h

Phonologically neutral *h* may be velarised by a preceding consonant or back vowel, e.g.

n' 't' æ:ləx 'h' e:n' a:l' 11C an teallach héin a fháil;
 ax h'it' ə 'pre:rbək 15W ach thit an 'prayerbook';
 o:l h' e:ŋ' k' a:n ... 14Ml (Ros Rua) ól héin ceann ... ;
 hu: h' e:n' P thú héin.

A preceding consonant is depalatalised by ha:- in:

-n' ha:- > -n ha:-: m' in ha:v M min shábh (consistently).

2.32 Velarisation of *leis*, etc., 66N

Speaker 66N, who has strong innovative velarisation (1.409), has what appears to be nontraditional perseverative velarisation in sandhi of the prepositional pronouns of *le*. Following coronals she has l-; in conversation:

-l l' - > -l l-: ... v' e:l lef ... bhéal leis; æ:səl lin' ə asal linne (all 66N);

and in response to query:

-r l' - > -r l-: ... ka:r lin' ə ... carr linne; gadhar linn lin' ;

-t l' - > -t l-: ... ə n' e:nəxt lin' ə ... in éineacht linne;

-d l' - > -d l-: ... fə:d lin' ... fód linn (all 66Nq).

Following noncoronals (labials and velars) she has retention of palatalisation; in query:

-p l' -: ... korp l' in' ... corp linn;

-k l' -: ... easpag linn l' in' ;

-x l' -: ... teach linne l' in' ə (all 66Nq).

Similarly, palatal l' in postvocalic garraí / bó linne l' in' ə 66Nq, phrase-initial l' in' ə 66Nq linne, and bə l' um ə l' ug i' 66N ba liom uiliug í, as well as anomalous bə l' um ə l' ug i' 66N ba liom uiliug í.

There is one noted instance from an older speaker:

-l l' - > -l l-: ... t'i:mpəl' l'iN' ... t'i:mpəl liN' 898P *timpeall linn*.

2.33 Fortification: r + r > R

As mentioned in the discussion of trilled R (1.194), speaker 11C seems to use R (for historical *r*) frequently in the vicinity of another *r*, i.e. when both *r* consonants are adjacent, and coalesce, or are separated by an unstressed vowel. The change *r* + *r* > R can be termed fortification. Speaker 11C's frequent use of R, however, in so many environments means that any given token need not necessarily exemplify fortification. Speaker 05M also uses R in many contexts, some of which appear to be instances of fortification.

-r ə r- > R-: ma' rə ʃe | ma'rə rə ʃe gə: xā'ŋgəlt' ... 05M

Mara raibh sé, mara raibh sé dhá changailt ...

k'e:n a:t' əb' a: rə slatə poti: 11C1525

cén áit ab fhearr a raibh slata potaí?

-rə r- > -Rə r-: ma'rə rə 05M, 11C1211 *mara raibh*.

-rə r- > -rə R-: xūn'ək'ədər ə ,rud ə v'i: l'e 'hiəxt | 11C

choiniceadar an rud a bhí le thíocht.

-r er' > -r eR': g'a:ltə 'mō:r er' ə 'ga:ʃəl 11C1689

geallta móra ar an gCaiseal.

The R' in this case is only weakly palatalised.

Cp. k'a:rk Ri: 46.839 (and point 49.839) *cearc fhraoigh*.

2.34 Deletion

Consonants may be lost between other consonants. Stop *t* is often lost, e.g.

-xt b' - > -x b' -: ox b'i:N'ə 894Cs *ocht bpínne*.

-xt g- > -x g-: fu:l nə dru:x gə daun sən i:hə P

ag siúl na drúcht go domhain san oíche.

-xt m- > -x m-: tr'i: lox mu:nə S trí lucht móna.

-xt n- > -x n-: õx nū: nī:õ 894Cs *ocht nó naoi*.

-xt l' - > -x l' -: frequent in əN' e:n'əx l'e ... *in éineacht le ...* ;

əg' e:ʃt'əx l'e ... *ag éisteacht le*.

-nt' kl- > -N' kl-: ə ta:rən' klo:x 894Cs *ag tarraint cloch*.

-nt' s- > -n s-: ta'rən suəs 11C2167 *tarraint suas*.

-nt' f- > -N' f-: ri:N' fa:rfən' 20C *roinnt fairsinn*.

Final *ng* is generally ŋg but often ŋ in sandhi before other consonants (1.154), e.g.

-ŋg' n- > -ŋ() n-: miŋ' nə du:hi: ... miŋ nə du:hi: ... miŋg' ə v'i: ə:n 20M

Moing na Dúmhthaí [x2] ... moing a bhí ann.

Note (rare): e: n' o:r' wə:ʃt' i: 18Pd *aon deoir bháistí*, in lax articulation.

Haplology is common in *kupə la: cupla lá*, e.g.

kupə la: nə jiə ʃin' M cupla lá ina dhiaidh sin.

2.35 Loss of /h, t/

Both lexical and mutational initial **h** can be elided in haplologic contexts. In the 2sg personal pronoun (independent) *thú* is **u**; particularly often when it precedes *héin*, i.e. **u**: *he:n'* ~ *hu*: *he:n'* *thú héin*. Copula *cé hé* / *ní hé* often contrast with *cé é héin* / *ní é héin*, e.g. *k'e*: *he*: *fin'* vs. *k'e*: *e*: *he:n'*.

Following **s/f**, initial **h** may be lost, i.e. **h** > Ø / **s_**, e.g.

- s h**- > **s**: *huə fe suəs s ug fe nuəs ... | xə luə gəs ukə* [perhaps *ukə^s*] *tu f'tæ:x 11Cta7 chuaigh sé suas is thug sé anuas ... , chomh luath agus thiocthaidh tú isteach.*
əs i: ... 21Pt is shuigh
- f h**- > **f**: *er' wu:n də xof ukəs fe fin' M*
ar bhonn do chois a thiocthas sé sin.

Following **x**, initial **h** may be lost, e.g.

- x h**- > **x**: *'drox'i:l 894C Drochshaol*; *'drox:i:n S drochshíon*;
'drox'hnu: SM, *'drox'hnu:* M, *droxnu:* FFG *drochshnua*,
'drox'hnu:l droxnu:l M, cp. *droxnu:l* FFG20 *drochshnúil*.
 In my notes I find examples in compounds only but loss of **h** occurs also across word boundary in this context.

Note, however, that **h**-loss in irregular verbs *thioc-* (*teara*) and *thug* (*tabhair*) is common in many contexts, e.g. (without devoicing)

br'i:d' ug um e M Bríd a thug dhom é.

Between two *n* sounds, and between *n* and *m*, the stop *t* may be weakened to **h**, e.g.

- n tn**- > -**n hn**-: *ēn 'hñā:w̃ ,ākəb 35E7280 aon tsnámh acub.*
- nt' n**- > -**n' h n**-: *ə 'ba'n' h nə 'mu:nə 899P ag baint na móna.*
- nt' n**- > -**nh n**-: *'ta'rənh nə 'nulsurs 21Pt ag tarraint na n-'ulcers'.*
- n't m**- > -**n' h m**-: *se'n' h m'ig' 'dæ:rə 18J 'Saint Macdara' (boat name).*

2.36 Voice

For **-k' > g' /_f-**, etc., in verb forms, see 2.59. Consonants may be devoiced by a following **h**, i.e. **-C^{+voice} > -C^{-voice} /_h**. The **h** may itself be lost.

- d' h**- > -**t' h**-: *br'i:t' hūmā:f vroxə | 11C Bríd Thomáis Mhrocha.*
- ð h**- > -**t**-: *t'i: v'it' aig' M tigh Bhid Thaidhg.*
- w h**- > -**f h**-: *ə'n'uf hu' 11C2585 inniu thú;*
lā:f ha'rt'ə 11C2236 a lámh thairti.

A rare example of perseverative devoicing occurs in:

- x' g'**- > **g'**-: *ə ri g'ɑ:l | 897P ag rith geall.*

Also:

- k v'**- > -**k y'**-: *māk y'r'i:n' i: laia | 11C3083 Mac Bhriain Uí Laidhe.*

Weakened **x** causes perseverative devoicing in the following example (only):

- h** (< **x**) **w**- > **f**-: *farer na fil' m'ifə ... | 11C faraor nach bhfuil mise*

There are examples of loss of aspiration of initial stops **t**, **k** following the nasal of the article:

- n t** > -**n t̥**: **d'ɛ:r̥həŋ gə ro n t̥o:or̥ɑ:n** [sic] ə'l'ig' eg'ə **11C**
déarthainn go raibh an t-amhrán uilig aige.
- n k** > -**ŋ k̥**: **fan əŋ k̥orəx ə'f'ix'** | **892M1736** *fanthaidh an corach istigh.*

Other cases of loss of aspiration are difficult to distinguish from full voicing in:

- ŋ k'** > -**ŋ g'**: **ga w̃i:ŋ' g'ær nū ku: gə w̃u:m'e:di: 'tri:ɑ:lə** | **11C**
dhá bhfuighinn ceathair nó cúig dhe mhóiméadaí traíála.
- Cp. -**m p' h** ~ -**mb' h**: **ŋ'i:l'əs æmb' 'he:n'** **11C** *níl fhios a'm héin.*

There is devoicing of the initial member of a cluster of stops (cp. 5.32 ff.) in:

- g g** > -**k g**: **γɑ: 'γ̥l'ɑ:n' 'd'e:k' gə 'rhruslɔ:g** | **11C**
dhá ghleann déag dhe thruslóg.

There is an example, from a younger speaker, of the quite uncommon voicing of **s** in:

- d s** > -**ɖ z**: **ən æɖz ə war fe** | **69S** *an fhad is a mhair sé.*

2.37 Loss of friction

Loss of friction in velars occurs in the environment of a velar stop and **s**.¹

- x k** > -**k k**: **... din'ə d'ɛr'nək kir'u: mi:n'əʃ P**
... an duine deireanach a cuireadh i Maínis.
- x k'** > -**k k'**: **du:nək k'ɪŋk'i:ʃ S Domhnach Cincís.**
- x k'** > -**^x k'**: **ugəs hjukə^x k'ɑ:n el'ə** **894C** *agus thiocthadh ceann eile.*
- x g** > -**k g**: **| əgəs gə ŋðhək gr̥ɑ:n'ə kɔrk'ə hri:d'** **894Cs**
agus go ngothadh gráinne coirce thríd.
| āk gə ro fe di:ər | **894Cs** *ach go raibh sé daor.*
n e'n 't'ɑ:k gə 'brɑ:x **05M** *in aon teach go brách.*
... mɑ:k gən dɔrəs **53M** *... amach dhen doras.*
- With *chomh*, possible
 -**k x** > -**k k**: **'br'æk kə 'tru:m | ən' 'æŋgəx** | **... 899D6496**
breac chomh trom in eangach ...
bhuailleadh breac chomh trom ... 'br'æk kə 'tru:m **896P.**
 Speaker **21Pt** has regular **xə** *chomh* but sometimes **kə** following **k'**, e.g.
- k'ə x** > -**k' k**: **tɑ: ge:l'g' ek' kə m̩ɑ: l'umsə** **21Pt**
tá Gaeilge aici chomh maith liomsa.

Rare beside **s**:

- x f** > -**k f**: **ə bɔ:hər klɔk jin'** **899D6733** *an bóthar cloch sin.*
wū:k fɪəd **14M** *mhúch siad.*
- s x** > -**s k**: *nuair a thiocthadh hukəx an gála ... agus chaithidís əgəs kahəd'i:ʃ ... leothub, chaitheadh xahəx an seol* **11C.**
 Cp. **ə'nuəs kə fa:də l'ɛ**, **04B** *anuas chomh fada le*, although **kə** may be a by-form of *c(h)omh* for **04B**.

¹ Loss of friction in velars is not reported in the chapters dealing with sandhi in previous Connacht monographs (ICF, ITM, IEM, IAIM), although loss of friction in bilabials is reported in ICF §269. Loss of friction is, however, transcribed in GCF §200.1:
s b'ɔ: kɑ:l'ək gən iəsk *is beo cailleach gan iasc.*

- s x- > -s q-: *əgəs quə ʃiː gəˈmū:nə ... 05M agus chuaigh sí dhá múnadh ...*
 -s y- > -s g-: *tímpeall agus dhá mhíle ogəs ˈgəː ˈvːiːlˈə go leith 869P.*
 Cp. anomalous nonlenition in compounds such as *leasgleanntán* (9.26).

2.38 Lenited *sh-*, *th-* > x' - ~ hj-

The palatal fricative x' - from *sh-* and *th-*, but not generally x' - from *ch-*, may be realised as **hj-** following certain palatal and apical consonants. For example, Máire (Mq) pronounced *hja:n' Sheáin* when preceded by *n' n' s ʃ t t'*:

int'ən' hja:n' intinn Sheáin, t'ir' f'eg'i:n' hja:n' Tigh Pheigín Sheáin,
bás hja:n' bás Sheáin, t'ir' laura:f hja:n' Tigh Labhráis Sheáin,
p'æt' hja:n' Peait Sheáin, ka:t' hja:n' Cáit Sheáin.

Máire (Mq) pronounced x'a:n' when preceded by *t k' r r' n ŋ* and vowels:

kut x'a:n' cat Sheáin, pa:rək' x'a:n' Pádraig Sheáin,
pó:rtər x'a:n' pórtar Sheáin, æhər' x'a:n' athair Sheáin,
kleg'əŋ ~ kleg'ən x'a:n' cloigeann Sheáin, t'ir' x'a:n' Tigh Sheáin.

This sandhi is perhaps the explanation of the anomalous **h-** (reduced from **hj-** following -n'), probably a slip of the tongue, in:

x'uk ʃe əs ə x'i:n ən'ʃin', huk ʃe wil' əs əd M
shioc sé as a chionn ansin, shioc sé an bhfuil fhios a'd?

When queried, however, Máire claimed that **huk ʃe** cannot stand for *shioc sé* which is permitted only as **x'uk ʃe**.

Also **hj** from other speakers in apical contexts, e.g.

- n x' - > -n hj-: *bəd k'æn' 'æ:ntən' ə ... pu:kən hja:n' 'æ:ntən' ə 892M1620*
bád Sheáin Antaine ... púcán Sheáin Antaine.
 -n' x' - > -n' hj-: *ə:m ə'k'i:n' hju:l 'i:hə P am eicín shiúl oíche.*
 -s x' - > -s hj-: *ugəs hju:rhəd'i:ʃ ... ugəs hjukəd'i:ʃ 894C*
agus thiúrthaidís ... agus thiocthaidís.
gus hjo:ʃ | 01C6147 agus sheoil.
ogəs 'hja:nədər 01P agus theannadar.
Tomás Sheonac tūmās hjū:nək 11Ct.
an fear eile is shiúileadar eʃ ə s hju:l'ədər leob. 18J8772.

Many speakers (e.g. 894C) have initial **hj** as a by-form (without sandhi) in irregular verbs, e.g. *thioc-* (the future stem of the irregular verb *teara*):

k'erd ə hjukəx əʃt'ax 894C céard a thiocthadh isteach.

Cf. 1.120. There is an example of loss of **h** following **s**, from base x' or **hj**, in one such irregular verb:

s x' / hj- > s j-: .. s ju:rəx ... is thiúrthadh.

Recall speaker 869P's usage *ʃinəx sionnach*, *hinəx shionnach* in:

ə ɡ'ræk'ən' | hinəx nə sai.əd | ... | 'kræk'ən' | 'hinəx nə 'said | 869P
i gcráiceann Shionnach na Saighead ... cráiceann Shionnach na Saighead.

An instance of far rarer -s **hj-** -s *ch-* is:

ma:x k 'kærənə s hja:nə m'ə ... M amach go Carna is cheannaigh mé ...

2.39 h before vowels

Many words which end in a vowel when they occur before pausa or consonants, may place **h** before a following vowel in sandhi. This process is discussed here under the headings ‘linking **h**’, where the word ended historically in *-th* or *-ich*, and synchronically often ends morphophonologically in **h**; and ‘intrusive **h**’, where the word ended historically, in most instances, in a vowel but also in fricatives apart from *-th* and *-ich*. The terminology has been borrowed from sandhi *r* in English (cp. Ternes 1973: 88). For the related variable class with final **x** ~ **h** ~ Ø, see 2.49.

2.40 Linking h following short vowels

Linking **h** occurs quite frequently following a short vowel. Before weak schwa, however, **h** may be less frequent. The following is an example of **h** before weak schwa from one of my oldest speakers:

| mās 'ri: | 'māh ə tɑ: 'ā:n | 869P *más rí maith atá ann,*

which strikes one as perhaps less common than the absence of **h** as in:

f'ær 'ma: v'i: a:n *fear maith a bhí ann.*

Cp. gə v'ek'ə m'ē il' ē:w 'wā: ə 't'ær 'l'æt 897S 'go bhfeice mé an bhfuil aon mhaith i t'fhear leat'. A further example of linking **h** before weak schwa, the schwa itself being elided, also strikes one as less common:

| gə wil' fe 'nā:n | ə 'ya: 'ha:rhu: xu:g' uər'ə sə 'lɔ: 06C

go bhfuil sé i ndan a dhath a athrú chúig uaire sa ló.

Absence of **h** is, however, common before all types of schwa. There may, in fact, be no distinction between weak and regular schwa in this environment:

mā:r bul tu də hɑ:l' u:r 'ā:n'wā: 'l'ug ə d'er fe 11C

'marab fhuil tú i do tháilliúr an-mhaith uiliug,' a deir sé;

-Tabhair do bhreith agus vr'e gəs do gheasaí anis, 11C;

cp. i ndan an rud sin a dhíonamh chor ar bith anis. b'i n'ij' 892M1073.

An instance of **h**, where its absence is probably just as common (if not more common), occurs before the coordinator *ach* in:

v'i' fe nə 'f'il'ə 'wā: hax n' i 'jɑ:rnə fe' | mɔ:rā:n ... 11C

bhí sé ina file mhaith ach ní dhearna sé mórán ...

A striking example of linking **h** occurring over the phrase boundary of a parenthesis is:

nu: tro gə l'eh abro: m'e er' e: nus 20A

nó troigh go leith abróidh mé ar aon nós.

Linking **h** is absent in tokens of the lexical stem **-uh** of *bruth*, *guth* and *sruth* in:

brö:həni; tɑ: 'brö er' ə 'ga:rig' 46.1061

bruthannaí; tá bruth ar an gcarraig;

ā:t' ə wil' ə bru br'ijə | 892M *áit a bhfuil an bruth ag briseadh;*

gu 'e:n,vnā: (Smbb)04B *guth aonmhá;*

əgəʃ, ʃru gol' ʃiər 892M1612 *agus sruth ag goil siar;*

| ogəs | ʃru gus gi: l'ehə gəs i: to:rt' ə hai er' 'yæ:l'ə | 11C

agus sruth agus gaoth léithi agus í ag tabhairt a haghaidh ar Ghaillimh;

v'i' fe' g'im'əxt l'e 'ʃru ən'jin' | 11C *bhí sé ag imeacht le sruth ansin;*

sru 'a'n'je:r 35E7874 *sruth an-ghéar; ə ʃru dai 71D an sruth i d'aghaidh.*

Contrast realisation of **h** in:

wæn' fe tr'i: hru 'hel'ə 'bā'N'ə ,ji | 11Ctn
bhain sé trí shruth eile bainne dhi;

N'í r'e:n 'tru 'hā:n 18J, N'í r'e:n 'tru 'hā:n | 31P ní raibh aon tsruth ann.

It may be that high short back vowels (in nouns, e.g. *sruth*, *cloich*, 2.41) are less prone to be followed by linking **h** (the term is used to cover both *th* and palatal *ch*) than the low vowel **a** (e.g. in the adjective *maith*). A comparable condition is found with regard to use of **h** in the CAITH verbal class (5.133; also Table 2.1 below). Where there is variation, as with **v'e(h)** *bheith* below, greater cliticisation of the following element may be one conducive factor in **h** realisation, e.g. **v'eh æd** [no independent stress on *a'd* in [3a]] ... **v'e æd** [independent stress on *a'd* in [3b, 4]] *bheith a'd*. Cp. **korəx mā' uməɾə 18J** *corach maith iomartha*.

Some instances where **h** is frequently omitted will be listed here. Linking **h** is more often present than absent, although absent frequently, in the common phrase:

gə ro mah æd >> gə ro ma æd *go raibh maith a'd*.

The verbal noun of *bí* (i.e. *bheith*) frequently omits **h**, e.g. (including some instances of variation)

v'i: n | 'bɑ:d ə ɲar ə' v'e er' 'hɑ'lhə 01C6944 [1]
bhí an bád i ngar dhá bheith ar thalamh;

-... ax N'ir: 'wo:r 'yʊf'ə d'er f'i' v'e 't'æ:r 'wā' ,l'e n 'ɑ:ʔ' | 11Ctn
-... ach níor mhór dhuitse, a deir sí, bheith i t'fhear mhaith lena fháil;

,tɑ: mō 'f'i:pə ə 'ɲar go v'e 'ɑ:s, 46.407 [2]
tá mo phiopa i ngar dho bheith as;

d'etət fe l'ex'ed dín'ə v'e orhə 899D6215
d'fhéadthadh sé leithchéad duine a bheith uirthi;
b'ar l'um e: v'e ɑ:n S b'fhearr liom é bheith ann;

thastódh uait, fios a bheith a'd leis an ord a bhualadh ar an gcloich, 'f'is ə [3]
v'eh æd l'əf ən 'aurd ə 'wʊəl er' ə 'glo | ... chaitheadh cloch a bheith a

a'd, 'xahəx | 'klox ə v'e æd | an oiread seo troithe ó chéile 899D6601–6; b
əgəs 'f'is ə v'e æd 'k'e:rd e 'he:ɲ' | 01C6805 [4]
agus fios a bheith a'd céard é héin;

beag nar mhór an eangach sin a bheith istigh aríst v'e f'i' 'r'i:f't' ... ag [5]
iarraidh an eangach a bheith istigh acub v'e f't'ih a'kəb ... 01C6336–40;

chaitheadh an fear a bheadh ag baoiteáil a bheith an-scafánta ə v'e [6]
'æn'skufɑ:ntə 899D6389.

Furthermore, *bheith* + {*ag* + verbal noun} is most frequently realised without **h** (cp. weak schwa, 2.6), e.g.

v'e g' ihə >> v'eh əg' ihə *bheith ag ithe*.¹

In numerals, *deich is*, which is weakly stressed, is regularly **d'e s**, e.g.

d'e s dɑ: ix'əd 20Mlt *deich is dá fhichead*.

¹ Examples of elision of linking **h** in *bheith* are confirmed by the metre of songs composed in the nineteenth century by natives of Maínis, in Iorras Aithneach, and An Caiseal, on the northern boundary of Iorras Aithneach, as recited by speaker 11C:

Ní dóichí dhon uisce a bheith ag titim v'e f'it'əm' ná dh'íntinn mra' !(Abtm);

'Gus lúng ar an bhfarraige leihí bheith ag súgradh v'e su:gru' dhúinn !(Abtm);

Nach é scoth na bhfear ar fúnamh é, Is cén t-ionadh é bheith ina e' v'e nə ghiúistís !(NUath).

Examples of variation in the use of linking **h** in SID.46 following *maith* include:

- h** ,tā: e:ft'əxt 'māh q:m, 392 *tá éisteacht maith a'm*;
 ,tā: ān'hě 'vāh q:m èr', 931 *tá aithne mhaith a'm air*;
 ,ggrō 'māh a:d, 938 *go raibh maith a'd!*
 Ø ,ggrō 'mā:s 'fā:d 'si:l'è, 938 *go raibh maith is fad saoil a'd!* (sic, 1.426);
 v'i: f'el'əm' vā ɪg'è 960 *bhí feilm mhaith aige*.

2.41 CAITH class; *cloich*

For members of the CAITH class of verbs in short vowels, linking **h** is usually present preceding (clitic) pronouns ('ú, é, í, *iad*) and common before schwa but unusual preceding full nonpronominal vowels, e.g.

kra he *craith é* vs. **kra iəsk** ... *craith iasc* ...

(For further examples, see 5.124 ff.) Verbs with long radical vowels have far less realisation of **h**. Table 2.1 presents the results of the collation of the occurrence of linking **h** in these verbs (mostly) from speaker questionnaires. (In the table, 'Vowel' = vowels other than é, í, *iad*, 'ú, ə.)

Table 2.1 Linking **h in CAITH class: radical vowel and following context**

Following context	/_é, í, iad, 'ú		/_ə		/_Vowel	
Linking	h	Ø	h	Ø	h	Ø
Radical short vowel	8	1	4	4	0	3
Radical a:	3	7	0	1	0	3
Overall	11	8	4	5	0	6

Linking **h** is commonly absent following *cloich* but schwa is often retained, e.g.

klo / **xlo** ən'fín' M, P, **69C** *c(h)loich ansin*;

n e' **xlo** əwā:n' | P *in aon chloich amháin*;

rap gə **xlo** ə wuəl ort S *rap dhe chloich a bhualadh ort*.

Nonetheless, **h** occurs regularly before the dependent genitives in:

mar jəl er' ə glō hi:l' **01J** *mar gheall ar an gcloich aoil*,

klo hi:l' **20C** *cloich aoil*; ə **xlo** hi:wər' *an chloich fhaobhair*.

Schwa is, however, absent in:

| **æ** **xlo** wā:n' | **896P** *aon chloich amháin*;

n i r 'ē:n: | 'ru:tə 'g'us:i: ə'r' iəw | **nax** 'fəst er' 'xlo v'i: | **899D**6684

ní raibh aon, rúta giúsaí ariamh, nach fásta ar chloich a bhí.

Note the absence of **h** in *maith dhom* > *maith 'om*, etc., in allegro speech preceding a surface vowel as a result of loss of initial **y**:

xə mā: it' iəd ə vā:hə **21Pt** *chomh maith dhuít iad a bháthadh*;

tə' fe xə mā: um ə rā: **892M**1614 *tá sé chomh maith dhom a rá*;

tə' fe hə 'mā: m ə rā: gər ... **11C** *tá sé chomh maith dhom a rá gur* ...

2.42 Linking **h** following long vowels

Linking **h** following long vowels is the exception rather than the rule. For instance, there is regularly no **h** following *bláth*, *díth* (one example), *fáth*, *lúth* and *scíth*:

blá: ogəs m'æ:s 04B1 *bláth agus meas*;
minic a chuir an sioc dhe dhúth ar dhaoíní é gə ji: əɾ ʝi:n' i: ɛ 16St;
 ... fá é ... 894C2 (< fáth é) indicating fə: ɛ(i);
k'em fə: ɛ' ʝin' S *cén fáth é sin*; contrast rare **k'em** fə: he ʝin' 40S;
trí shaghas cleasa lú' 7 gaisce 866ESemr172 (< lúth agus);
ʃe: ŋ kl'æ:sə lu: gəs ga:ʃk' ə ə v' i:x eg' ə ri: 11Ct
sé an cleasa lúth agus gaisce a bhíodh ag an rí;
ʃk' i: l'ig' ən 18J8870 *scíth a ligean*.

Neither *bláth* nor *fáth* have morphophonological **h** in traditional dialect, whereas *scíth* does (e.g. gsg *scíthe*); *dúth* and *lúth* have no relevant morphological forms but compare adjectival *lúth* + *mhar* > *lúfar*. One cannot tell in the case of speaker 869P, whose family network also has base **luəhə** *luath*, whether his **h** is base-final or medial, i.e. whether or not we have linking **h** in:

d' i:ən gə 'lu:əh ɛ 46.874 *déan go luath é*;

although it would appear to be linking **h**, given his base **luə** in:

xə luə | ugəs v' i: f' i:n | 869P *chomh luath agus bhí Fionn*;
xə luə l' ɛʃ 869P *chomh luath leis*.

Cp. **gi:** ~ **gi:hə** *gaoth*, etc., 1.51. In the context of the historical loss of linking **h** following long vowels, one can compare the frequent absence of **h** in the verbal adjective suffix **-i:(hə)** *-ighthe* (2.3, 5.181 ff.).

2.43 Intrusive h

Many words ending in a historical final short vowel have intrusive **h**, i.e.

-V > -Vh / _V.

Examples include demonstratives in *seo*, e.g.

seo: **k'e** he ʃoh el' ə 20M1 *cé hé seo eile?*

anseo: **ən' ʃoh** æn' S *anseo a' inn*; l' æg ən' ʃoh e S *leag anseo é!*

For *seo(bh)* before vowels and in other environments, see 6.77.

Prepositional pronouns *dí* (3f < *dhe*, *dho*; excluding speakers who have rare **d' ihə**, 7.19, 7.30) and *de* (3m < *dhe*) often take intrusive **h**, e.g.

dí: **kaə** ʃiʃə ʝih ə kid' ... 11C *caithidh sise dhi a cuid ...*;

d' ih ɛ' M *dí é*; **ma:** b' iər ʝih ɛ 18Pc *má b' fhíor dhi é*.

de: **i:** ... gən a' gəmsə ʝeh ax ... (MP)04B *í ... gan agamsa dhe ach ...*;
nar raibh mórán de ar chuma ar bith. 'mɔ:ræ:n' d' e her xūm əɾ 'b' i
 | 11C;

vs. **wæn'** ʃe 'je xuð 'ʃæ:n, ɛ: di: 11C *bhain sé dhe a chuid seanéadaí*;
 ... ʝe ɛ [x2] 14M *dhe é*.

It seems that degrees of cliticisation and phrasal fusion may be significant for intrusive **h**, as they appear to be for linking **h** discussed above. The contrast, in the following instances from Máire, of a pronoun (*é*) taking intrusive **h** and a noun phrase {article *an* + noun} without intrusive **h** may well reflect a general tendency to realise intrusive **h** with postclitic elements:

kur d' eh e M *cuir de é* 'turn it off';

wa'n' m' ɛ d' ih ɛ [x2] M *bhain mé de é*;

wæn' m' ɛ d' i ən re: ɔ: i: o: [x2] M *bhain mé de an raedtó* (note the non-elision of *ə* here).

Contrast *ar* with *ann* in: **m'æ: er' v'æ: han** SM *meadh ar mheadh ann* (2.44).

Other words with this **h** are:

ga: xīr' m'a:x gq̃h a:n 46.166 *chuir meach ga ann*;

te: rəheh æd M *ro-the a'd*; *ən'ʃo am ... bə:khaus | ə' | t'e ha'm | 869P*
anseo a'm ... an bác-habhas, u-, te a'm.

Cp. **l'e hæfr'ən' 60M** *le Aifrinn* (the preposition *le* does not generally take aspiration (also termed preposed *h*) 9.152).

Instances of an original long final vowel with intrusive **h**, i.e. *-V: > h / _V*, are very rare. It was noted in:

gə d'i hi [sic] S85 (*isteach*) *go dtí í*;

cp. the borrowing **ya: hæ:rəm ʃe:r** S *dhá arm-tséar* (< arm chair).

2.44 Short vowel + *dh* / *gh*

Words in original final fricatives *-dh/gh*, which yield short final vowels before pausa, may have intrusive **h**:

cneidh: kr'i hort 26P *cneidh ort*;

ar feadh: h is generally absent, e.g. **er' f'æ ə 'wad | 35E7038** *ar feadh i bhfad*; **f'æ n' t'esu:r' 18J7073** *ar feadh an tséasúir*; but **h** occurs, e.g. **er' f'æ huər' ə xlog' 11C4234**, **ə f'æ huər' ə xlog' S** *ar feadh uair an chloig*; **er' f'æh ə le: 04B5, 11C** *ar feadh an lae*; **er' f'æh ə tãvra 15P** *ar feadh an tsamhradh*;

cp. historical plural **f'æ: feadha** (now also singular) with optional intrusive **h** (perhaps from original singular *feadh*) in: **xu:g' f'æ: ol'ə gə he:d nu: ʃe: f'æ: hel'ə | 15Pr** *chúig feá eile dhe théad amach nó sé feá eile*.

meadh: m'æ: er' v'æ: han SM *meadh ar mheadh ann*;

sleagh: v'i ʃl'æ:həni' s: ... so:rt ʃl'æ' ə v'i: 'i:nt'ə ... gə: d'urha: n' t'l'æh æs ə 'maurd 18J8817–27 *Bhí sleaghtannaí is ... sórt sleagh a bhí inti ... -Dhá dliúthá an tsleagh as an mbord*;

troigh: t'im' p'al s t'röh er' 'aird'ə, 46.59 *timpeall is troigh ar airde; dhá throigh ar hro her' airde* 20A.

Without **h** in *fíodh* in: **f'i ā:māð' 894Cs** *fíodh adhmaid*. For **roh** *raibh* before vowels, see further below (2.46).

Intrusive **h** occurs with a historical long low vowel preceding *-dh* in the word *ád*h (cp. *feá* < *feadha* above), which is realised as **ɑ: ~ ɑ:h** in phrases like:

go gīr'i d'ia n tɑ:h ɔrt (ŋ tɑ: pausa) 46.1038, gīr'ə d'ia tɑ: ɔrt 11C

*Go gcuire Dia an t-ád*h *ort!*

... **ən tɑ:h ɔrt S** ... *an t-ád*h *ort*, noted once as:

t'e: wil' ə tɑ:hə er' S (an) *té a bhfuil an t-ád*h *air*;

and alternative citation form **ɑ:hə 23Mq** *ád*h.

Contrast *mí-ád*h which has no intrusive **h** (due to unstressed position of final **ɑ:**):

v'i: m m'i:ɑ: er' S *bhí an mí-ád*h *air*.

2.45 Unusual examples

Less usual after unstressed syllables (most examples have neighbouring lexical **h**, also voiceless fricatives **x, ʃ**; or end in *-i:*, thus resembling plural and verbal

adjective allomorphs **-i:** ~ **-i:hə**). The first four instances presented here are doubtful and may have been misheard:

ə br'æ:hnu: hōrəm S87 *ag breathnú orm*;
 m'ex gi:hə hōrhə M87 *an mbeadh gaoithe uirthi?*
 k'e:n talhə hel'ə tɑ ɑ:n P *cén talamh eile atá ann?*
 d'i:nə 'hæ:əs *ag déanamh athfhás (< 'æ:həs)*; dhá thahla hacub ánn S84;
 k'æ:ni' həkəb ... k'æ:ni' el'ə 05M *ceannaí acub ... ceannaí eile*;
 ə gu:ni: haku: S *i gcónaí acú*; g'uriə 'hə di:m' (run) 05Md *giorria i dtóim*;
 v'i' paiL' xín'i:n' i: hən M *bhí poill choiníní ann*.

Occasional examples containing verbal adjectives in **-ə** seem to be influenced by the verbal adjective allomorph **-i:hə**:

| 'bəkə:lt' ə hek'ə 'hā:nə | 869P *bácáilte aici cheana*;
 bl'ain' də:lt' ə hōrhu: 03C *bleaidhndéáilte orthú*.

Rare examples following **-r** can be taken as an extension of intrusive **h**:

gohə mid' 'tr'ur hæn' ə ,n'e:n'əxt [-x ?] əgəs ... 01P
gabhtaidh muid triúr a'inn in éineacht agus ... (see 1.399);
Cén t-am a mbíonn séasúr horthub? M84;
 n'il' en dōxər hintəb ... [x2] dōxər i:ntəb 51P *níl aon dochar iontub*.

Two instances of **h** after **-n** might exemplify a further extension of intrusive **h**:

nax in' he: 45C685 *nach in é!*
 ŋ xlən hin'i:n' ən'jin' M *an chlann inín ansin*.

Although they could have other plausible explanations: in the first instance, 'misplaced' preposed aspiration following the copula *nach* (from *nach hin é*); and, in the second, a 'misplaced' near-copy of the initial voiceless continuant from *chlann* to *inín*.

2.46 Speaker divergence

Speakers may diverge considerably in their use of sandhi **h**. Speaker **15W** (An Coillín), for example, shows a wider range of sandhi **h** than is usual in the community. Following *seo* and before *í héin*, **h** is quite unusual but it is found in:

b'æs ən ā:t̪ fo hi: he:n' 15W *b'as an áit seo í héin*.

She also has **h** following *raibh*:

n'i ro he:n' si:m' ə'r'iv əm ... 15W *ní raibh aon suim ariamh a'm ...*;
 n'i: ro he:m wā: l'ef ... 15W *ní raibh aon mhaith leis ...*;
 n'i ro he:n ... 15W *ní raibh aon ...*.

Speakers **16S** (Fínis; **15W**'s mother, **872M**, was also from Fínis) and **76M** (An Aird Thoir) are the only other speakers noted with intrusive **h** following *raibh*:

kahə fə nar he:n [sic] yau hart ax iəd fo hōr' 16St
caithidh sé nar raibh aon ghabha thart ach iad seo thoir;
 n'i ro he:n ... 76M *ní raibh aon ...*.

Younger speaker **79A** has unusual **h** following *inniu* (variable **(-w)** class, 2.49) in:

... ə'n'ɪ hən 79A ... *inniu ann*.

For ə m'ə 'ha:msə 889Ptn *a mbeidh a'msa*, see *bí* (10.69) and compare *b'ehəs beidh fhios*.

Lexical, morphological, collocational constraints

2.47 General

Much of this monograph is devoted to describing and defining conditions of variation. The linguistic conditioning of much variation is syntactic and phrasal, and as such can be broadly described as involving sandhi phenomena. The more narrowly defined or more categorical sandhi rules are dealt with in this chapter. Important related instances of sandhi are discussed in Chapter 10 ‘Higher Register’ (10.43 ff.). Cases of more general, more facultative, or more idiosyncratic phrasal phenomena, such as alternation in the plural suffixes **-ə** ~ **-i**, or where very few or only one morpheme is affected (e.g. *dhe*, *hén* (*fén*), *seo*) are dealt with in the various morphological chapters. A list with cross-references for much of these highly lexicalised alternations is given here.

There are significant similarities between the contextual conditioning factors involved in **-ə** ~ **-i**: variation in (a) nominal plurals (e.g. 4.92, 4.109, 4.129 ff.), (b) the 2 Conjugation verbal stem (2.56), (c) verbal adjectives (2.66), (d) 3f prepositional pronouns (2.72); as well as **-ə** ~ **-əw** / **-u**: variation in a small nominal class (2.52). The longer variant, i.e. **-i** or **-əw** / **-u**, is particularly common in position before vowels, in what, from one standpoint, can be broadly termed a hiatus-filling capacity. The origin and function of these alternations are similar to certain types of liaison in French.

Nominal

The noun *taobh* is realised as *taoibh* by speaker **01P** (3.24) before the prepositional pronoun *dhe*. The numeral *dhá* has initial **d-** **ɣ-** **g-** and **Ø-** (9.95). Cp. *dhe* and *dho*, verbal noun particle *dhá* (6.35). The numeral *cúig* is realised as **ku**: for some speakers before **gə** *dhe*, in *ceathair nó cúig dhe*, but also before *nó* in *cúig nó sé dhe ku: nu: fe: gə* (3.76) perhaps influenced by ... *cúig dhe*.

Verbal

For some phonological conditioning of verbal endings before pausa, see 5.108. Most irregular verbs have collocationally conditioned variants, for which see ‘Irregular Verbs’ (5.237 ff.). For example, the irregular verb *feic* can have an **i** vocalism, particularly following *ní* (5.281). Conditioning on the many by-forms of *faigh* can be quite complex. The verbal noun of *teighre* — most often *goil* — has a related form *dol*. The usage of the variant **dor** *deir* of the verb *abair* is very specific for speaker **01P**, namely: quotative function in sandhi before pronominal **f** (1.215). The copula varies considerably depending on its following environment; for its conditioners and forms, see ‘Copula’ (5.331 ff.).

Functors

For the many sandhi-related repercussions of vowel nasalisation, see 1.269, especially 1.272, 1.273, 1.280–1.289, 1.291, 1.293, 1.307, 1.326. Demonstrative *seo* has a by-form in final **w**, primarily before the vowel of pronominals. Cf. 6.77.

For the conditions on initial **ɫ-** in the preposition *le*, see 7.65. Prepositions (and their pronominal forms) *dhe* and *dho*, as well as verbal noun particle *dhá*, have various initials in **g-/g'-**, **ɣ-/j-**, **d-/d'-** and **Ø-** (6.35 ff., 7.31 ff.). Nonlenited and

zero initials tend to follow coronals, whereas lenited initials tend to follow vowels. Zero initial also occurs post-vocally, particularly in the simple preposition *dhe*. There is an example of what can be interpreted as perseverative sandhi, palatalising the initial of *gan* in the phrase **gən** 'g'ig' ən' "g'æ'g' æ's | **06C** *gan gig gan geaig as*. (But recall **γən**, **ən** **894C** *gan*.) Intermorphemic linking devices can be idiosyncratic, e.g. *le* + *an* > *leis an*, cp. *i* + *an* > *isan*, etc., also *ag* + *a* > *agána*, etc. See Chapter 7 'Prepositions', Chapter 6 'Pronouns' and Chapter 9 'Initial Mutations'. Related to this is speaker **894C**'s pattern of **γə** ~ **ə**, unique for my sample, in conjunction *go* and other functors; cf. 1.69 ff., 8.10. For the pattern, e.g. **aku** + **he:n'** > **akəb he:n'**, see 7.99.

Depending on position and function the words *timpeall* (*is*) (preposition and adverb) and *as cionn* (preposition) may alternate long **i** with short **i**. See 1.180, 1.173. In adverbial phrases, *taobh* may lose final **w**, and may be palatalised, e.g. **ti**: **hiər** *taobh thiar*, **ɽi**: **mu** *taobh amuigh*; see 8.196.

For the development of final schwa in *leithide*, *cuid* and *méid*, see 1.367, 1.371.

Initial Mutations

For nonlenition between homorganic consonants, see 9.33 ff. For the nonlenited by-form of *th-* > *t-*, e.g. *t(h)uas* following *is*, see 9.30. For **-s** V- > **-s h-** **892M**, see 9.158.

2.48 Nonverbal

Lexicalised sandhi of nonverbal elements is limited to five classes, each of which contains only a few lexemes. Two of these classes involve primarily the elision of fricatives (2.49) the contexts of which are not generally lexicalised, whereas two involve primarily the vocalisation of historical fricatives (2.52, 2.56) with lexicalised contexts. Elision is prevalent before consonants, with variation before pausa, whereas vocalisation occurs chiefly before vowels. The fifth class contains a small miscellaneous set of words which have very specific collocational constraints.

2.49 Variable classes in final (-x') and (-w)

Two small variable classes show alternation in final stressed continuants: **x'** ~ **h** ~ \emptyset in the (-**x'**) class and **w** ~ \emptyset in the (-**w**) class.

Members of the (-**x'**) variable class are *amuigh*, *istigh*, *bith*, and *fich(e)*, which are closely related to the BRUITH verbal class. A fourth variant, final **j** in prepausa position, was recorded in Coill Sáile and Doire Iorrais:

b'ij | **889P** *bith*, | **əfɽij** | **01P** *istigh*;

these two speakers also have **x'** ~ **h** ~ \emptyset .

The members of the (-**w**) class are *inniu* (< *aniogh*), *ubh* (< *ugh*), *tiubh* (< *tiugh*), *dubh*, closely related is the LOBH verbal class (cp. *seo(bh)*; *taobh*, e.g. **ti**:(**w ə**)**mu** *taobh amuigh*).

2.50 Variable (x') → <x'> <h> <∅> {amuigh, istigh, bith, fich(e)}

SID.46, An Coillín

Examples collated from the questionnaire results of SIDIII.46 are as follows:

Final	Before	Example
∅	consonant	<i>ná bí amuigh a'm^wi sa mbáistigh</i> 847; <i>,tʰfʰi gən 'doraś</i> , 946 <i>taobh istigh dhen doras</i> ; <i>,tʰ.əmu gən 'doraś</i> , 946 <i>taobh amuigh dhen doras</i> ;
	pausa	<i>... ,rɔd ə 'b'e, ə x'u:r^həs tu ...</i> 305 <i>rud ar bith a thiúrthas tú ...</i> (cp. ... 'b'e ə ... Mp 299); <i>tʰwəfʰi' 946 taobh istigh</i> ;
	(?)	<i>əfʰə</i> s.v. <i>istigh</i> ;
h	pausa	<i>'xor ə 'b'i^h</i> , 1000 <i>ar chor ar bith</i> ; <i>'xorəb'i^h</i> , 214;
h'	pausa	<i>a'm^wih' 946 amuigh</i> ;
h	vowel	<i>... sdrus ə b'eh ort</i> (s.v. <i>strus</i>) ... <i>strus ar bith ort!</i>
x'	ə (consonant)	<i>,rɔd ə r 'b'ix' h'u:r^həs tu ...</i> 305 <i>rud ar bith a thiúrthas tú ...</i> .

21Pt, An Aird Mhóir

From four recordings of speaker **21Pt** (t.1–4 12.12.96), 25 tokens were noted from which his general usage of *amuigh*, *istigh*, *bith* can be deduced:

- ∅ before consonants, and pausa, also before ə;
- h before vowels (other than ə);
- x' before pausa, less commonly before vowels (including ə);
- ∅, x' appear equally common before pausa (three and four tokens respectively).

A selection of his examples follows.

Final	Before	Example
∅	consonant	<i>ti: mi d'i:b taobh amuigh díobh, fʰi sə ... istigh sa ...</i> ;
	pausa	<i>ti: fʰi taobh istigh</i> ;
	ə	<i>... fʰi ən'fin' ... istigh ansin ...</i> ;
h	full vowel	<i>... ə'muh æs amuigh as</i> , <i>v'i: m'e muh er' ə bortəx bhí mé amuigh ar an bportach</i> , <i>... b'ih a:n ... bith ann, xor ə b'ih er' ar chor ar bith air</i> , <i>... fʰih a:n ... istigh ann</i> ;
x'	pausa	<i>ən'fin' ə'mix' ansin amuigh, ən'fo mix' anseo amuigh</i> , <i>ə'gəl ə'mix' fhágál amuigh, ... xor ə b'ix' ... ar chor ar bith</i> ;
	full vowel	<i>ə'mix' a:n amuigh ann</i> ;
	ə	<i>... fʰix' ən'fin' ... istigh ansin</i> .

With **h ... ∅** in the same phrase: *əfʰih eg' ə gla:dəx ən'fin' əfʰi | 21Pt istigh ag an gcladach ansin istigh* (or perhaps stressed *ɛ* vocalism in *istigh*, both tokens).

897P, Loch Con Aortha

From speaker **897P**'s more limited material it appears his usage of *amuigh*, *istigh*, *bith* corresponds to **21Pt** in conditioning but that **897P**'s variant in final **x'** is less common. He has:

- ∅ before consonants, pausa, and ə;
- h before full vowels;
- x' before pausa and ə;
- ∅ before pausa, where it is his most frequent variant.

A selection of his examples follows.

Final	Before	Example
∅	consonant pausa	ti: mu gə ʏorəs <i>taobh amuigh dhe dhoras</i> , ʃʔi sə ... <i>istigh sa</i> ... ; xor ə b'i <i>ar chor ar bith</i> , gə ro ʃi: mu go <i>raibh sí amuigh</i> , ti: mu <i>taobh amuigh</i> ;
	ə	f'ær ə b'i wil' t'a'x ... <i>fear ar bith a bhfuil teach</i> ... , ... b'i n'ʃin' ... <i>ar bith ansin</i> , ... ʃʔi ɲaɹ'ə ... <i>istigh i nGaillimh</i> ;
	ə and pausa	ti: mu gus ti: ʃʔi <i>taobh amuigh agus taobh istigh</i> ;
h	full vowel	... b'ih a:n ... <i>bith ann</i> , ... b'ih er' ə mɑ:d ... <i>bith ar an mbád</i> , əʃʔih æg' eg' f'ær <i>istigh ag</i> [slip of the tongue] <i>ag fear</i> ;
x'	pausa	... ʃʔix' <i>istigh</i> ;
	ə	il' a:n' ʃin' əʃʔix' ə d'erʃe '... <i>oileán sin istigh</i> , ' <i>a deir sé</i> .

892M, Dumhaigh Ithir

Speaker **892M** sometimes has the high allophone of *i* before **h** (i.e. [əʃʔih]) as well as the more prevalent [əʃʔih]. The [əʃʔih] variant clearly reflects the regular high allophone before **x'**. He therefore has three variants in final consonant: [əʃʔix', əʃʔih, əʃʔih]. (In my transcription of other speakers, undifferentiated əʃʔi(h) generally stands for [əʃʔi(h)].)

25T, Maínis

From a recording of speaker **25T**, 17 tokens of *bith* and 4 tokens of *amuigh* were noted, exhibiting:

- ∅ commonly before pausa (*bith* x5) and consonants (*amuigh* x1);
- h** commonly before vowels (*bith* x2);
- x'** commonly before vowels (*bith* x3) and pausa (*bith* x7, *amuigh* x3).

64M, Maínis

From a recording of speaker **64M**, a total of 18 tokens were noted, allowing one to deduce his general usage of *amuigh*, *istigh*, *bith*:

- ∅ generally, i.e. before consonants, pausa, and vowels;
- h** before vowels (other than ə) as often as ∅;
- x'** less commonly before vowels (i.e. before ə in the single attested token).

The <**x'**> variant is no doubt felt to be, and used by speakers, as the clearest form. In repetition to her hard-of-hearing brother, Máire has:

- ... ə'muh a:n M -... *amuigh ann*
- hə P -Ha?
- ... ə'mix' a:n M -... *amuigh ann* [x4].

- also:
- in'i:n' v'idi: b'ori: v'i: mix' M *Inín Bhidí Beoraí a bhí amuigh*.
 - hə P -Ha?
 - ... mu M -... *amuigh*.
 - hə P Ha?
 - ... mix' | ... ə'mix' d'e lu:n' M -... *amuigh*, ... *amuigh Dé Luain*.
 - hə P -Ha?
 - ... ə'mix' d'e lu:n' M -... *amuigh Dé Luain*.

The lexeme *fiche f'ix'ə* belongs to this variable set, in phrases where final ə is regularly deleted, so that one finds final **f'ix'** ~ **f'i**, and prevocalic **f'ix'** ~ **f'ih**.

Speaker **21Pt** shows three variants in close sequence in the same phrase:

bl'ian' əs f'ix' | ... bl'ian' əs f'i | ... bl'ian' əs f'ih a:n | 21Pt
bliain is fiche, ... bliain is fiche, ... bliain is fiche ann.

2.51 Variable (w) → <w> <Ø> {*dubh*, *inniu*, *ubh*, *tiubh*}

In this variable class there is a general sandhi pattern of prevocalic **-w**, and both **-u/i** and **-w** before pausa. The six examples of *inniu* in SID point 46 follow the pattern **-w** + vowel, **-u/i** + pausa. The fricative is probably less common before consonants. A third variant in a long vowel has been noted in **du**: *dubh* before vowels. Recall that *dubh*- as a prefix has **-w** + V, **-u/i** + C, but also **du:(w)** + V. *inniu* and *dubh* may be the only lexemes in this class which have a (short) vowel, **-u/i**, in prepausa usage. Younger speaker **79A**'s intrusive **h** is unusual in **ə'n'ɪ hən 79A inniu ann**.

Table 2.2 lists examples noted from SID.46 and from the daughters (**04Br**, **15W**) of the main informant in SID.46, as well as from other speakers.

Table 2.2 (w) → <w> <Ø>, SID.46 and others

		SID.46	04Br	15W
<i>inniu</i>	ə'n'uw	r'n'uw i: 12, r'n'u' (l) 15, ə'n'u' q:n, 791, ə'n'uv a:n 1163	ə'n'uv	
	ə'n'iw		ə'n'iw i: , ə'n'iw	ə'n'iv a:kəb
	ə'n'u	r'n'u pausa 844		
	ə'n'i	r/ə'n'i' (l) 844, 1130, ə'n'i' Vocab	ə'n'i	
		SID.46	Others	
<i>dubh</i>	duw		da duw er' S dath dubh air duw ogəs M dubh agus	
	diw		gari: diw An Garraí Dubh	
	du	du' 824, dq 825, də', 843, dū' Text IV	kirə yu 894C caora dhubh	
	di	'dī, 824, dī' ggəs 830, dī (l) 1088, dī' (l) 1126		
	du:		du: er' 21Pt dubh air	
cp. pl <i>dubha</i>		du.yə 650, du:ə 890, duwə (du.ə ?) 869P, dú'a 869P5 ⇒ du:ə	duwə 04Br	
<i>ubh</i>	uw	əv 'lq:xə 162 ubh lacha		
<i>tiubh</i>	t'uw		t'uw 899P; thiubh an x'uw ə súp Mq	
	t'i		xə t'i l'ef ə v'er 11C chomh tiubh leis an bhféar	
cp. pl <i>tiubha</i>		tiúgha 869P2 (plural) ⇒ t'u(:)wə or t'u:ə		

For *ubh* and *tiubh* vocalic by-forms may be confined to preconsonantal position (particularly before fricatives); recall regular prepausa **t'uw tiubh** → preconsonantal **t'i fin' tiubh sin**. A final vowel in *ubh* has been noted in preconsonantal position in **uv x'irk'ə ... [l'e or nɑ:] i x'irk'ə 21Pt ubh chirce ... [le or ná] ubh**

chirce. Máire has **t'uw** before pausa and prefers it in query in all cases, e.g. **xə t'uv jin'** Mq *chomh tiubh sin*. In conversation she has **xə t'i jin'** more frequently than **xə t'uv jin'**. So also:

-ro je **t'uw** 65C -An raibh sé tiubh?

-v'i je **xə t'i jin'** 60M -Bhí sé chomh tiubh sin.

Only **du** was noted in preconsonantal position in the common phrase **du na: dæ** *dubh ná dath*. This is indicated in the spelling *duth* in Clad1, e.g. *a dhuth ná a dhath* Clad199. When queried as to the possibility of ***du: na: dæ**, Máire replied **duv na dæ d'e:rhə e' jin' froʃən'** Mq (x3) '*dubh ná dath*' *déarthá é sin froisin*.

2.52 (-adh / -amh) -ə > -əw, -u: / _V

The sandhi rule **-ə > -əw, -u: / _V** applies historically to certain words in *-adh*, *-amh*, which are often verbal nouns. Diachronically, final unstressed *-adh* and *-amh* became **-əw** which was subsequently reduced to **-ə**, except in certain sandhi positions before vowels where either **-əw** was retained or was vocalised to **-u:** (1.109(iv)). The relevant nouns with this historical sandhi are *breacadh*, *briseadh*, *caitheamh*, *cinneadh*, *déanamh*, *deireadh*, *faire(adh)*, *sásamh*, *spiochadh*, *talamh* (for *leanabh*, see 1.80, 10.45(ii)). There are two lexemes with unhistorical sandhi here *iarraidh* > **iəru:** (cp. semantically related *fiathrú*) and *tús* > **tusəv, tusu:** (although *túsú* may be historical in this context, the verb *túsaigh* is attested, for example, in LFRM, but not outside of this nominal sandhi from Seán; **tusəv** being analogical; perhaps *deireadh* influenced its semantically opposite term *tús*, both *deireadh* and *tús* have the rarer variant **-əw(v)**). There is also a verbal noun *feitheamh* ~ *feithiú*. The by-forms in **-əw, -u:** occur before vowels in a small number of set phrases which need to be defined independently for each specific lexeme. The set of vowel-initial words which trigger the sandhi is heterogeneous: the article *an*, possessive *a*, conjunction *agus* (preceding the article *an* trigger), preposition *ar* and its pronominal forms, genitive nouns *aeir*, *aimsire*, *íochtair*, *óiche*, and adverb *ó thuaidh*.

From the examples, it will be clear that certain instances of the sandhi are obsolete and are cited from either secondary sources or higher register or both. All words within the scope of this lexically conditioned sandhi rule can take **-u:**; only three of these have also been recorded with **-əv, -əw**. These three are *caitheamh*, *deireadh* and *tús(ú)*. The common retention of the schwa of the definite article and other functors in the **-u: ə -adh an** syntagm (for regular or expected **-u: (n)**) reflects the original final consonant where **-əw ə -adh an** is historical (2.90). It is sometimes difficult to differentiate between intermediary stages of vocalisation, e.g. **-əw ə** from **-u wə**, and **-u: ə** from **-u: ə**. The sandhi does not apply to the vast majority of nouns in unstressed *-adh, -amh*, e.g.

ski:l ə n le: hæ:r əf S ag scaoileadh an lae thairis.

This sandhi has implications for some verbal inflections since the resulting **-u:** is also an independent regular verbal noun suffix in the second conjugation, in contrast with base **-ə**, regular in the first conjugation. In the case of *faire*, the originally sandhi form **far'u:**, if used at all by a given speaker, may be facultatively extended to nonprevocalic contexts. The verbal noun of *goill*, is **gol'u:** *goilleadh* (which also has a more progressive variant **gail'u:**), which has presumably been

generalised from its common prevocalic position before *ar*. Both *cinneadh* and *goilleadh* have by-forms in the alternate suffix *-úint* which may have developed from their (sandhi) forms in final *-u:*.¹ In fact, *cinniúint* has replaced *cinneadh* in the usage of present-day speakers. This sandhi may also be of relevance for *filleadh* which has the by-form *filliúint* perhaps reflecting earlier **filliú ar*. In the verbal noun *teitheadh* *í'ehə << í'ehu:*, Máire claims to use *í'ehə* only. Other speakers have *í'ehə* in the phrase *ar a theitheadh* but *í'ehu:* in all other contexts. The latter may derive from the common collocation of *teitheadh* before *ó* and may itself be the trigger for the optional second conjugation inflection of *teith*.

2.53 Examples; *breacadh* – *deireadh*

The specific use of each lexeme will be exemplified here (2.53–2.55).

BREACADH preceding *an lae* in:

í' e br' æ'ku: ə le: 21Pt le breacadh an lae.

Note also *br' æ'kə le: S ag breacadh lae.*

BRISEADH preceding *aimsire* in:

| 'tʊs 'br' i'fʊ: 'æ'mfər' ə v' i: .a'n 889P tús briseadh aimsire a bhí ann.

Also: *'br' i'fʊ: 'æ'mfər' ə ~ 'br' i'f 'æ'mfər' ə 03C briseadh aimsire.*

CAITHEAMH preceding *aimsire*, *an lae*, *a shaoil*, *ar*.

Commonly in: *kə'hʊ: æ'mfər' ə 11C, S caitheamh aimsire.*

Rarer in: *kə'həw ə le: S ag caitheamh an lae,*

a' cathú a shaoil 894C2,

but generally now *kə'h hi:l' S ag caitheamh a shaoil.*

In the meaning 'complain about' there are two examples which may belong here:

b' i'n' f'jəd ə kə'hʊ: or'həb 01J bíonn siad ag caitheamh orthub;

... an fhir a tháinig a' cathú air 869P5.

In this meaning, *ə kahə nuəs er' ag caitheamh anuas ar* is (now) usual.

CINNEADH preceding *ar* in:

is mór an obair cinniú air, in ann cinniú ar a' rí sinne 866ESemr;

a' cinniú ar a' mbuachaill. 2; ní fhéata sé ach cinniú orm 894C6.

So also *incinneadh* before *ar* in:

incinniú air 866ESemr.96, 158.

Also without *-ú*, e.g. *ní féidir cinn(e) orthub 866ESemr.*

DÉANAMH preceding *aeir*, *ar* (obsolete), *a* in:

ə d' i:nu: er' S ag déanamh aeir;

a' dianú ar Éirinn, 7 í ' dianú ar a' domhan thiar (run) 894C2 (where the spelling dianú = d' i:(ə)nu: déanamh);

go bhfuil an bhean bhocht ag déanamh a cuid héin ə d' i:nu kid' he:n' 05M
(only instance noted before possessive *a*, perhaps not an actual instance of *-u:* sandhi but rather a phonetic backing and raising of *ə* preceding *k-*).

¹ Cp. Iorras Aithneach *teithe' ó ~ teithiú ó* with Cois Fharraige *teichiúint* in *ar a theicheadh ~ theichiúint* GCF §182 n. 1 (*teith = teich*), where it is claimed *ar a theichiúint* developed through analogy with *ar a chaomhúint*.

DEIREADH preceding *an tsaoil*, *a shaoil*, *an lae*, *agus deamhan an lae*, *an Domhain*, *oíche*.

d'ér'əv ə ti:l' *S deireadh an tsaoil*, **gə d'ér'u [-ə ?]** **wə ti:l'** (Suda) **04B** *go ...*, **d'ér'u: ə ti:l'** **21Ptq**.

ə n'ér'u: ə hi:l' **35E** from the proverb *an té a mbíonn beannacht Dé air i dtús a shaoil bíonn sé air i ndeireadh a shaoil*.

d'u:n əgəs d'ér'u: ə le: **11C** *deamhan agus deireadh an lae*.

gə rə d'ér'u: əgəs d'u:n ə le: **04B** *go raibh deireadh agus deamhan an lae ...*;

ig' d'ér'u: gəs d'u:n ə le: **35E** *ag ...*; (**35E** is son of **04B**).

gə lə: jer'u ən daun' (run) **05Md** *go Lá Dheireadh an Domhain*, also *g'uisce Thobar Dheiriú a' Domhain* **875T1**.

d'ér'u:(w) i:hə *deireadh oíche*, *Níl aon deireadh oíche*, **d'ér'u: wihə** *nach mbíodh sé ina stoirm*, **892M5964**; **ə 'v'iar'jēr'ū: i:hə v'i: ja:ləx nə si:** **!!894C** *i bhfíordheireadh oíche bhí an ghealach ina suí; (bhí) gealach deireadh oíche d'ér'u: i:hə ann **23Jt**.*

2.54 *faire(adh)*

FAIRE(ADH) preceding *ar*.

As far as the use of **far'u:** is concerned, speakers fall into four classes:

- (i) categorical **far'u:** before *ar*, **far'ə** elsewhere (although too few tokens before *ar* have been noted to definitely distinguish speakers in this class from those in the following class);
- (ii) optional **far'u:** before *ar*, **far'ə** elsewhere;
- (iii) **far'u:** alternating with **far'ə** in all contexts;
- (iv) **far'ə** only.

(i) Some older speakers, although there are few examples, show **far'u:** before *ar*, with **far'ə** elsewhere, i.e.

875T1 e.g. *gá fhaire seo*, *a' faire an*, *a' fairiú orthub*.

(**894B1** (x2): **far'u: er' / orəm** *ag faire air / orm*.)

04B **far'u orhəb** **04B1** *ag faire orthub*, **gə ær'ə** **04B5** *dhá fhaire*.
Contrast speaker **04B**'s son, who has:

ə far' er' e: wəru **35E** *ag faire ar é a mharú*.

(ii) One older speaker shows optional (but proportionately higher) use of *fairiú* before *ar*, with *faire* categorical elsewhere, i.e.

869P2–5 20 tokens in all: *fairiú ar* (*air*, *urthe*) (x8) vs. *fair(e) air* (x3);
the other 9 tokens, without following *ar*, have *faire* only.

Speaker **869P**'s brother, **875T**, classified in (i) above, might be found to resemble **869P** in this matter if more relevant information from him were investigated.

(iii) Speaker **19P** (Pádraig Ó Con Fhaola) has **far'u:** varying with **far'ə** in all environments; **far'u:** apparently being more frequent before *ar*. His examples are:

far'u: er' *ag faire air*, **far'u: orən'** *ag faire orainn*,

far'u: d'ig'n tu *ag faire an dtuigeann tú?*

far'ə *ag faire*, **far'ə ɣo'** *ag faire dhó* **19Pt**.

Pádraig (**19P**) contrasts with his sister, Máire, who, like her husband Seán, does not use **far'u:**.

(iv) Some older speakers, and most if not all younger speakers, have been noted with **far'ə** only, i.e.

faire ormsa **894C2**, *ag faire air* **899D6702**,
ə far' er fo 03Ct *ag faire air seo*, *ag faire ar far' er' dhream* **899P**,
 so also **ə far' er'** SM *ag faire a(i)r*.

Other speakers have no examples of *faire* + *ar* in my corpus, e.g.
ag faire far'ə nó go ... **01C6526**.

2.55 **iarraidh – tús; feitheamh**

IARRAIDH preceding *a dhéirce*; noted only in:

ag imeacht ag iarrú a dhéirce **894C9**,
 also without *-ú* in: *ag iarra' ' dhéirce*, *ag iarra déirce* **894C9**.
 Cp. *ag iarrú a ndéirce* **!894C9**.

SÁSAMH preceding *intinne*.

Generally, as a noun **sasə**, e.g. **sas ə b'i** *sásamh ar bith*, but preceding *intinn*:

sas:u: i:n't ə'n ə S *sásamh intinne*;

a form equivalent to *sású*, the verbal noun of *sásaigh*, e.g. *é a shású* (cf. 5.217).

SPIOCHADH preceding *ar*.

Generally **ə sp'ox er' / æs** *ag spiochadh ar / as*, but one speaker, from Glinsce, was noted with **-u:** in sandhi:

v'i' fə sp'ofiu orəm 16C *bhí sé ag spiochadh orm*.

TALAMH preceding *an domhain*, *íochtair*, *ó thuaidh*.

-Ní raibh fhios a'm, a deir sé, ó thalamh an domhain **o: halhu: n daun' céard ab fhearr dom a dhíonamh**, **35E8055**.

gə n'æ: fə gə tæ:lhə: iæxtər' P *go ndeachaigh sé go talamh íochtair*.

gə gɪr'f'i: m bərd ə d'i:r' er' ə talu: o: huə 35E (untranscribed in ARN9357)

go gcuirfí an bád i dtír ar an talamh ó thuaidh. This phrase refers to the coast or land north of Galway Bay (i.e. to Conamara). Cp. *talamh ó thuaidh* BBeo.88.

TÚS (TÚSÚ) preceding *an domhain*, *an tsaoil*.

o: hu:səv ə daun' S, o: hu:su: ə daun' S *ó thús / thúsú an domhain*.¹

o: hu:su: ə ti:l' 21Ptq *ó thús / thúsú an tsaoil*.

FEITHEAMH, FEITHIÚ

Finally, one should note the verbal noun **f'ehə**, **f'ehu:** corresponding to *féithiú* (variant *feitheamh* s.v. *feith*) FGB, which occurs in **f'ehə wem' ~ f'ehu: wem'** *ag feitheamh uaim*, but **f'ehu:** Mq also occurs before pausa. Also **f'ehə hugəm**, **f'ehə mæx S** *ag feitheamh chugam*, *ag feitheamh amach*. In the verb *feith*,

¹ This was recorded from Seán early in my work and has been slightly emended above (i.e. I transcribe the schwa in **-u:** **ə** from memory). The exact contexts as transcribed are: (*níor tháinig mé ar aon fhíogáí chomh fada*) **o: hu:s** — [hesitation] **o: hu:səv ə daun' ó thús(ú) an domhain S**. When queried, Seán gave the following in explanation: **x'ed lə: v'i: r'íəw ə:n | hu:su: daun' S an chéad lá a bhí ariamh ann, thús(ú) an domhain**. Also, without phonetic transcription: *Ní fhaca mé do leithide ó thúsú 'n domhain* S84.

meaning ‘depend’, the verbal noun is **f’ehə**, e.g. *beidh sé ag feitheamh ar f’eh er’ an lá* Mq.

2.56 (-idh / -igh) -ə > -i: / _V

The expletive *shoraidh* (collocated with following prepositions *dhe, ó*) has two main by-forms **horə** and **hori:** and a minor by-form **hor**. The by-form **hori:** is irregular from a historical standpoint in our dialect. There appears to be a trace of prevocalic conditioning of **horə** > **hori:** / _o: *ó, uait*, etc., perhaps vocalised from historical ***horəj** o:, ***horəj** uəf, etc., which spread to contexts other than immediately preceding the preposition *dhe* (and its prepositional pronouns). The by-form **hor** was noted immediately preceding *dhíot* only. This **hor** can be explained in terms of coalescence in ***horəj** jít > **hor** (j)ít, or possibly in ***hori:** jít. In Máire’s speech, the pattern seems to be **horə** before *jít*, with **hori:** elsewhere:

- horə** **horə jít** M, **horə jít** | əs dún [sic] húr M
shoraidh dhíot! shoraidh dhíot is dona thú;
hori: **hori: wət’ s d’in ə, hori: gə d’o: wít’, hori: gə d’o: jít** M, Mq
shoraidh uait is déan é! shoraidh go deo uait! shoraidh go deo dhíot!

Similarly, from other speakers:

- horə** **horə jít** 866E, 04B *shoraidh dhíot; thora dhíot* 875T1;
-Shoraidh dhe horə yə do chapall! a deir sé 894C;
hor **hor i:t** 23C *shoraidh dhíot, hor dhíot* 894C2;
hori: **hori: wəhəb** 05M *shoraidh uathub,*
hori: web’ *shoraidh uaib* (heard from a native of An tOileán Iarthach, Ros Muc, east of IA),
ó shoraí go deo dhíot 894C1,
mə hori: gə d’o: !(Acr)05M *mo shoraidh go deo.*

There is an example of what seems to be prevocalic sandhi of *dumhaigh* in (the set phrase) *ar dumhaí 7 ar tráigh* 852S2. Cp. the rare, apparently phonetic, sandhi in *l’ev’i:l’i əs ən at’* 04B *leithmhíle as an áit*.

For three similar rules of sandhi in the morphology of verbs and prepositional pronouns, see 2.63, 2.66, 2.72.

2.57 Other lexemes

Féinn

The final nasal consonant in *Féinn* varies in the speech of 04B. In the phrase *an Fhéinn* the **ń** of the article and the final nasal of the noun dissimilate to **ń__ń**.¹ When *Féinn* in his speech occurs without preceding **ń** of the article it is invariably (f’)e:ń. The contrast can be summarised in the dichotomy:

ən’ e:ń *an Fhéinn* vs. **f’e:ń** *Féinn*.

With preceding **ən’** *an*:

ən’ e:ń (ə’r’i:t’) 04B1 *an Fhéinn (aríst)*; in all five tokens in 04B1.

¹ This description is synchronic. In fact *Féin* is the diachronic base which is retained by 04B following the **ń** of the leniting article.

Otherwise:

eg' ə v'e:n' er fad 04B1 *ag an bhFéinn ar fad,*

er' ə v'e:n' 04B1 (x2) *ar an bhFéinn.*

Cp. f'e:n' ə mə x'e:d wā'k 04B1 *Féinne mo chéad mhac.*

Speaker 00T, however, does not apply this sandhi, i.e. (with possible phrasal epenthetic ə or genitive for nominative):

ə'n' e:n'ə yə he:n' 00Tn *an Fhéinn(e) dhó héin.*

Cp. regular genitive 'a:rd'ri: nə f'e:n' ə 11C *ardrí na Féinne.*

cur (verbal noun)

For the common distinction between prepausa **kur** and phrase-medial **kir'** in the meaning 'sow (seed)', see 5.213. (Similar to GCD §564.)

geall le 'resembling'

The historical phrase *geall le* follows the copula in the sense 'resembling'. Its usual form is g'ar l'e, which is transcribed as *gearr le*, e.g.

Is gearr le f' g'ar l'e sícín circe Máire Mhicil ag teacht ón trá !S, !M.

Two older speakers were noted with (optional or conditioned) retention of historical *ll* in *geall le*. Speaker 894C has:

ba geall le bə g'al L'e | mála dhá chéad ... cárt mine buí 894C.

Tokens of the phrase were noted from speaker 881J, with g'al *geall* separated from *le*:

Is geall anois é əf' 'g'al ə'n'ij' e' ... le Amhrán an Tae fadó. Is geall anois é, is geall é do chúrsa | f' 'g'al ə'n'ij' e | əf' 'g'al e də 'xur:fə ... le Amhrán an Tae fadó 881J.

Cf. *le* 7.65.

Brian, etc.

For **iə** > **i:** in *Brian*, *Fiann*, *mian* and *trian* when the final consonant is palatalised, or, in the case of *Fiann*, alveolarised, in set phrases, see 1.24.

2.58 Verbal

Unstressed verbal **-k'** is often voiced especially in irregular verbs and especially before subject pronouns. Clear instances of lexicalised sandhi in the verb are: the change of nonpersonal (imperative and secondary ending) **-əx** *-adh* to **-əd** before pronominal **f-** and clitic **s** (2.60); the change of schwa to **-i:** in both the nonpersonal *-igh* / *-idh* before pronouns in initial vowels (2.63), and in the verbal adjective before vowel-initial prepositions, particularly before *ag* (2.66). For **-ə** > **-u:** in some verbal nouns, see 2.52.

2.59 Unstressed k' > g' / _subject pronoun, etc.

This sandhi involves the voicing of unstressed **k'** which is particularly prevalent in past forms of the irregular verbs *feic* and *teara*, i.e. *choinic*, *tháinig*.

choinic

SID.46 No example of **g'** noted from SID.46; contrast **xūn'ik'dər** 46.403 with *tháinigdar* below.

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11Ct *xūn'əg' fe* ~ *sé*.

Mq *xun'əg' m'e, tu, fe, fīad* ~ *mé, tú, sé, siad*;
xun'əg' dər, xun'ək'ədər ~ *adar*; *xun'ək'ər'* ~ *ir*.

43Mq *xun'əg' tu, fe, fā:n, (mā:r'ə ?)* ~ *tú, sé, Seán, (Máire ?)* but also
xun'ək' m'e, tu, mā:r'ə ~ *mé, tú, Máire*; *xun'ək'ər'* ~ *ir*.

tháinig

SID.46 *hā:nig'dər* [s.v. *tagaim*] ~ *eadar*, '*dā:n'ig' tu* Mp 242 *d~ tú?*, *dā:n'ig' fīb'* 947 *d~ sib*, *dā:n'ig' tu*: 989 *d~ tú*; otherwise *-k'*: *hā:nik'ədər* 949 ~ *adar*, *-k' m'e* 976 ~ *mé*, *-k'əs* 950 ~ *eas*, *-k' ə ...*, *-k' m'e ...*, *-k' mīd'* [s.v. *tagaim*] ~ *an ...*, ~ *mé ...*, ~ *muid*.

Cp. *hān'ig' fe* SIDIII pt 37 q 45.

04B *gə dā:n'ək' fe*: 04B81 *go d~ sé*.

11Ct *hā:n'əg' fe: sə si:l ... gə dā:n'ək' ~ sé sa saol ... go d~*. Also often before nouns, e.g. *hā:n'əg' f'ær 'fu:l' ~ fear siúil ...*; *hā:n'əg' tr'ur ~ triúr ...*. Note *hā:n'ək'dər* ~ *eadar*.

Mq *hā:n'əg' m'e, tu, fe, fīad, fā:n, m'ik'əl', b'æ:ɾt'lī:n', k'īə:rā:n*
~ *mé, tú, sé, siad, Seán, Micil, Beairtlín, Ciarán*;
hā:n'ək' fe, mā:r'ə, p'æ:dər, koləm, hæ:ri, hā:n'ək'dər,
hā:n'ək'ədər, hā:n'ək'əs ~ sé, Máire, Peadar, Colm, Haraí, ~dar,
~ *eadar, ~eas*.

43Mq *hā:n'əg' fe* 43Mq ~ *sé*; *hā:n'ək' m'e, tu, hā:n'ək'dər hā:n'ək'ədər ~*
hā:n'əg'dər 43Mperm ~ *mé, tú, ~eadar*.

chaisric (past of FGB *coisric*)

SID.46 *xā:fri:g' fe* 795 *chaisric sé*.

2.60 Nonpersonal *-adh*: *-əx > -əd /_f-* (pronominal)

The most important sandhi rule in the morphology of the verb is the loss of friction in suffixes containing final *x* (*-adh*, *-adh*, *-th(e)adh*, *-íodh*, *-ódh* of the imperative, past habitual and past subjunctive, and conditional) preceding subject pronominals in *s-*. Verbal *-dh* was historically a dental fricative *ð*, which was delenited before *s-*. The same loss of friction occurs in the preposition *marach* (< *mar a bheadh*).¹ The rule can be formulated as:

-əx > -əd ~ -ət /_f- pronominal = *sé, sí, sinn, sib, siad, seo, sin, siúd*, and emphatic *seisean, sise*, etc. (Presumably also before demonstratives *siud*, (*seod*) but I have no examples.)

Also in the case of the verb *bí* with clitic *s* of *fhios*, e.g. *b'í:ds bíodh fhios* (further forms in *bí* 5.246). The stop is regularly alveolar (although not always indicated as such in my transcriptions) and often devoiced preceding *f*, sometimes combined to form an affricate *ɸ*.

Pronoun: *xruə:ɸ fe* Mq *chruaódh sé, fe:d'əɸ fe* S *séideadh sé,*
t'aid fī: S téadh sí, v'et fī: S bheadh sí;

¹ Cp. comparative *mā: əx < mar a bheadh* (5.248).

nax ɲōh̥əɖ ʃiɲ' ə ʃū:nə ɡə nə 'spā:n̥ə | (Asp) **892M5085**

Nach ngothadh sinn a chúnamh dho na Spáinnigh! (this is my only example with *sinn*);

ɡə m'ed̪ ʃib' dhá mbeadh sib;

ɲ'i: e:rəɖ ʃiəd **15W** ní dhéarthadh siad;

ɲ'i: ek'əd̪ ʃiʃə ní fheictheadh sise.

Demonstrative: *bíot sin 7 siúd ...* **869P4**; **v'i:**ɖ ʃiɲ' **897P** bhíodh sin;

v'et̪ ʃo ... **v'et̪** ʃu:d Mq bheadh seo ... bheadh siúd;

marə m'ed̪ ʃiɲ' akəb **11C1239** mara mbeadh sin acub.

With *marach*: **ma:rəɖ** ʃiɲ' M *marach sin*, **ma:rəɖ** ʃeʃən M *marach seisean*.

The historical cluster is on occasion realised as an affricate, e.g.

ɑ xə ʃfe ɡə 'm'e:ɖ'ər' ɡə 'ro **11C Á!** chaittheadh sé go mb'fhéidir go raibh.

With *sib* and demonstratives (*seo*, *sin*, etc.) the presence of this sandhi indicates that the given pronominal is subject of the verb, whereas, if the pronominal is nonsubject the sandhi must be absent, e.g.

'who would you (pl) see' **k'e:** d'ek'əd̪ ʃib' (~-x ʃib') cé d'fheictheadh sib?

'who would see you (pl)' **k'e:** d'ek'əx ʃib' (only)

2.61 Variation and change

This rule is lost for many older speakers in the *bí* + *fhios* environment (and presumably in *marach* + *s-*). Speaker **05M** (who regularly applies the rule with personal pronouns) has an example of non-application with *sin*:

Ó mh'anam muise go mbíodh. Bhíodh gasúir, 'na gcodladh ar an urlár is cóirítí leaibín ar an urlár dhóib fadó. Bhíodh, dhíonadh, fad-, anis, bhíodh sin mar sin. Bhíodh. | v'i:əx ʃun 'ma:r ʃiɲ' | v'i:əx | 05M.

This would seem to imply that the rule may also be used less regularly with demonstratives.

A few speakers born before the 1960s do not generally apply the rule. Speaker **875T** (An Coillín) is quite conspicuous for his age-group and is the oldest speaker recorded with non-application. In his short audio recording, he has seven -x ʃ- tokens and one -ɖ ʃ- token, and -ch s- occurs frequently in his transcribed material in RBÉ. His eight audio examples are (all **875T1**, cf. 13.5):

ɡə d'ukəx ʃe' go dtíochadh sé, **ɡə** m'ox ʃe go mbeadh sé,

v'i:x ʃe ta:rənt' a:xrən bhíodh sé ag tarraint achrann;

ə m'ex ʃiəd a mbeadh siad, **nō** ɡə 'dēsɪəx ʃiəd nó go dtosaíodh siad,

ɡə 'd'aiəx ʃiəd dhá dteigheadh siad, **ɡə** dugəx ʃiəd go dtugadh siad;

ə x'urhəd̪ ʃe' a thiúrtadh sé.

In contrast, **875T**'s brother, my **869P**, has regular application of this rule but sporadic examples of -ch s- in folklore transcriptions in RBÉ:

bhíoch sé héin 7 fear a' tí 4, mbíoch sé 4, mbreathnóch sé 3,

go mbeuch siad ar fad 2, go ngothach siad 5,

go mbeach fhios ag 3 (all **869P2–5**).

The high proportion of irregular verbs in his tokens of -ch s- is noteworthy (cp. **64M**'s (m)b(h)eadh in Table 2.3). These examples from **869P** seem more frequent than in the speech of most older speakers and suggest that speaker **875T**'s prevalent non-application is related to his brother's sporadic non-application. I did not notice any obviously greater than average incidence of -x ʃ-

in the conversation of speaker **875T**'s sons. Speaker **869P**'s daughters have frequent application, e.g. **-d f-** **04Br**, **15W**, but not universally, i.e. **N'í o:ləx fí: e:n' fí: 15W ní ólthadh sí aon tae**. Speaker **17Md** reports (S. Ó Murchú 1989: 27) that a woman from **17Md**'s townland who did not apply the rule was mimicked ('*ag aithris chainte uirthi*'). Her failure to apply the rule was clearly considered remarkable by her mimickers. Two older speakers from Doire Iorrais have frequent **-x f-**, i.e. **01P** (regularly) and **20A** (often). Other older speakers have regular sandhi, for example, **870B1–2**, e.g. *-eat sí 870B2*. Speaker **894C** also has regular **-d f-**, but at least one *-ch s-* occurs in *ghothach sí 894C9*.

2.62 Mixed -x f- and younger speakers

The mixed or fudged forms **-xd f-** and **-x f-** are rare in the dialect as a whole. From older speakers, there are only sporadic examples:

v' exd fí: fo kur f iN' 894Cs bheadh sí seo ag cur fuinneamh;

jiməx fí: fín' 11C1040 dhíonadh sé sin;

v'ix⁹ nə tərN'í: gə: r'e:r' v'ix fíəd | xu:g' aurli: er fəd | 897P

bhíodh na tairní dhá réir, bhíodh siad chúig orlaí ar fad;

mh'anam go mbíodh siad m'ix fíəd ag iascach go minic 18J7785.

In these examples, at least in some instances, the sandhi is applied as a type of afterthought. Speaker **66N**, however, consistently uses the sandhi form **-x f-**, e.g. **-x fíe**, **-x fíib'**, **-x fíəd**, sometimes realised as **-xt f-**, e.g. **-həxt fíəd**; she rarely has non-application, i.e. **-x f-**, this **-x f-** being usual among the younger generation, e.g. **wix fíib' 66N bhfuigheadh sib**.

Speakers born in the 1960s and later tend not to apply the sandhi rule or to have facultative use. The tokens of one speaker with variable use, Marcos Ó Gaora (**64M**), were noted from a transcribed section of audio-recorded conversation. Table 2.3 shows that in this sample, non-application of the rule is confined to the irregular verb *bí*, where, however, **-x f-** is the dominant variant.

Table 2.3 Conditioning of **-d f-** verbal sandhi, **64M**

Verbal suffix + pronoun	<i>bheadh, mbeadh</i>	All other verbs
-x f-	9	0
-t f- , -d f-	2	9

With *fios* he has one token each of *mbeadh fhios m'oxəs* and *bheadh fhios v'ehəðs 64M*. In Table 2.3 'all other verbs' include both regular and irregular verbs, e.g. **iərħəf fí 64M iarrthadh sé**, **h'urhəð fí 64M thiúrthadh sé**.

2.63 Nonpersonal (-idh / -igh) -ə > -i: / _é, í, iad

This sandhi rule occurs in the nonpersonal verbal endings in historical final palatal fricatives *-igh / -idh* (including *-idh* in the present subjunctive, and unhistorical *-igh* in irregular verbs). The final fricatives, lost or omitted elsewhere, have been vocalised before the initial vowels of pronouns, i.e.

-ə > -i: / _é, í, iad.

This rule applies regularly in the speech of older speakers in East Iorras Aithneach, i.e. East Coill Sáile, Loch Con Aortha and Doire Iorrais.

Imperative	axi: e: fín' 34M <i>athraigh é sin!</i>
Past	... <i>ráite gob í Bríd Neileog a mharaigh é a wari: e' 897P</i> , k'e x'æni: iad 27Jq <i>cé cheannaigh iad?</i> a rin'i: e 25Mn <i>a rinne é</i> (as if rinnigh), n'i: aki: i: ax ... 27Jq <i>ní fhaca í ach ...</i> (as if fhacaigh). Present Subjunctive na:r wuəl'i: e 27Jq <i>nár bhuaile é.</i>

The number of verbal categories to which this rule is applicable varies among the speakers investigated. For instance, when queried, speaker **25Mnq** (Loch Con Aortha) retained **-a** in the present subjunctive. She neither produced nor permitted **-i:** in the future, produced both **-a** and **-i:** in the imperative, produced **-a** and permitted **-i:** in the regular past and did not permit **-i:** in the irregular past of *chuala* and *rinne*. Speaker **01Pt** is the only person queried in my sample from Doire Iorrais who applies this sandhi (in contrast with **20A(q)**, **43Mq**). He applies it in the past in two out of a possible six tokens. It may be of significance that the two instances of **-i:** have human agents (where *díon* (past *rinne*) means 'make, do'):

... *cé rinní é;* *is iomaí fear ... a rinní é sin*, **01Pt**;

whereas those without **-i:** have mostly inanimate agents (where *díon* means 'cause'):

gob é an talthamh a rinn' é; *ná an chriafóg a rinn' é;*

gob é an fuisce a rinn' é. (all **01Pt**).

The only instance of a human agent without **-i:** precedes *í* (perhaps through assimilation or elision from **-i: i:**):

-Mór a' t-íonadh liom, a deir an fear a cheann' í, go bhfuil ... 01Pt.

There may be a lexical distinction: **rin'i:** *rinne* (animate agent) vs. other verbs or regular verbs, e.g. **x'anə** *cheannaigh*. Some middle-aged speakers queried in the relevant district failed to apply the rule (e.g. **26Mq**, Loch Con Aortha). Younger speakers investigated either applied the rule less consistently or not at all. Speaker **27J** has categorical application of the rule in my material (examples above). His wife (from Caladh Fhínse) and daughter, Bairbre, say **war e mharaigh é** and his daughter was astonished when I informed her that her father says **wari: e mharaigh é**. We can conclude that the rule is obsolescent and is being progressively reduced over its range.

2.64 West Iorras Aithneach

There is some evidence that this, or a similar rule, was once more widespread.¹ Speaker **894C** (Glinsce, West IA), for instance, was noted with one example:

a tháinic agus rinní é sin 894C9.

Also (in a set entreaty, see 'Higher Register' 10.21, 10.44(ii), *-idh = -í* here):

gura slán guch áit gá n-ístear é 7 guch duine gá gcloisidh é 894C9.

There is an uncertain example from **869P**:

| v'i: | kau: | x'ā:n | gə nə 'f'ia:ē:n' | ə xīn'ə | ən x'ē:d [sic, slip of the tongue preceding *chleite*] | x'ə'l'et'ə dəs | ə f'k'ihə:n | mā:hāĩr' ə f'i:nfə'r' |

¹ This, or a similar rule, is also found further east, in Ros Muc, forming a continuum with East Iorras Aithneach. I also recall hearing **wari: u: mharaigh thú** from an Aran speaker (Árainn) where the 2sg pronoun is obviously more commonly **u:** (against **warə hu:** in East Iorras Aithneach).

ogəs ə kl'et'ə | ə b'ar'ə | ə dɑ:s | ə'ma:x | æ:s ə gr'ɑ:ʋ | ogəs xĩn'i:² | ʔe:^ə |
bhí corrcheann dhe na fíoréin a choinnigh an chéad chleite a d'fhás i
sciathán máthair a sinsir agus an cleite ab fhearr a d'fhás amach as an
gcnáimh agus choinní- é **869P**,

which, given his many counterexamples, is most likely to be a repair for *choinní(odar, choinnigh) é*.

Cp. the similarly hesitant example in d'ím'i: | d'ím'i:dər | l'ohəb | d'imí-,
d'ímíodar leothub **869P** and the example:

ugəs nuər' ə k d'ím'i: əŋ kəgə | 'd'ím'i:dərʃən | **892M2289**
agus nuair a c- d'imigh an cogadh d'ímíodarsan.

2.65 Other contexts

There is also evidence that the sandhi was not always confined to the context of vowel-initial pronouns. In speaker **852S**'s (Dumhaigh Ithir) short recording there is only one token of 2 Conjugation *-igh* which does not precede *sé*. It occurs as *-i:* before a vowel-initial subject:

agəs 'vř'ænhi' əxil'ə 'x'ɑ:n ā'ku: 'ēř' | **852S**
agus bhreathnaigh achuile cheann acú air.

An example of 2 Conjugation *-igh -i:* before pausa was noted in the speech of **892Mg** (Glinisce), his only prepausa token:

cheannaigh x'ænə fear a bhíodh ... , cheannaigh x'ænə sé, cheannaigh
 x'ænə sé ... , cheannaigh. | x'æni' | **892Mg**.

There is another possible example of syntactically final verbal *-igh* from **892Mg** but without pausa and realised in a reduced *-ə*:

n'ir æn'hə n'i: a'kə dʒæ'k' **892Mg** Ó! níor aithnigh, ní fhaca Jaic

We, unfortunately, have little audio material from **892Mg** and even less from **852S**.

Speaker **889P** (Coill Sáile) has a noticeably high unstressed vowel between palatals in verbal *-igh* and *-idh*, e.g.

d'air'i fe, reŋ'i m'e **889P** d'éirigh sé, réitigh mé.

He has *-ə* generally in nonpronominal examples, including before vowels and before pausa. He has, however, two examples of nonpronominal *-i(·)* *-igh* / *-idh*; one before a vowel-initial subject and one before pausa. Both examples are closely preceded in the discourse by a token of the same verb containing *-i(·)*:

troŋ'i m'if e ... ma'rə d'rəd'i' ŋ ga'jk'iax ... **889P**
Troididh mise é, ... mara dtroididh an Gaiscíoch Gearr Glas é.
 ər air'i:dər ... n'ir air'i | **889P** -Ar éiríodar? ... -Níor éirigh.¹

These examples, as well as others from RBÉ manuscripts, imply an even more complex situation for some of my older speakers, i.e. there is evidence for *-igh* / *-idh* as *-i:* before vowel-initial subjects (before ə in both examples) and before pausa.

¹ There is also [i] in:

| 'hæ:sti wem' ʋol' əft'ɑ:x **889P** Thastaigh uaim a ghoil isteach,

where *-i* occurs before a historical vowel (*thastaigh ó, uaim*, etc.). The speech is not very distinct here, however, and may be a reduced pronunciation of present tense *tastaíonn uaim*

2.66 Verbal adjective -ə > -i: / _ag

Verbal adjectives in final schwa may apply the following rule:

-ə > -i: / _ag + actor, less often before other vowel-initial prepositions.

This obsolescent rule is applied most regularly by speaker **866E** from An Aird Mhóir, by **894Cs** from neighbouring Caladh Fhínse, and by **892Mg** from Glinsce (who has only a few tokens). A few other speakers have less frequent usage. Only rarely does -ə become -i:h(ə) in this context (through analogy with -i: ~ -i:hə variation, or influence of nearby -i:hə in the discourse).

Seán 'ac Con Raoi, 852S, Dumhaigh Ithir

Before *ag*, verbal adjective -a/e is by far most frequent but -(a)í also occurs; many of the verbs with -í have corresponding examples of -a/e:

-thaí curthaí, cuirthí;
-tí baintí, buailtí, fulaingtí, rithtí, tráightí;
-taí diantaí, siúлтаí.

There is at least one example outside the context of *ag* + actor, i.e. *goithí go* **852S4** (recall that the transcriber of **852S**'s material in RBÉ is at times unreliable, influenced by his own North Connacht dialect).

2.67 Éamann a Búrc, 866E, An Aird Mhóir

Examples noted of verbal adjective use were compiled from the transcript of the long heroic tale *Eochair Mac Rí in Éirinn* narrated by Éamann a Búrc (abbreviated as **866ESemr**). Speaker **866E** has almost categorical application of this rule. In **866ESemr** in prepausa and preconsonantal position his relevant class of verbal adjectives show the unmarked ending -a/e, which is general in the dialect. Prevocally both -a/e and -í appear. Preceding *ag*, -í is far more common than -a/e; preceding other vowels -a/e is more common. Table 2.4 presents the numbers of tokens counted.

Table 2.4 Verbal adjective -a/e > -í (tokens counted in **866ESemr**)

	+ C or ###	+ ag	+ V (≠ ag)
-a/e	47	3	14
-í	0	34	8

Examples

- a/e + C or ### *dianta*; *ráite go díreach aige* 96; *dianta g'obair a'd* 162; *ráite sa scéal*;
note *báite*. 150, corrected in the manuscript from *báití*.
- a/e + ag *ráite aige* 52, 98;
tugta agá n-a ... 168 [sic *tugta*, probable error for *tugtha*].
- í + ag *cáilltí á'm* 52; *ráití aige* 54, 90;
diantaí aige 56, 64, etc., *diantaí acub* 68, 82, etc., *diantaí á'm* 62, 164;
glantaí aige 86; *curthaí acub* 114; *ithtí aige* 140; *séasáiltí aige* 146.
The only noted instance before un-inflected *ag* occurs in:
diantaí ag Mac Rí 'n Éirinn 116.
- a/e + V (≠ ag) *dúinte* — *uilig* ... 60; *scartha amach* 60; *cráite atá* ... 66;
ithte agus iad réidh 76; *crochta orthub* 82; *rounáilte é* 84;

- dianta arú; dianta in aon* 100; *gaibhte amach*. 132;
gléasta i gculaith 136, *gléasta ina chulaith* 156; *súpláilte agus* 140.
 -í + V (≠ ag) *crochtaí ar cheann* 56; *na trí chloigeann crochtaí air*, 145;
ithtí 7 óltaí aige 56; *an chos baintí ón rúitín* 80;
ráití ar a chlainhe 96;
diantaí a'd ... tá sé seoltaí as an gcuid thiar 104;
7 é scríofaí ar a chlainhe 156;
ar an maith a bhí diantaí ar an inín aige. 170.

All examples of -í + V (≠ ag) occur exclusively with (collocational common) prepositions, in contrast with examples -a/e + V (≠ ag) which are generally non-collocational, and where the vowel following -a/e is mostly schwa. (There is only one instance of -a before a preposition with a clear initial vowel: *crochta orthub*.) The prepositions effecting -í are *ar*, *as* and *ó*. On the other hand, the simple preposition *i* (schwa) takes only -a/e in this corpus, in contrast with *ann* in *curthaí ann* and *díontaí ann* (attested from other speakers). The only example of -í not directly preceding a preposition occurs before *agus* (7 in the manuscript; *is* is generally transcribed as such) in a coordinated phrase with *ag*, i.e. *ithtí 7 óltaí aige* 56. There is one token of -a > -íthe (instead of expected -í) in:

na trí chloigeann crochtaí air, thosa sé ag breathnú ar na cloigne a bhí crochtaíthe (sic) ar ghéagáin 145.

It is probably no coincidence that *crochtaíthe* occurs in the second token, following *crochtaí*. It may be that the initial token in -í, *crochtaí*, in this context a regular sandhi variant of verbal adjective (-a), was momentarily reinterpreted by the speaker as a variant of the verbal adjective (-íthe). Then **866E**'s main variant of (i:hə), i.e. -íthe, was suffixed to the second token of *crocht*-. Cf. speaker **894C**'s *castaíth*' below (2.70).

In speaker **866E**'s audio recording, the rule -ə > -i: is applied in all instances where this sandhi is expected, including *ra:t' i: er' ə hi:w* **866E** *ráití ar a thaobh (an chlainhe)*. There is an example from **866E**ÓC (i.e. not in **866E**Semr) of -a/e before the preposition *ag* in local (i.e. non-actor) function:

gar gon áit a mbíoch a' bád feistí aige 7 a ru an teach dianta ag áit a dtugann siad Cora na Rún air. **866E**ÓC221.

2.68 Colm, Seosamh Ó Dubháin (894Cs, 881J), Caladh Fhínse

In his audio recording, speaker **894Cs** was noted with 23 tokens of verbal adjective -ə > -i: before *ag* out of a possible total of 29. His six non-i: tokens are:

díonta a'd, tá sé réití glanta a'd an uair sin, díonta a(cub), díonta a'd, ceangailte a'dsa síos, ceangailte a'dsa ar a thaobh (all **894Cst**).

There are also clear examples of prepausa -ə before agentive *ag*:

díonta, acub; díonta, ag an bhfíodóir;
díonta, ag an mbean baile (all **894Cst**).

This speaker also has *curthaí ann, scríofaí ar, cínntí ar ~ cínnt' ar* (all **894Cst**). His older brother **881Jt** has general retention of -ə here, including *díont' a'm / a'd / aige* **881Jt**. Rarely, however, he also has -i:, which was noted (following stems in -i:nt'(-)) in:

roínntí acú, díontaí aige [x2] (all **881Jt**).

2.69 Mícheál Ó Caena, 892Mg, Glinsce

Relevant examples from speaker **892Mg**'s audio recording are few but nonetheless revealing. They indicate a less restricted application of the sandhi. Unmarked **-ə** is found before consonants, pausa and schwa; sandhi **-i:** is found before full initial vowels (of prepositions). I list here some of his unmarked **-ə** examples and all his prevocalic examples (two before schwa and three before full vowels):

before pausa	-ə	<i>glanta gla'ntə </i> ;
before consonant	-ə	<i>curtha sa ... kurhə sə ... ,</i> <i>déanta thíos ansin d'i:ntə hi:s ən'jin' ;</i>
before schwa	-ə	<i>tá siad níos fleaitéilte is níos ... fl'æ:tə:lt'ə ʃ n'is ,</i> <i>... déanta ansin d'i:nt ən'jin' </i> ;
before full vowel	-i:	<i>choinic mise cuid acub díolta ar d'iəlti' er' dheich</i> <i>scilleacha an báid,</i> <i>... a raibh púcán nua déanta aige d'i:nti' eg'ə ,</i> <i>curtha ann, sa ... kurhi' ən sə .</i>

There is a rather indistinct token of the adjective **re:su:nti** **892Mg** *réasúnta* before pausa. This speaker also has prevocalic sandhi of 3f prepositional pronoun **-ə > -i:** (2.72), as well as 2 Conjugation (**-ə >**) **-i:** recorded before pausa (2.65).

2.70 Colm Ó Caoidheáin, 894C, Glinsce

Relevant examples were collated from **894C2**, 3, 6 and 9 (prose only). This speaker's more common form by far is *-a/e*. For example, in **894C2.104–436** (with some gaps for material from other speakers) I counted:

-a/e + ag (x25) vs. *-t(a)í + ag* (x12) and prevocalic *-th(a)í* (x2).

Words with *-t(a)í* are: *cas*, *ith*, *buach*, *caith* (all x1); *díon*, *siúil* (both x3).

The word with *-th(a)í* is: *cuir* (x2).

-ə > -i: /_V ≠ *ag*, occurs occasionally:

cas: *tá an ceann fada castaí orm anois* **894C2**;

déan: *diantaí as bealach aige* **894C3**.

The irregular verb *clois* has *cloistí(th) + ag* in all examples in **894C2**, 3, 6, 9 and also *cloistí ó* **894C3**, implying a possibly categorical, or at least high proportional, use of the *-í ag* sandhi rule with *clois* for **894C**.

There is one example from **894C** of **-ə > -i:h** /_ag in:

castaíth' aige agus daimsíthe' ge, **894C6**.

In this instance, the second conjugation *-íthe* of following *daimhsigh* may have induced the preceding form (in the speaker or possibly in the transcriber). Cf. speaker **866ESemr**'s *crochtaíthe* (2.67).

2.71 Other speakers and obsolescence

Céit Ní Mháille, 00C, Doire Iorrais

Noted in *an iomarca ite a'd it' i æd* **00C**.

Cóilín Chúláin, 11C, Maoras

This sandhi is not uncommon in **11C**'s usage, at least in earlier recordings. He is the youngest speaker I know who applies this sandhi any way frequently, e.g.

fu:lt' i: eg' ə ~ fu:lt' eg' ə 11C *siúilte aige*.

Rarely before vowels other than *ag*; note:

gə ro 'k'e:v' d' i:nti: 'ā:n 11C3027 *go raibh céibh déanta ann*.

Seán Chúláin, 12S, Carna

Seán has one single recorded example:

ta ma:rəfə:f kurhi: er' S tá marbhfháisc curthaí air.

Máire Chúláin, 16M, Maínis

No examples were heard from Máire's conversation, but alongside mə n'æ:rt f'e:xt am Mq *mo neart féachta a'm*, Máire permitted ... f'e:xti' am Mperm, thus resembling pr'e:xti: *préachta*.

Obsolescence

This sandhi rule, verbal adjective (ə) → <i:>, is not recognised by Máire as Iorras Aithneach dialect. Similarly, P. Ó Ceannabháin (1983: 20) proposes that speaker 866E's verbal adjectives (2.67) such as *faightí*, *diantaí* might be inherited from the speech of 866E's grandmother who was from An Fhairche (Clonbur, north of Iorras Aithneach). P. Ó Ceannabháin adds that 866E's family, the Búrcaigh, came originally from Gleann Iar-Chonnacht (also north of Iorras Aithneach). These northern family connections may account for the regularity of this rule in 866E's speech. Interestingly, speaker 894Cs's mother's people (2.68) were from Sraith Salach (north of Iorras Aithneach). Nevertheless, given the additional evidence from Iorras Aithneach presented above, and evidence from use in the higher register, it may well be unnecessary to seek a recent external origin for this sandhi. It is clear, however, that Máire and P. Ó Ceannabháin and presumably most, if not all, contemporary speakers are witness to the rapid and thorough loss of the rule.

2.72 Prepositional pronoun, 3f -ə > -i: / _é

Speaker 892Mg (Glinsce) has regular -ə in his third person feminine prepositional pronouns but -i: before the pronoun *é*. This *é* is the only vowel recorded from 892Mg in this position (cf. 2.66). The relevant examples from his short audio recording are:

before pausa	-ə	əg obər' int' ə <i>ag obair inti</i>
before a consonant	-ə	le n-aireachtáil inti sin int' ə fin'
before <i>é</i>	-i:	ə'r' iəw int' i e nu' gə rə m' e ... <i>ariamh inti é nó go raibh mé ...</i> ə'g obər' int' i: 'e: <i>ag obair inti é</i> .

It is possible that this rule once resembled the verbal sandhi rule where *-idh / -igh* > -i: before all vowel-initial pronouns (2.63), still current in East Iorras Aithneach, but the few examples of -i: in the 3f prepositional pronoun context are limited to the pronoun *é* (this includes -i: e: in a rhyme, 10.44(iii)).

Palatality of prevocalic proclitics and prefixes

2.73 General

Certain proclitics and prefixed consonants regularly acquire the quality of the vowel, or consonant in the case of lenited *fhl-* and *fhr-*, to which they are preposed. Examples of word-initial vowels determining the quality of preposed consonants are:

- nonpalatal **ən** *tanəm* *an t-anam*, **er'** *ən anəm* *ar an anam*,
ə *nanəm* *a n-anam*, **tanəm** *t'anam*, **əg** *o:l* *ag ól*, **dol** *d'ól*;
 palatal **ən'** *in'in'* *an inín*, **ə** *n'in'in'* *a n-inín*, **t'in'in'** *t'inín*,
ən' *t'iasc* *an t-iasc*, **əg'** *iascəx* *ag iascach*, **d'iar** *d'iarr*;
ən' *r'agrə* *an fhreagra*, **en'** *r'agrə* *aon fhreagra*.
 Conservative use with *easna*: **ən'** *t'æ:snəxi* **898P** *in t'easnachai*.

Thus **ən** *er'* *an aeir* vs. **ən'** *er'* *an fhéir*. In slow or deliberate speech, instances of lexical *n* with nonpalatal quality followed by palatal quality occur, e.g.

ēn n'r'æstəl **869P** *aon fhreastal*,
əs ā na r ēn n'æm'əl'i: ān | **32J** *Is ó nar raibh aon fheaimilí ann*.

The relevant proclitics and prefixed consonants are: the article *an* and *an t-*, *aon*, eclipsing *n-*; verbal particles *ag* and *d'*; cp. copula present interrogative *an*. Less regular or prevalent are the prefixes *an-*, *aon-*, *in-*, *sean-*, *tréan-*; and second and first person possessive pronouns *t'* and *m'*. The general realisation of *n* in palatalising contexts in eclipsing *n-*, particles and prefixes is **ən'**. Linking or hiatus *n* is variously realised in these contexts as **n n'** **ən'**, e.g.

t'e n/n'/n'in'in' *lena inín*, **t'e n/n'/n'ix'ə** *le n-ithe*.

Prefix *bun-* is nonpalatal mostly, sometimes **n'**. Other proclitics and (less frequent) prefixes show nonpalatal *-n* before front vowels. For instance, prefixes *bán-*, *glan-*, *mion-*, e.g.

ŋ 'ɣlən'i:r'ən'ə *Mq an ghlanfhúrinne*.

The preposition *gan* (also negative particle with verbal nouns) is regularly nonpalatalised, e.g.

gən e: n'æ:x **04B** *gan aon neach*, **gən en nar'ə** **M** *gan aon náire*,
p'isə je ə:gəl gən i:nfəxt **P** *píosa dhe a fhágál gan inseacht*,
n'ir ə:g je klo gən umpu: **S** *níor fhág sé cloich gan iompú*.

I have one instance of the preposition *un* (< *chun*) before a front vowel, it is nonpalatalised in the example:

xuədər ən im'ərə **04B1** *chuadar un imeartha*.

It has been noted both palatal and nonpalatal before a historical front vowel in:

xuə fe ən unsi:hə *Mq chuaigh sé un ionsaíthe*;
ə n'insi:hə, **ə n'unsihə** *Mq un ionsaíthe*.

Cp. **gə t'unsu:** **M** *dho t'ionsú; chuaigh sé seo un oibre n aibr'ə **11C**.*

Historically front initial vowels which have become back vowels frequently retain a palatalising capacity on prefixed consonants. There is variable palatalising effect with some fronted originally back vowels. Individual lexemes are exemplified in the following sections. (Cf. palatalising effects of borrowed initial **j-**, 11.183.)

2.74 Article (*an, an t-*), *aon*, eclipsing *n-*; Historical

Historical quality

EA-, historically correct examples include:

- eadra*, **əN' t'ɑ:d'ɾə** 894C *an t-eadra*.
eagán, **a' t-iugán** 875T1, **ən t'ugɑ:n** M.
earra, **k'ænəxt nə N'æ:ri** M *ceannacht na n-earraí*.

IO-, historically correct examples include:

- iolrach*, **o:N' ulrəx** 892M *ón iolrach*.
iomad, **ə ʔa:ʃk'iax ɑ:lən' nə N'uməd ʔe:l** 04B1 *a ghaiscíoch álainn na n-iomad Ghael*.
iomradh, **ə t'umrə** *an t-iomradh*, also **e:N' umrə** P *aon iomradh*.
iomlán, **ə t'umla:n** M *an t-iomlán*.
ionadh, **ə t'i:nə** *an t-ionadh*.
ionga, **N'ungə** *an ionga*.
iontaigh, **gə N'untin' fjad** 14M *go n-iontaíonn siad*.
iontas, **ə t'intəs** *an t-iontas*.
ioscaid, **ə N'iskəd' M, 21Ptq** *an ioscaid*.

OI-, historically correct examples include:

- oifig*, **sən ef'əʃ** S *san oifig*.
oidhre (~ *eidhre*) **gən air'ə mĩā¹** | (Aln)11C *dhon oidhre mná*.
oilbhéas, **ən elv'e:s** *an oilbhéas* [sic nominative] (male, born c. 1950).
oinniún, **ən tun'w:n** 21Pt *an t-oinniún*.

Cp. fronted *o-*, e.g. **osnə esnə** *osna: ən osnə* *an osna*.

A-, a historically correct example is:

- anrait* (< *anairt*), **ən a'nɾəɾ' 18J** *an anrait*.

AI-, historically correct examples are:

- ailt*, genitive *ailt*, **lɑ:r ən elɾ' Mq** *lár an ailt*.
airtheann, **ən i:rhən** 27Mdq *an airtheann* (FGB *aorthann*).

2.75 Unhistorical quality

The following words take unhistorical or variable palatality.

A-, (optional) unhistorical examples noted are:

- acra*, generally regular with nonpalatal proclitics but in collocation following *iomaire* it takes palatal forms: **ʃa:xt 'N'umər'ə gus ʃa:xt 'N'ækra** 11C, 12S *seacht n-iomaire agus seacht n-acra*.¹
adharc, **ən airk'()** *an adha(i)rc* generally, but younger speaker (**ɛr'()**) **ən' airk' 60M** (*ar*) *an adhairc*.
an- (intensifying prefix), regular with nonpalatal proclitics, e.g. **ə 'ta'n'i:hə** *an t-an-oíche*; **nə 'na'n,vrā 18J** *ina n-an-mhná*, **ənə 'na:n'o:rɑ:n'i 45Có** *ina n-an-amhránaíthe*. In **v'i ʃe 'N'æn'umrəi' ... nə 'N'æn'umrəi'i**

¹ Compare the corresponding phrase from East Connacht *seacht n-iomairí agus seacht n-eitrighe*, *naoi n-iomaire agus naoi n-eitrighe* (de hÍde 1933: 101, 217) and from Donegal **ny: N'ef'ir'ə agəs ny: N'gumwĩr'ə** *naoi n-eitire agus naoi n-iomaire* (Quiggin 1906: 206–7); *eitrighe* and *eitire* are forms of *eitre* FGB, *etarche* DIL, cp. 14 *eithir*, and *immaire* DIL. The collocation of *eitre* and *iomaire*, related in meaning, is no doubt older than that of *acra* and *iomaire*. The palatality of *n-* preposed to *acra* in this phrase may have been transferred from original *n-eitre* (the lexeme *eitre* is apparently obsolete in Iorras Aithneach, *glaise* being the general term for 'trench'). Palatal *n-acra* is synchronically reinforced through assimilation to the quality of *n-* in *n-iomaire*.

17Mp *bhí sé ina an-iomróir ... ina n-an-iomróir*, however, it seems the palatalising effect of the noun *iomróir* is transferred, or metathesised, to the prefix. In query, Máire does not metathesise, i.e. *nə 'næ'n' iəskər'i*: Mq *ina n-an-iascairí*. Similarly, with linking *n* speaker **17M** has: *ən 'a:n' æ:r t'i*: *ina an-fhear tí* (also *ən ar ina fhear*).

ancaire, *an t-eancaire* **894C2**, *ən 't' æŋkər'ə* **869P** *an t-ancaire*, *nə 'næ:ŋkər'i*: **21Pí** *na n-ancairí*; *paul* *ən 'æ:ŋkər'ə* ARN8239 *Poll an Ancaire*.

ascar, in *eascar sa rópa* FFG s.v. *eascar*.

aspal ~ *easpal* (etc.) in EModIr: *A Rí na n-easpal* **!869P6**.

At-, unhistorical example:

Aibreán, *sən aibr' a:n* **24M**, *sən' aibr' a:n* **11P** *san Aibreán*.

AO-, (optional) unhistorical examples include:

aon, 'ace': *an aón* **!894C9**, *ən i:n* **21Jq** *an aon* (*a hairt*), also *an haon a hairt* **27Md**;

cp. 'single person': possessive *t'*: *ə ti:n ən ai pobəl'* S, **21Jq** *i t'aon in aghaidh pobail*; linking *n*: *ən i:n ən ai pobəl'* **21Jq** *ina aon in aghaidh pobail*;

'one, single, same; any': generally palatalises, e.g. *ən 't'e:n a:t'* *ə'wā:n'* *an t-aon áit amháin*, *ən' e:n xɑ:nɑ:n'i:n' ə'wā:n'* **!894C** *in aon charnáinín amháin*, *ə 'n'e:n a:t'* *in aon áit*, but nonpalatal in speaker **11C**'s examples: *ə te: nin'ə d'e:g* **11C** *an t-aon nduine déag*, *v' i:dər ən e:n 'i:f ə'wā:n'* **11C** *bhíodar in aon aois amháin*; also *ən e:n v' a:l ə'wā:n'* **892M2101** *in aon mheall amháin*; *in aon n ē:ŋ choidhcís amháin ... in aon ən ē:n áit ... in aon ən ē'm bhlás ...* **01P**; *n e:n 't'a:k gə 'brɑ:x* **05M** *in aon teach go brách*; *ən ē:n ā:t'* **04Br** *in aon áit*; *ən e:n* **79Ml** *in aon ...*.

aonú: (*ən'*) *t'e:nu: lɑ: d'e:g* S, **27Mdq** *an t-aonú lá déag*; but also *ən tē:nū k'ed d'e:g* **892M** *an t-aonú céad déag*.

aon-: *fahəx ən' 'e:n' x'i:n'* | *ən' 'e:n' v' ail'* *ogəs ən' 'e:n' win'i:l'* (Smbb) **04B** *fathach an aonchinn, an aonmheill agus an aonmhuiníl*; *lox ən' e:n' il' a:n'* **20M** *Loch an Aonoileáin*. But also nonpalatal, e.g. *tɑ: bi:l' ə ən' 'e:n' aurd' mɑ:l* S *tá buille an aonoird mall* (proverb); *ən 'e:m' wɑ:d* **35E** *in aonbhád*; *ən ə 'te:n' wak ə mir'ə* **!!(Abfr)43Js** *an t-Aonmhac Muire*.

2.76 ea- — eo-

EA-, (optional) unhistorical examples include:

each, *ə nɑ: xi:l daun* **11C** *an each chaol donn*, *ən a'x xi:l wɑ:n* P *an each chaol bhán*, but the 2sg possessive is palatal in *t'a:x* P *t'each*. Also nonpalatal in *er' ən a'x luəxrə* **892M** *ar an each luachra*.

eadrascán, *ən tɑ:druskɑ:n* **04Bl** *an t-eadarascán*, *l'ɛf ən æ'druskɑ'n* M *leis an eadrascán*.

eagla, *ə tɑ:glə* **23Ms** *an t-eagla*, *e:n ægl eg'ə riv'ə* M *aon eagla aige roimhe*, also *'a:n' a:glə* **889P**, *'æ:n' a:gl er'* **899P** *an-eagla* (*air*).

eaglais, *ən' a:gləf* *an eaglais* generally, but *sən a:gləf* M *san eaglais*.

ealaín, *ən a:l i:n'* **52Pc** *an ealaín*.

eallach, *a' t-allach* !894C9, *ən ta:ləx* M *an t-eallach*.

Eanach Mheáin, *ə nanəx v'ən* in *Eanach Mheáin*.

eanga, *ən' æ:ŋgə* M *an eanga*. But *gəs d ā:ŋgə k'ē:nə* [sic *d < n*] 892M3759 *agus an eanga céanna* (9.32). Cp. -... *gə gir'hə: n 'ā:ŋg ā:n* 21Pg -... *go gcuirtheá an eanga ann ... -... v'ex ə t'æ:ŋ ən | ā:ŋgə kurh ā:n* 11C -... *bheadh an t-eang- an, eanga curtha ann?* ARN3542-4.

(e)*anraith*, *ən' an:trə* S, *n' t'an:trə*, *ə n'an:trə* 23M *an (t-)eanraith*, but also *an t-ánthruith* 866EB17, *a' t-ánthra* (in saying) 894C9, *ən ta:nrə* 17Md, *an t-antra* (my early notes).

earráid, *k'en ura:d' ə v'i: an* M *cén earráid a bhí ann?*, *n'i:l' em ura:d' an* M *níl aon earráid ann*, also *'æn'ura:d' ort* M *an-earráid ort*.

eas, *ən æs u:dən tumə:n* (Asc) 19S in *eas údain Tomáin*; but *lox var' ən' æ:sə* 20M *Loch Bharr an Easa*, *brudə:n ki:x ən' æ:sə ruə* 11C *bradán caoch an Easa Rua*.

easca, *ən æ:skə* Mq in *easca*.

eascann, *ən æ:skən* 01C, M *an eascann*; *sən æ:skən* 899D *san eascann*; *nə næ:skəni*: (run) 11C *na n-eascannaí*.

eascainí, *ən æ:skən'i*: M *an eascainí*.

easlán, *slæ:n't ə nə nislə:n* S *sláinte na n-easlán*.

easna, *ən' æ:snə v'og* 889P *an easna bheag*; but nonpalatal more commonly: *sən æ:snə* 11C *san easna*; *ən' æ:snə* M, 65S *an easna*; *nə næ:snəxi*: M *na n-easnachaí*.

easóg, *fín æ:sog ... ən a:sog* 894Cs *faoín easóg ... an easóg*.

easpa, common noun: *nə n'æ:spi* M *na n-easpaí*; abstract noun: *n'i:l' ən 'a:spə 'fj:i:k' 'er'* 33T *Níl aon easpa tsíc air*.

Cp. *axre*: (presumably a reflex of *Achadh Réidh* rather than *Eachréidh*), which takes nonpalatal proclitics, e.g. *fín axre*: *faoín Achadh Réidh*.

EI-, unhistorical nonpalatal quality:

eidheann, *sən ev'ən* Mq *san eidheann*, *ən tev'ən* 18J *an t-eidheann*.

EO-, (optional) unhistorical examples include:

eochair, *ən' oxər'* *an eochair* generally, but *ən oxər'* 52P (only).

Eochaill, *ən' oxəl'* M, *n oxəl'* S in *Eochaill*.

eolas, with the article: *ən' t'oləs* 11C, 35E *an t-eolas*, *kurə ɣlɑ:s ən' oləf* 892M *Curadh Ghlas an Eolais*, *ən' oləf* P *an eolais*;

with *aon*: *e:n* / *ən oləs* S *aon eolas*.

eorna, *ən' or:nə* *an eorna* generally, but cp. *ə tɔ:r:nə* [sic] S85 *an t-eorna* (masculine instead of feminine, presumably speaker-error).

2.77 *í — ú*

I-, (optional) unhistorical examples occur in:

ifreann, *ən ifr'an* 11Ct, SM, *ən if'ərən* S, *ən efr'an* 18J, 62P, *ən' ifr'an* P87 in *ifreann*.

ithe, *ən' ix'ə* M *an ithe*, *ən ihə x'e:ənə* 45N *an ithe chéanna*.

IA-, unhistorical in rare word *ən iəl* 35Et *an iall*.

IO-, (optional) unhistorical examples include:

iomaire, *ən' umər'ə* generally (including 79S), but *er' ən umər'ə* | 78P *ar an iomaire* and *ə tumər'ə ji:nə* | 78P *an t-iomaire a dhéanamh*. Also: *In*

iomraechaí **ən** *ūmre*³**xi** *a bhíodar ag cuir an arbhair. ... an t-iomaire* **ə** *t'umər*^ə *mhór leathan sin fheiceanns tú sa talthamh* **11C**.

iomghaoth, **n** *u:myi*: *S an iomghaoth*, so also *'æn'u:myi:hə* *S an-iomghaoithe*.

iomlacht, **gə**: *nu:mləxt* **21Pt** *dhá n-iomlacht*.

Iorras, **n** *orəs* *æ:n'həx* in *Iorras Aithneach*, **ə** *norəs* *wor* in *Iorras Mhór*.

iothlainn, **ə** *n'olhən* *S an / in iothlainn* generally, but *sən olhən* **31Mq** *san iothlainn*.

Iú-, (optional) unhistorical examples include:

iúr, **ən** *tu:r* **05M** *an t-iúr*, *p'isə* *gən* *u:r*, **ə** *tu:r*, *də:nəx* *ən* *u:r* *S píosa dhen iúr*, *an t-iúr*, *Domhnach an Iúir*.

Cp. *iúl*, **ə** *n'u:l* *S*, **ən** *u:l* *M in iúl*.

O-, *U*-, (optional) unhistorical examples occur in:

ommar **DIL**, *umar* **FGB** > *ioma(i)r*, *an (t-)ioma(i)r* **ən** *umər* *S*, **ən** *t'umər*

Mq, **ə** *t'umər* **20My**, *iomar beag ... as an* **ən** *iomairín* **ARN7688–92**.

oscar, see possessives below (2.89).

ursainn, **ən** *urfən* / *orfen* *an ursainn* generally, but **ən** *orfən* **31Mq**.

Oi-, (optional) unhistorical examples include:

oibriú, **ə** *taibr'u*: **M**, **60M** *an t-oibriú*, **ən** *aibr'u*: **60M** *aon oibriú*; this is in contrast with the verb *oibrigh*, which generally palatalises, e.g. **gə**: **n'aibr'a**: *dhá n-oibreá*, **gə**: **n'aibr'u**: **Mq**, **20Cq** *dhá n-oibriú*. Cf. 2.85.

oil, verb recorded in song *nax* *n'el'ə:n də* ... (**Ams**)**899N** *nach n-oileoinn do ...*. Cf. 2.86.

oileán, generally palatalises, e.g. **n'** *t'il'a:n*, **er'** *ən* *il'a:n* **01J** *an t-oileán*, *ar an oileán*. But **ta:lhə** (**l**) *ən* *il'a:n* | **869P** *talamh an oileáin*, **ə** *t'il'a:n* ... **er'** *ən* *il'a:n* **17Mp** *an t-Oileán ... ar an Oileán*. Some young speakers have consistent nonpalatalisation, probably a spelling pronunciation, e.g. **er'** *ə* *n'il'a:n* **78B** *ar an oileán*, **nə** *n'il'a:n*, **ən** *il'a:n* **79M** *na nOileán*, *an Oileán* (both speakers are young women). Contrast **er'** *ən* *il'a:n* **79MI** *ar an oileán* (young man). But **43Mp**, who does not read Irish, also has **er'** *ə* *n'il'a:n* [**x2**] **43Mp** *ar an oileán*.

oistire, **ə** *tejt'ər'ə* **31P** *an t-oistire*; **nə** *nejt'ər'i*: **Mq**, **43J**, also **nə** *n'ejt'ər'i*: **11P**, **32Js**, **35E** *na n-oistirí*.

óiche, generally nonpalatal, but exceptional *aon* in: **n'ĩ** *ĩ* *'ē:n* | *'n'ĩ:hə* | **ogəf** *'n'ĩ* *'ē:n* *'ĩ:hə* | *ə:n* *'ĩ:hə* ... **05M** *Ní raibh aon óiche*, *agus níl aon óiche*, *ón óiche* ...

U-, an (optional) unhistorical example occurs in:

uncail, generally nonpalatalising but **fa:xt** *n'ugkəl'* **00C** *seacht n-uncail*.

Ui-, an (optional) unhistorical example occurs in:

uillinn, **n'íl'** *ən* *SM an uillinn*, similarly possessive *t'*: *t'il'hən* **M**, **t'il'** *ən* *SM t'uillinn*, but also **ən** *il'ən* **S85** *an uillinn*.

Ú-, an unhistorical example is:

úcaire in **drohəd** *ən* *u:kər'ə* **11C3352** *Droichead an Úcaire*.

Exceptions

Rarely and anomalously, in speaker error: **ən** *in'ə:g*, **t'in'ə:g** **M** *an fhuinneog*, *t'fhuinneog*. There are examples of unfamiliar words with variable palatality of preposed *n*; in particular, the default, or unmarked, nonpalatal form is found

before front vowels (as with borrowings). When expounding the word *ithir*, for example, Seán initially pronounced **ən ehər** *S an ithir* until he became more familiarised with the word and then regularly produced **ən̑ ehər** *S an ithir*. In discussing the meaning of the phrase *tuile liaga*, metanalysed by Máire to *tuile iaga*, Máire produced **k'e:rd e: n iəgə n'fɪn** *M Céard é an 'iaga' ansin?* Similarly, with a rare word: **ən iəl 35E** *an iall*.

2.78 Prefixes; *an-*

The prefix *an-* is regularly palatalised to almost the same extent, and in the same environments, as the article but nonpalatalisation does occur, as in the following:

- É- *éadan*, exceptionally, in *bhí an-éadan* **'a:n'e:ðən** *ar an rud* S.
éadrom, **'a:n'e:drəm** commonly, also **'a:n'e:ðərəm 01P** *an-éadrom*.
 Contrast the verb **d'e:drəm'i:ðər 01P** *d'éadroimíodar*.
éasca, regularly in **'a:n'e:skə** M, P *an-éasca*. Contrast **ən̑ e:skiəxt 20A** *an éascaíocht*, **e:n̑ e:skiəxt 21Ptq** *aon éascaíocht*.
- EO- *eolas*, **'æ:n̑'o:ləs 889P** *an-eolas*; **n̑ 'tæ:n'o:ləs 11C** *an t-an-eolas* vs. **ən̑ f'o:ləs 11C** *an t-eolas*. Also **æ̃:n̑o:li: 06C** *aneolaí* (FGB *aineolaí*).
- I- *in-*, the prefix **a:n-** *an-* is nonpalatal before the prefix **ən-** *in-* in:
'a:nən̑v̑ a:rhə [x3] Mq *an-inbhearrtha*.
- Í- *íseal*, **'ā:n̑i:fəl 18J7587** *an-íseal*.
- IA- *iascaire*, **'æ:n̑'iəskər'i:** Mq *an-iascairí*, but also **'a:n̑'a:n̑iəskər'i:** **21Pg7781** *an-, an-iascairí*.
- IO- *iomróir*, **'æ:n̑'umrər'i:** but also **'ā:n̑'umrər'i: 11C1794** *an-iomróirí*. Recall **nə 'n̑'æ:n̑'umrər'i: 17Mp** *ina n-an-iomróirí* (2.75).
ionduíl, go *hán-únduíl* **866ESemr**, **gə 'ha:n̑'undul̑** S *go han-ionduíl*.
iontach, **'a:n̑'i:ntəx 04Br** but also **'ā:n̑'i:ntəx 04B, 35E** *an-iontach*.
iontas, **'æ:n̑'i:ntəs** *an-iontas*, but **rin̑ə m̑'e 'a:n̑'i:ntəf d̑'i 17M** *rinne mé an-iontas de* (cf. **17M, 2.83**).
- FHEI- *an-fheiliúnach* **'ā:n̑'el̑ u:rəx** [sic] **21Pg4400**.
- FHI- *file*, **'æ:n̑'il̑ə** *an-fhile* but also *bhí sé ina an-fhile* **'næ̃:n̑'il̑ə** *go deo* **11C**.

2.79 *sean-, tréan-, aon-, in-*

The prefix *sean-* is also regularly palatalised but *seanfhear*, at least, alternates regularly, i.e. **'jæ:n̑'ær ~ 'jæ:n̑'a:r**, e.g. **'jæ:n̑'ær 894C**. The nonpalatalisation of *n* in *seanfhir* in the following citation may be regular for the speaker or may indicate greater emphasis on the composite meaning *sean* + *fear* (i.e. less lexicalisation):

bhí sé ag tóigeál miosúr an ghasúir, agus miosúir an tseanfhir m̑'isu:ȓ ə 't̑'æ̃:n̑'iȓ agus miosúir an fhír óig. 894Cs.

Also: **'jæ̃n̑'e:ðəx** *seanéadach* generally, but **'jæ̃n̑'e:di:** [x2] **11C** *seanéadaí*;
'jā:n̑è:n̑ 869P *seanéan*; **gə̃n̑ 't̑'æ̃:n̑'ĩn̑əx 01P** *dhen tseanfhiannfach*.

In Máire's speech and permitted usage, *tréan-* before front vowels is realised as **n̑**, **n̑'** and **n**, e.g.

'tȓ'e:n̑'ær 'tȓ'e:n̑'ær 'tȓ'e:n̑'ær *tréanfhear*.

The prefix *aon-* is not common in the relevant palatalising contexts. It does nonetheless occur, both nonpalatal and palatal, in:

'e:n, in' i:n' 04B *aonín*; place-name lox ən' e:n' il' ən' *Loch an Aonoileáin*.

The prefix *in-* is also quite rare in these contexts:

ən' ek' i: M85, ən' ek' i:(hə) Mq *infheicthí*(the); ən' it' ə inite;

ən' unsi:hə ən' insi:hə ən' unsi:hə Mq *inionsaíthe*.

2.80 Copula *an*

Present interrogative copula *an* is regularly realised as ən' before vowel-initial pronouns (all of which generally take palatal copula forms), e.g.

ən' æ? *an ea?* ən' e? *an é?* ən' id Mq *an iud?* ən' u:d Mq *an iúd?*

One exception with ən' was noted:

ə | glox ə 'tortā:n' ə 'n' æ nu glox nə 't' in' ə 11C4402

i gCloch an Tortáin, an ea, nó i gCloch na Tine,

presumably a slip of the tongue caused by preceding n' of *Tortáin*, and perhaps even of following *tine*. Before the adjective *iomú*, nonpalatal ən was heard:

ən umu' Mq *an iomú?*

2.81 Linking or hiatus *n*

The phonetic realisation of linking *n* (9.144 ff.) before palatalising initial vowels can alternate between n', n', n, i.e.

linking *n* > n', n', n / _V^{+front} (historical)

The analysis should distinguish between linking *n* prefixed directly to an initial vowel (e.g. *le n-ithe*) and linking *n* which is followed by elided schwa and an initial vowel (e.g. *lena inín*). Linking *n* should also be distinguished from *n* prefixed to vowels in eclipsis. These three types are often homophonous but can be distinguished (by some speakers, sometimes). Examples of linking *n* are:

n'	<i>le n-</i>	l' e n' ix' ə S <i>le n-ithe</i> .
	<i>ina</i>	ə n' e: dən M <i>ina éadan</i> ; v' i f' e ' n' æ: n, u: m: rə: r' 17Mp <i>bhí sé ina an-iomróir</i> (2.75).
	<i>tigh-n-a</i>	v' i: m' e t' i: n' in' i:n' M <i>bhí mé tigh-n-a inín</i> 'I was at his daughter's house', t' i: n' ir' h' e: n' Mq <i>tigh-n-a fhíor héin</i> .
n'	<i>le n-</i>	l' e n' ix' ə S <i>le n-ithe</i> ; l' e n' i: k M <i>le n-íoc</i> .
	<i>ina</i>	gə rə f' e n' 'æ: r' 892M4463 <i>go raibh sé ina fhear</i> .
	<i>tigh-n-a</i>	t' i: n' in' i:n' ə Mq <i>tigh-n-a iníne</i> .
n, n	<i>le n-</i>	l' e n' ix' ə 869P, l' e n' ix' ə 01P <i>le n-ithe</i> ; l' e n' ol ... l' e n' ix' ə 894C <i>le n-ól ... le n-ithe</i> .
n	<i>ina</i>	n' il' i: 892M1216, 11C <i>ina fhírlí</i> ; v' i: f' e ' n' ' r: dər' 892M4463 <i>bhí sé ina fhíodóir</i> ; ən ær 'wā' 892M <i>ina fhear mhaith</i> ; n il' ən 892M3786 <i>ina oileán</i> ; n i: nt' ən' h' e: n' 01P, n i: nt' ən' h' e: n' 11C1635 <i>ina intinn héin</i> ; n a' r' o: g 11C <i>ina fhear óg</i> ; n e: l' v' ik' dæ: rə 11C <i>ina Fhéil Mhic Dara</i> ; ən u: mlə: n Mq <i>ina iomlán</i> (following my pronunciation in nonpalatal n); ən a' r 17M <i>ina fhear</i> ; ən i: m' 31M <i>ina im</i> ; ən' e: dən ən e: dən 52M <i>ina éadan</i> .
	<i>lena</i>	l' e n' in' i:n' 04Br <i>lena inín</i> ; l' e n' i: k 11C <i>lena íoc</i> ; l' e n' ix' ə S <i>lena ithe</i> .
	<i>tigh-n-a</i>	t' i: nə in' i:n' t' i: n in' i:n' Mq <i>tigh-n-a inín</i> .

Despite the occurrence of all three phones in both contexts of linking *n* in the dialect as a whole, contrasts can be found in the usage of individual speakers. The contrast noted is basically **n** -*na* vs. **ŋ** *n*-, e.g. (in Seán's speech)

ʲe n i x̌ə *lena ithe* can contrast with **ʲe ŋ i x̌ə** ~ **ʲe n̪ i x̌ə** *le n-ithe*.

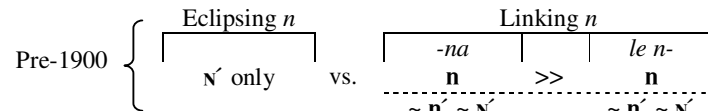
Similarly, Máire in conversation generally has **ŋ** in all cases, but in query she also has **n** in -*na*, i.e. **ʲi n̪ə i n̪ i n̪** | **ʲi n̪ i n̪ i n̪** Mq *tigh-n-a inín*.

No instance of linking -*án-a* (9.167 ff.) in a palatalising context was noted from conversation, but it is most likely to pattern similar to linking -*n+a*. In query it is unpalatalised, i.e.

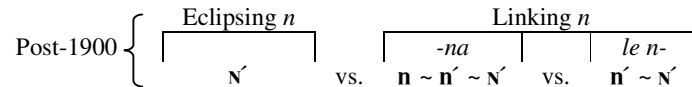
n -*án-a* **ʃkr̪ i:v ʃe eg̃ a:n i n̪ i n̪** 27Mdq *scríobh sé agána inín*.

2.82 Morphophonology and dialectology of preposed *n*

We can use the term 'preposed *n*' to cover the various types of *n* which can undergo palatalisation by word-initial vowels. If we include eclipsing *n* and linking *n*, we have, in my oldest speakers, the following three-way facultative or possible contrast in types of *n* found before (historical) front vowels:



The main distinction lies in a greater use of **n** to indicate elided ə in -*na*. (With further analysis one may discover a contrast between use of **n̪** and **ŋ**.) In fact, given that the examples of **ʲe n** *le n-* are from two of my oldest speakers, born before 1900, the contrast for speakers born since then is more clear-cut:



The lack of complete elision of schwa and the lack of palatalisation are both common in proclitics before vowels in nontraditional speech, e.g. possessives *mo* and *do*. A similar nontraditional use with linking *n* was heard from 52M (female) and from progressive speaker 72N (male):

ə n̪ ə d̪ə n̪ | **ə n̪ ə d̪ə n̪** 52M, **ə n̪ ə d̪ə n̪** 72N *ina éadan* 'in his face'.

For a complete picture of preposed *n* before palatalising vowels one must include the following further categories of: the article *an* and *aon* with regular **ŋ**, prepositions *un* and *gan*, and prefixes with variable **n** **n̪** **ŋ**. With the article, **ŋ** is of course the rule (i). However, **n̪** also occurs; rarely in the older generation (ii), more commonly in younger speakers (iii). A later usage, further from traditional dialect, is **n** (iv). Similarly, **e n̪** *aon* is found in younger speakers (iii). Examples are:

- (i) **er̪ ə n̪ ə:spək** *ar an easpag*, **e n̪ ə:spək** *aon easpag*.
- (ii) **sə n̪ iər h̪ər** 14M *san iarthar* (*iarthar* is a recent Irish borrowing or adoption, 11.122 ff.);
ə n̪ ə di:l̪ t̪ər eg̃ ə d̪orəs M *an fheadaíl atá ag an doras*.

- (iii) **ə́n' oxə́r' 52P** *an eochair*; **ə́n' in' i:n' 66N** *an inín*;
ə́n' iəskəx 66N *an iascach*; **er' ə́n' il' a:n 78Rb** *ar an oileán*.
e:n' oxə́r' 52P *aon eochair*.
- (iv) **wai ŋ e:ðən 66N** *uaidh an éadan*.
 For **ən a:r o:g 04B** *an fhear óg*, see below (2.83).

It may be significant that all innovative examples (ii–iv) are from women, with the exception of speaker **04B**. With the **ə́n'** realisation (iii), we can compare the possible example of **nr'**- for traditional eclipsed *ndr'*- noted from a young female speaker: **tə́ nə́ nr' ehə́r' 66L** *tá na* [3pl possessive] *ndreatháir*.

The data concerning all preposed *n* in palatalising contexts are summarised as follows:

	Eclipsis	Base cliticised <i>n</i> and conjoined <i>n</i>					Linking <i>n</i>	
		<i>an, aon, an</i> (cop)	<i>un, in-</i>	<i>an-, sean-, tréan-</i>	<i>bun-</i>	<i>gan, glan-, mion-</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>le n-</i>
Regular	ŋ'	ŋ'	n ŋ'	n n' ŋ'	n n'	n	n n' ŋ'	(n) n' ŋ'
Innovative		n n						

2.83 Some individual speakers

869P, *le n-* **l'e N fíbfə́ v' e l'e nix' ə́ | a:kəb | 869P** *sibse a bheith le n-ithe acub*.
SID.46 **l'e n' l'e: 'n'ix' ě Mp 102** *le n-ithe*.

01P This speaker has broad *n* in *in aon*, *le n-ithe*, *ina íntinn*, *seanfhear*.

04B Note that **04B** has **ŋ'** regularly, e.g. **e:n' e:ɣ aon éitheach**, **ə́ n' il' a:n in oileán**, but nonpalatal *n* in:

- (a) linking *n* in *ina*: **ə́ n' i:n' ə́n' he:n' ina intinn héin**;
 (b) prefix *aon-*: **'e:n' in' i:n' aoninín**;
 (c) definite article *an*: **ən a:r o:g an fhear óg**.

His final example is the only such instance noted before *fhear*, **ə́ n' a:r an fhear** being usual in the dialect. It may indicate the transitional status of genitive *an fhear* for speaker **04B**, the older inflected genitive being of course **ə́ n' ir' an fhir** (constrained in his example by the presence of a following adjective *óg*).

17M Speaker **17M** (Leitir Deiscirt), based on his short recording, seems prone towards nonpalatalised **n** in:

- (a) linking; *le n-*: **l'e nix' a:kəb 17M** *le n-ithe acub* (perhaps **n'ix'**);
ina: **gə́ rə́ fə́ nə́r 17M** *go raibh sé ina fhear*;
 (b) prefix; *sean-*: **'fə́ nə́r 17M** *seanfhear*;
an-: **rin' ə́ m' e 'a:n' i:ntə́f d' i 17M** *rinne mé an-iontas de*.

2.84 Dialectology in Connacht

In IEM §494 there is an implicit three-way contrast before front vowels of **ŋ'** vs. **n'** vs. **n**:

- (i) eclipsing *n* is **ŋ'**; this contrasts with linking *n*, which
 (ii) prefixed to initial vowel of verbal noun following *le*, is **n'**, and
 (iii) with possessive *a*, is **n**, e.g. *lena*.

This pattern is neater than that found in Iorras Aithneach. In GCF §547, especially footnote 3, it is claimed that *n' n n* occur before front vowels, *n'* being most common; there is no distinction made between, for example, *le n-* and *lena*. In the actual examples before front vowels one finds *l'e n' lena*, *l'e n'/n' le n-*. The variation described in GCF resembles closer the Iorras Aithneach data. In fact, the neatness of the description in IEM §494 does not correspond to some examples found in IEM and other sources for that dialect. In IEM text 912 one finds *n'* for expected *n*, i.e. *ə'n' e:ðən ina éadan*. In SID Mp 102 *le n-ithe* (*le hithe* in Ulster, rarely elsewhere) one finds *n* for expected *n'* (e.g. Erris points 55–7). The *n* in Mp 102 is nonpalatal all over Connacht as well as in Munster and (South-West) Leinster; apart from South Galway, which includes our point 46, (and point 24 in Clare) and two areas in the far south of Ireland. The discrepancy between the description in IEM and these examples cannot be taken as a simple mistake in IEM. It could reflect for example some speakers' responses in query or intuitions or facultative contrasts. We have seen the (facultative) contrast in, for instance, Seán's examples and Máire's responses above (2.81). In the area of South Galway where *n* is palatal (in SID Mp 102 *le n-ithe*) — stretching from point 33 in the east to point 46 in the west — *n'* is most common (nine points, including point 46), *n'* occurs in one point (37), *n'* in two (in the west of the area, close to our dialect, i.e. points 42 and 45).

2.85 Preverbal *ag, d'*

The consonant quality of the preverbal particles *ag ag' ag* (+ verbal noun, 8.104) and *d d' d'* (prevocalic 'lenitor', 8.36) is determined by the following initial vowel of the verb, and, in the case of *d'*, also by the quality of the lenited *f*-. E.g.

əg o:l ag ól, əg' iələkən ag iolacan;
do:l d'ól, d'i d'ith, də:r' d'fhair, d'o:ləm' d'fheoghlaím,
cp. dr'ia:l' d'fhríotháil, dl'ox d'fhliuch.¹

The synchronic surface quality of the initial vowels of verbs, however, does not always match their quality effects; as for *f*-initial verbs, the quality effect of *feic* is exceptional for a minority of speakers.

Historical quality

Examples of historical quality occur regularly preceding *æ-* *ai-* and mostly preceding *u(:)* from *io-*.

- AI-* *aireachas, əg æ:r' əxəs 17M ag aireachas.*
IO- *iomair, d'umər' M, g'umrə ~ g'u:mrə S ag iomradh.*
iompaigh, d'umpə 03C, S, əg' umpu: S ag iompú.
iompair, d'umpər' less often d'impər' d'iompair, ag iúmpar 894C2,
g'umpərt' ~ g'umpər SM ag iompairt / iompar; similarly, 46.605,
g'umpərt' 01P.
ionsaigh, d'unsə M d'ionsaigh, əg' unsi: M ag ionsaí.

¹ There is a third relevant form, the verbal noun complementiser, now regularly *a*, but formerly prevocalically also *ə* *ɻ* (*ə* *ɻa:l' a dh'fháil*), *ə* *d* (*ə* *da:l' a d'fháil* in higher register) and palatalised, presumably, **ə* *j* (*a dh'insean* !Clad224 ⇒ **ə* *ji(:)nfən*) and perhaps **ə* *d'* (8.107, 10.90). For preverbal *-r*, see 2.88.

2.86 Unhistorical quality

The following words show unhistorical or variable palatalisation.

- EA- *ealaín*, **ga:li:n'** *ag ealaín* (as with the article, etc.).
eascainí, **əg askən'i:** (as with the article, etc.), anomalously **g'æ:skən'i:**
78J *ag eascainí*.
- EI- *eiteal*, **ə g'et'əl** 46.140, **ə get'əl** S, **22J** *ag eiteal*; also **ə 'g'et'ro:g**
 46.140 *ag eiltreog*.
- ÉI- *éirí*, regularly **g' air'i:** M and **d' air'ə** *d'éirigh*, but **g air'i:** **66N** *ag éirí*.
- IO- *iomlacht*, **g' u:mləxt b'ehiəx** S *ag iomlacht beithíoch*, **əg' inləxt** M, but
 also **əg u:nləxt** **21Pt**; **d' unlə** M *d'ionlaigh*.
iontaigh, **d'untidəɾ** **11C** *d'iontaíodar*, **əg' untu:** S *ag iontú*. One non-
 palatal instance was noted: **d'untə ... du:ntə** **869P** *d'iontaigh*.
- OI- (O-) *oibrigh*, generally **d'aibr'ə** SM *d'oibrigh*. But the historically correct
 quality is found in some older speakers: **daibr'ə** **894Cs** (contrast his
ŋ'aibr'id'i:f **894Cs** *n-oibridís* with the prevalent palatalisation, so also
 the verbal noun **gə: ŋ'aibr'u:** Mq *dhá n-oibriú*), also **daibr'ə** **897P**, **18J**
d'oibrigh and **daibr'i:x** **894P** *d'oibríodh*. With *ag*, generally nonpalatal:
əg aibr'u: *ag oibriú* (also **g aib'ər'u:** **01P**, **əg obr'u:** **16P**). Thus *oibrigh*
 is the only common verb with a consistent contrast **d'** vs. **əg**. Neverthe-
 less, also palatal *ag*: **əg' aibr'u:** **866E** (AM), **01P**, **20A**, **76Mt** *ag oibriú*
 (the last three speakers are from Doire Iorrais).
 Other proclitics are nonpalatal with the verbal noun, e.g. **ə taibr'u:** M,
60M *an t-oibriú*, **'a:n'aibr'u:** *an-oibriú*. The tendency to palatalise found
 with **aibr'ə** *oibrigh* was perhaps taken over from the phonetically similar
 verb **air'ə** *éirigh*. The prevalent nonpalatal **əg aibr'u:** *ag oibriú*, on the
 other hand, is perhaps maintained through analogy with **əg obər'u:** *ag*
obair. Speaker **35E** normally has **əg obər'u:**; his **əg' obər sən** **35E** *ag*
obair san (13.21, line 78) is probably a slip of the tongue.
 Cp. *oil*, **əg ol'unt'** *ag oiliúint*, but with *d'* in *A d'fheil*, *a d'fheilfeadh*
!894C9 (meaning *a d'oil(feadh)*, the spelling indicates **ə d'el'**, **ə**
d'el'həx, consistent with attested **nax ŋ'el'ə:ŋ** *nach n-oileoinn*; the
 lenited palatalising forms are moreover homonymous with lenited forms
 of *feil*). This uncommon verb thus resembles *oibrigh* with **d'** vs. **əg**.
- Cp. optionally fronted *o-* in *oscail*, e.g. *d'oscail* **dəskəl'** **04B**.
- FE- *feic* regularly has **d'** but takes **d** for a minority of speakers: **dək'ə:** **25M**,
66N *d'fheictheá*; **dək'əx** **66N** *d'fheictheadh*.
- F(E)O- *feoghlaím* (< *foghlaím*) is generally **f'oləm'** and regularly takes **d'**;
 similarly, **'æ:ŋ'oləmtə** **866E** *an-fheoghlamta*. But **doləm'** **72C**, **76Mt**
 (in **doləm mid'**), **77C** *d'fhoghlaím*, presumably through spelling or
 other external influence. (Nonpalatal **foləm'**, and therefore also
doləm', are regular east of An Teach Mór in Cois Fharraige; ICF §619).

2.87 Exceptions

Speaker **27J** (Loch Con Aortha) has pervasive nonpalatal preverbal **d d'** in conversation:

dək'əx, **də:rha:**, **dinʃo:d** *fe* **27J**

d'fheictheadh, déarthá [i.e. *d'éarthá*], *d'inseodh sé*.

In query he first produced **d'info:d fe**, then **dinfo:d fe 27Jq** *d'inseodh sé*. His use may be related to speaker **01P**'s (Doire Iorrais, east of Loch Con Aortha, 1.215) quotative **ə der fe** *a deir sé*, etc. Speaker **27J**'s (or both speakers') nonpalatal **d** in the verbal particle may be related to the complex changes in place of articulation which primarily affect the central or palatal consonants, changes which are prominent in Loch Con Aortha (1.407).

2.88 Preverbal -r

The past tense *-r* suffixed to verbal particles, although sometimes palatal, is most often nonpalatal before (historically) palatalising initials (8.95), e.g.

éirigh, ər' air' ə M ar éirigh; əgə ʃ' g'ar gər air' ə b'æn ə 't'i: ... 11C agus is gearr gur éirigh bean an tí ...

eitigh, nār' 'et' ə ʃi 866E nar eitigh sí.

feist, gər oft' ədər i: 892M4171 gur fheisteadar í.

iarr, ər iər tu 'en 'v'æn ə'r iən ə d'er ʃi' d'iarəs ə d'ər fe | 11C

-Ar iarr tú aon bhean ariamh? a deir sí. -D'iarras, a deir sé.

íoc, n'ir' 'ik ... 46.1030 níor íoc ...

2.89 Possessive pronouns *m', t'*

1sg *m'* is generally broad before all vowels. Its palatalisation before high front vowels is quite restricted (for 1sg *m'* and 2sg *t'* and *d'*, see 6.29 ff.). An anomalous and unhistorical example is found in:

oscar, m'uskər 04Bl m'oscar; thus resembling palatalising *ioscaid*.

2sg *t'* is frequently palatalised. Both unhistorical examples corresponding to use with the article and counterexamples to use with the article (i.e. nonpalatal where the article is palatal) occur as well as use with *ainneoin* which does not occur with the article:

ainneoin, gə t' m' u:n' 46.932 dhe t'ainneoin.

ionga, regularly t' uŋgə t'ionga, but fi: tuŋgə 12J faoi t'ionga.

ioscaid, t'iskəd' 21Ptq, tiskəd' M t'ioscaid.

oscar, t'iskər 04Bl t'oscar.

ursainn, t'urfəŋ' Mq t'ursainn.

The innovative prevocalic 2sg possessive **d d'** is not generally palatalised, e.g.

er t'e:dən *ar t'éadan* > **er de:dən 47L** *ar d'éadan*.

2.90 Article and functors following *-u:* < *-ə*

The article **ə(n)** *an* may be realised as **ə** following unstressed *-u:* which is derived from a synchronic schwa. This is in contrast with the regular postvocalic **n**-form of the article. I.e.

ən an > **ə /u:** where **u:** < **ə** (through sandhi, described in 2.52).

This sandhi reflects the (earlier) postconsonantal alternate **-əw ə** *-adh / -amh an*. E.g.

diún 7 deiriú a' lae 894C2,

d' u:n əgəs d'er' u: ə le: 11Ct *deamhan agus deireadh an lae,*

g'uisce Thobar Dheiriú a' Domhain 875T1.

Similarly, the possessive *ə a* is not elided postvocally following sandhi *-u:* in:

ə n' er' u: ə hi:l' 35E i ndeireadh a shaoil.

The non-elision of the preposition *ə i* following *-u:* ~ *-əv* may also belong here:

l' æ' nu: ə mri:n' 11Ct leanabh i mbroinn (also *l' æ' nəv ə mri:n' 11C*).

Speaker **21Pt** was noted with three instances of *-u: ə* (and no older *-əw ə* variants):

br' æ' ku: ə le: breacadh an lae, d' er' u: ə ti:l' deireadh an tsaoil,

o: hu: su: ə ti:l' ó thúis an tsaoil (all **21Pt**(q)).

There is an instance of *ən an* (possibly a 'blend' of *ə* and *n*) in:

gə lə: jer' u' ən daun' (run) 05Md go Lá Dheireadh an Domhain.

The unmarked postvocalic *n*-form of the article also occurs, e.g.

o: halhu: n daun' 35E ó thalamh an domhain.

2.91 Elision of the article

The postvocalic article, *n an*, is elided in frequent collocations, e.g.

before *caoí* in *k' e: xi: cén chaoí, je: xi: sé an chaoí.*

Compare the loss of *n* of the article and other proclitics through sandhi preceding *w* (i.e. *n > m > w > Ø*, cp. ICF §281(c)), e.g.

jəntə:l' je d' ənt ə wə:lə m' e S85 gheanntáil sé i dteannta an bhalla mé.

In place-names and field-names, elision of the postvocalic article is prevalent, e.g.

kalhə xrik' Caladh an Chnoic, cp. the transcription in RBÉ: *Caltha' Chruic*

894C9 indicating the lexicalised nature of elision here,

gari: wə:hər' 23C Garraí an Bhóthair,

gari: f' erk' i:n' 31M Garraí an Pheircín.

Cp. *tā'vnə xloxər' wə:r' 21Pt Tamhnach* (or perhaps *Tamhnaigh*) *an Chlochair Mhóir.*

The expected depalatalisation of *n'* in sandhi before the genitive article *na* is absent in the place-name *Roisín na Mainchíoch* which is generally pronounced as if containing *ə an* (but without lenition):

*rəʃi:n' ə man' hiəx(t), also rufi:n' ə ...*¹

It seems the lexical and phonetic content of the article is reduced here, as in the other place-names cited above. For other examples of the absence of depalatalisation, for lexicalisation of *ə an* in proper names, and general description of the article, see 6.83 ff.

¹ This is sometimes reflected in the spelling (*Roisín / Ruísín*) *a Mainíoch*. Similarly, palatal *-n* in East Galway pronunciation *l' iʃi:n' ə 'he:l' t ə Lisín na hEilte* SID1 xii C pt 34; also in Co. Tipperary *l' iʃi:n' ə nəul Lisín na nAbhall*, etc., (Ó Cíobháin 1964–5: 35), also spelt *lisín a noll* (Ó Cearbhaill 1995–7: 207 n. 5).

3 Nominals

Gender

3.1 General

Gender is a grammatical category dividing nouns into two classes, masculine (unmarked) and feminine (marked). The sex of referents often, but by no means regularly, corresponds to grammatical gender. Grammatical gender and pronominal reference often correspond. Certain semantic classes take feminine reference despite masculine gender. This conflict between reference class and grammatical gender can lead to mixed gender in some nouns, e.g. *leabhar* (3.4). There are further lexical gender distinctions possible, as discussed briefly in the following section.

3.2 Sex of animals

When separate lexemes, such as *cráin*, *collach*, *bardal*, *gandal*, etc., are not available or are not availed of, sex can be generally distinguished by use of the adjectives **f'er'an** *fireann* and **bin'an** *baineann*. In higher animals **f'er'an** *fireann* and **bin'an** *baineann* are common, but other terms, in particular **taru:** *tarbh* and **bo:** *bó*, as well as **stal'** *stail* and **lar'** *láir*, are also used where appropriate. Some examples are:

<i>fireann</i> /	<i>Tá péire cíoch ar a hucht ag a' rón buineann.</i> 869PDT90 ;
<i>baineann</i>	f'io f'er'an / bin'an Mq <i>fia fireann</i> / <i>baineann</i> ;
	'el'əf'æn't f'er'an / bin'an Mq <i>eilifeaint fireann</i> / <i>baineann</i> .
<i>tarbh</i> / <i>bó</i>	b'ehiəx ter'əw M <i>beithíoch tairbh</i> 'male head of cattle';
	taru 'el'əf'æn't , bo: 'el'əf'æn't M(?)perm
	<i>tarbh eilifeaint</i> , <i>bó eilifeaint</i> .
<i>stail</i> / <i>láir</i>	stæl' f'io , lar' f'io Mperm <i>stail fia</i> , <i>láir fia</i> .

For birds, both the oppositions *fireann* vs. *baineann* and *coileach* vs. *cearc* are used (cp. GCF §8). Examples are:

<i>fireann</i> /	fai'l'an f'er'an / bin'an Mq <i>faoileán fireann</i> / <i>baineann</i> ;
<i>baineann</i>	kar:əg f'er'an / win'an Mq <i>caróg fireann</i> / <i>bhaineann</i> .
<i>coileach</i> /	ən kol'əx f'esən't ən'jin' ... M <i>an coileach fesaínt ansin</i> ... ;
<i>cearc</i>	kol'əx p'i:kə'k Mperm <i>coileach píocac</i> ; but (very doubtful):
	*kol'əx fai'l'an Mq <i>*coileach faoileán</i> .

For fish the main opposition is *fireann* vs. *eochnaí*:

<i>fireann</i>	brudən f'er'an M <i>bradán fireann</i> .
<i>eochnaí</i>	skudən / brudən / portən / gl'uməx oxri: M
	<i>scadán</i> / <i>bradán</i> / <i>portán</i> / <i>gliomach eochnaí</i> .
<i>pis</i>	<i>scadán pise</i> , <i>cinn phise</i> .

3.3 Nominal gender in Iorras Aithneach and other lects

Some nouns, which are masculine in other lects (e.g. FGB, GCF), are feminine or both masculine and feminine in Iorras Aithneach. Other nouns which are feminine in other lects (e.g. FGB, GCF) are masculine or both masculine and feminine in Iorras Aithneach. Lists of these nouns are given below. Some of these nouns which have mixed gender in Irish are old neuters, e.g. *oiread* (3.8). Uncommon words tend to lose earlier gender or be confused as regards gender, and are assigned the unmarked gender masculine, e.g. (*áithe*), *bró*, *cóisir*, *eanraith*, *ollphéist*, *peil* below. Cases of nonlenition are often ambiguous as to gender, particularly when there is a possibility of homorganic nonlenition (9.33 ff.).

3.4 Feminine nouns in Iorras Aithneach

- acra*, FGB m.: cp. *ən a:krə* S *an Acra* (perhaps influenced by *páirc*).
aicearra, FGB m. (var. f.): *an aicearra* 11C, S, *gearradh na haicearra* 892M5936, also f. Clad176.
aiféala, FGB m.: *aiféala mhór* M (regularly, pronouncing *mhór* in reading passage with orthographic *mór*), *aiféala mhór* [x2] 866ESc232.36. Cp. m. *síoraiféala* FFG.
áitiú, FGB m.: *an áitiú* 866ESc274.18 also ÓC221, *insa tseanáitiú* 869P4, *áitiú mhór mhílteach* ... *áitiú bheag* 881J, ‘*an áitiú*’ é sin Sq; but nonlenited adjective in *áitiú breá* 866ESc274.13; feminine by analogy with *áit*.
almóir, FGB m.: *in almóir bheag* 11C (perhaps influenced by *altóir*, unless masculine dative lenition).
am, FGB m. and regularly in Iorras Aithneach but in some instances influenced by f. *aimsir* in genitive: *na háma* 894C9, *nə hɑ:mə* 32P *na hama*, *l’a: nə hɑ:m a:n* 60M *leath na ham ann*. Note genitive *na ham(a)* MØperm here. Máire claims genitive *ən a:m* / *amə* *an am* / *ama* is the correct form; it is by far the more frequent in use.
aobh, cp. *ae* FGB m.: *an aobh a bhaint as* 892M.
aon ‘ace’, FGB m.: *an aion* 894C9, *an aon a hairt* ... *í* (e.g. 21Jq), *an haon a hairt* 27Md. (Cp. *an t-aon*, but *sí* GCF §§278, 371, 377; *an t-aon a hairt* 21Jperm; and *cuileata* further below.)
aorthann, FGB m.: *an aorthann* 27Mdq.
áth, FGB m.: *a’ t-átha*, 852Sb6.78, TS135, *ən ā:* 892Mtn *an áth*. Cp. *ā:hə áithe* f. (m. example in (*rud*) *a dtugann siad an t-áithe air* P, perhaps because of the recent relative rarity of *áithe*).
bantáiste, FFG19, 20 f.; cp. *buntáiste* FGB m. (var. f.): *bantáiste mhór* 892M4507.
baslach, FFG19, 20 m., *boslach* FGB m.: generally m., but *baslach mhaith* 35Et.
Béarla, FGB m.: generally masculine (e.g. SM), but *cén Bhéarla* ... 46S, *Béarla mhaith* 64Me, influenced by *Gaeilge*. In 2005 speaker 43M had frequent feminine *an Bhéarla* in contrast with *an Béarla* which I recall her having previously.
biseach, FGB m.: *biseach mhór*, *biseach maith*, consistent f. genitive article in *le cois na biseach* S.
blao, see *glao* below.
brách ~ *bráth*, FGB *bráth* m.: *go lá na brácha* S, *go lá ’n bhrácha* S, cp. *gə lɑ: vrɑ:* (Adr)21Pt *go lá (an) bhráth*.
brath, FGB m.: Máire has *k’edi:n nə brahə* M *Céadaoin na Braithe*; but *k’edi:n ə vrɑ:* / *vrɑ:* 52P (x3) *Céadaoin an Bhrath*, and a short while in the discourse after Máire’s genitive form: *k’edi:n ə vrɑ:hə* 52P (x1) *Céadaoin an Bhratha*.
brá thír, cp. (*bráitír* FGB) *bruth* FGB m.: *Séard é ... ’n bráth-thír ... a’ bhráth-thír* ... 894C9 (*dhá inscne ag Colm* in note by folklore collector Séamas Mac Aonghusa);

an bhrá thír SM, *brá thír mhór* SM.

bruach FGB m.: *əm bruəx mo:r*, *l'e ti:w nə bruəxə* Mq *an bruach mór*, *le taobh na bruacha*, *bruəx portə*, *bruəx wo:r*, *bə:r nə bruəxə* Sq *bruach portaigh*, *bruach mhór*, *barr na bruacha*.

bruas, FGB m.: *bruas* M, *bruais* SM, *bruais gháirí* / *chaoineacháin* M.

bua, FGB m. (var. f.): *an bhua* and *a' fáil na bua* 'talent' **869P3**.

buaí, (*baoi* FGB m.), GCF f.: *ən wuəi 30Ms* *an bhuái*.

caonach, FGB m.: often m., but *an chaonach* **35Et**, **51P**.

cás, regularly m., but the copula use in *cé(r) chás* ... is sometimes apparently contaminated with, or reanalysed as, the article: *k'ɛŋ xɑ:s ɛ ax ... 43M* *Cén chás é ach ...*.

céachta, FGB m. (var. *céacht* m., f.): *phiocthaimse an oiread le céachta bheag dhíob* **897St**.

ceirtlín, FGB m. (var. f.): *ceirtlín mhór* **894C**, *k'ertl'i:n' hu:ga:n' S ceirtlín shúgáin*; *ceirtlín dheas chruinn*.

ciméar, *Cén chiméar atá ort!*; also *Cén ciméar ... 21Ptq*; *ciméar mhór* ~ *ciméar mór* **27Mdq**.

cíos, FGB m.: regularly m., gen *cíosa* >> *cís*; but *ardchíos* (FGB m.) *ag iarra na h-árd-chíos' ar Mhac ...* **ÓC195**.

claimhe, regularly m., but *an chlainhe solais* **35E**, *an chlainhe* [x3] **71D**; influenced by *scian*. Cp. 6.10.

cliabh, regularly masculine, cp. 10.48.

clúmhach, FGB m.: *clúmhach bán* **04B**, *an clúmhach* 46.823; f.: *clúmhach chirce* **32J**; 2D gen *clúmhaí*.

chnis, cp. *chneas* FGB m. (var. f.): *an chnis* **894Cs**. Cf. *crios* below.

coláiste, FGB m. (var. f.): heard in conversation as m., i.e. nom. *an coláiste*, in query also f.: *sin í / é an choláiste*; genitive *geata an choláiste*.

comhluadar *ku:lɔ:dər*, FGB m.: *an comhluadar* regularly, but *comhluadar bhreá* M (regularly, pronouncing *bhreá* in nasalisation reading passage with orthographic *breá*).

comhrá, generally m., but f. in: *an tseanchomhrá ɔn' 't'āŋxo:rə*; *a bhí ag sean-ndaoine fadó* **01P** (only); perhaps influenced by f. *caint*, cp. *comhluadar* directly above.

comhrac, FGB m.: *comhrac* occurs in tales as the general nominative,¹ but *comhraic* was noted in nominative in *go raibh troid agus comhraic ... 866ESc92.15*, *ar chath ná ar chrua-chúrhaic* **875T1**, perhaps due to the frequent occurrence of *cuaille comhraic*, also common case *cuaille comhrac*; similarly, gen *le neart troda agus dianchomhraice* **866ESc130.27** (cp. *máistir* > gen *máistire*, 3.23).

corrach 'marsh', FGB m.: *his er' ə gorə*, *ŋ xorə*, *tas æd k'erd e korəx S thíos ar an gcorraigh*, *an chorraigh*, *tá fhios a'd céard é 'corrach'*, influenced by f. *cora* ~ *corainn*, perhaps even *corach* (3.6).

cráinbhacach, not in FGB but cp. *crannfhear* (*cráinfhear*) FGB m.: *ŋ 'xra:n' wakəx S an chráinbhacach*, *ʃən 'xra:n' wakəx e P sé an chráinbhacach é*, first element appears to be analysed as f. *cráin* 'sow'. Cp. *glaomhagadh* below.

creideamh, FGB m.: *ə kr'ed'ə k'ært* Mq *an creideamh ceart* but *N'i:l' ə xr'ed'ə x'ært æ:d* St *níl an chreideamh cheart a'd*, *N'i:l' ə xr'ed'ə sɑ:x ...* Sq *níl an chreideamh sách ...*. Cp. *creidiúint* (3.6).

crios, FGB m.: *Sí an chrios atá ar cheann an bhréidín* S84; *sin é an crios* (*crios an bhréidín*) **21Ptq**. Cp. *an chnis* **894Cs** (above).

cróchraid FFG f., glossed *cróchar*; FGB *cróchar* m., cp. FGB *crócharnaid* ~ *cróchnaid* f.

croisín, FGB 3. m., LFRM m., GCF f., FFG20 f.: generally feminine (< *crois* f.) but masculine with mixed reference in *an croisín ... di ... an croisín ... ann* Clad201, *scian an chroisín* Clad219 and feminine *í ... ach an chroisín* Clad204, and speaker **20At**, who claims never to have used a *croisín*, has nonlenition in his first token followed by two lenited nominative tokens and consistent masculine reference: *Séard é an croisín*

¹ In general, nominative = all historic cases apart from the genitive (3.9).

... air ... ina bhárr ... dhó ... an chroisín ... ann ... é ... an chroisín **20At**.
crú, FGB m. (var. f.), FFG27 m. and f.: *an chrú a chuir ina thosach*, **875P**.
crúimeasc, *crúimeasc*, cp. *cornasc* FGB m., *crúimeasc* FFG(20) f., *nasc* FGB m. (var. f.): **ə xru:n' a:sk** 46.532 *an chrúimeasc*, '**kru:()m' æ:sk wɔ:r** M *crúimeasc mhór*.
cruth, FGB m.: noted following article only in *an chruth a bhí əŋ xru v'i: ar na muca* **35E**; influenced by *caoi* and *cuma*.
cú, FGB m. (var. f.), DIL m. (later also f.): *Cú Bhán a' tSléibhe* **852SbTS146**; **ə ku: 869P** *an cú* often, *sé* ZCP; *a' cú* often **870B1**; *seanchú mór ... sí ... sí* **875T1**; *a' chú* **894C9**; *an chú ... a dóthain ... sí* **894Cs**; *cú ... í ... sí, ... an cú ... an cú ... ina dhiaidh* [referring to *cú*] **11C**. In summary:

Speaker	<i>an cú</i>	<i>é, a^L</i>	<i>an chú</i>	<i>í, a^H</i>	<i>na cú</i> (gen)
866ESc39	+		+	+	+
869P	+	+			
870B	+				
875T	+			+	
894C			+		
894Cs			+	+	
11C	+	+		+	

Recall that **869P** and **875T** are brothers.

cuileata, FGB *cuireata* m., FFG20 *cuileata* m.: **ə xil'ətə** 46.332 *an chuileata*. Cp. *aon* above.
cúinne, FGB m.: *ach aon chúinne bheag amháin* **06C**.
cumha, FGB m.: *cumha mhór* S, **ku:hə wɔ:r 26Pq** *cumha mhór*.
cúram, generally m., but *an chúram* **05M**, perhaps influenced by *clann*.
das, cp. *gas* FGB m., *das* FFG20 m.: **dæ:s wɔ:r, bær nə dæ:s / dæ:fə gubə:f'ə** M *das mhór*, *barr na das / daise gobáiste*; **dæ:s mɔ:r** Mperm *das mór*. Cp. *bara(i)nn* f.
dream, generally masc but *an tseandream* **894Cs**, perhaps influenced by *muintir*.
each, FGB m.: *an each chaol dubh*. So also *cúirsí na heach luachra* **892M**. Cp. feminine reference in *capall*, *stail* (6.10).
fia, FGB m.: generally m. in Iorras Aithneach but *an fia bheag fuiteach faiteach faidléimneach* (Smbb)**04B**; influenced by *eilit*, cp. *capall*, *stail* (6.10(g)).
fionnfach, FGB *fionnadh* m., see 1D ~ 2D (3.45).
fuilleach, FGB, GCF m.: **fi:l'əx wɔ:r v'i:l'əx** M *fuilleach mhór mhillteach* (gen sg or pl in **də xud fi:l'i: S do chuid fuillí**).
gabhal, FGB m. (var f.):
 fem 'fork' *gouil éadain* **855ESemr44**, etc., **vr'if se gaul' e:ðən' sə gu:r't** **11Ct** *bhris sé gabhail éadain sa gcúirt*; **hug se yaul' e:ðən' er' æ:f ə'r'i:ft** **11Ct** *thug sé an ghabhail éadain ar ais*, **gaul xa:stə** S *gabhal chasta*;
 masc 'crotch' **gaul, ə gaul mɔ:r, lə:r ə yaul'** Sq *gabhal, an gabhal mór, lár an ghabhail*.
glao ~ *blao*, FGB m.: *glao chluaise* FFG, Mq, *blao chluaise* SM, **karəg' nə bli:hə** *Carraig na Blaoithe*, **gə wə:r nə gli: / gli:hə** Mq *dhe bharr na glao / glaoithe*. Hence *glaomhagadh* below.
glaomhagadh '**gli:wa:gə yɾə:nə, k'en 'yli:wa:gə e jin' ort** Mq *glaomhagadh ghránna, cén ghlaomhagadh é sin ort?* Cp. *cráinbhacach* above.
gliúdán, **gl'udə:m¹ v'og xa:nt'ə / trodə, ə gl'udə:ŋ xa:nt'ə, b'i:n' fjad ə gl'udə:m wɔ:r l'e x'e:l'ə** M *gliúdán bheag chainte / troda, ag gliúdán chainte, bíonn siad ag gliúdán mhór le chéile*, but with masculine genitive inflection, **də xud' gl'udə:n' M** *do chuid gliúdán*.
gníomh, 'clamp' FGB, GCF m.: *gníomh dheas / deas* SM, **gr'i:w wa: / ma:** S *gníomh*

¹ In original note transcribed as **gl'udə:m**, with omission of length-mark through error.

- mhaith* / *maith*, **fóid** (nə) **gr'í:w** *S fód (na) gníomh*, **la:r ə jr'í:w** *M lár an ghníomh*.
gnótha (4.71), cp. *gnó* FGB m., GCF f.: *an grútha* **892M1727** (masc Foclóirín ARN II); **je:**
əŋ ɣruhə ... 11Ct *Sé an ghnótha, k'ə:ŋ ɣruhə ta: ... M Cén ghnótha atá ... ?*
gogaí, FGB m. (var. f.): **gugi: wɔ:r** *Mq gogaí mhór*.
goile, FGB, GCF m.: *goile mór* **889P**, *goile maith láidir* S, *goile mhaith*, *goile mhór*, *goile choimpléascúil* S.
greann, FGB m.: generally masc but **ŋ ɣr'ə:n** *SID.46 VIII, 17* (perhaps this is a confusion, or mistranscription of *a ghreann*, which might also suit the context *nuair a imíonn an leann imíonn an ghreann*), contrast *a' greánn* **!869P2**; *an chaint agus an spraoi agus an ghreánn* **45Nt**; gen **gr'í:n' grinn**.
iascach, FGB m., GCF m., FFG20 m. ~ f.: *an iascach* **894C9, 11C, 31P, 35E**, *leihí na hiascach* **889P**, **bɔ:rd nə hiəskəx 11C** *Bord na hiascach*, *Meall na hiascach* *Sc241*. However, *Ach ó buaileadh suas an t-iascach*, **896P**. Speaker **35E** is slightly hesitant in *gan an t-iascach go maith* **35E7247** and actually selfcorrects in *agus buaileadh suas an iascach ag an am, agus d'fhan an salann aige*. *Ach nuair, nuair a, tháinig an ia-, an, an t-iascach arís, ... tháin(ic an) t-iasc isteach an Caoláire*, **35E7522**. Uninflected in the genitive, e.g. *bád iascach* **11C**, *slat iascach*; except *deiseálacha le haghaidh iascaigh* *ABg4*, *cineálacha iascaigh* *Clad7*.
iomar, FGB m., *iomairín*: **əŋ' umər' i:n' ... [x3] je ... e** *M an iomairín ... sé ... é* (in conversation), **əŋ t'umər** *Mq an t-iomar*, **əŋ' umər' ~ umrə** *S an iomair / iomra*; influenced by fem *iomaire*.
ithe, *DIL* f., FGB m. (var. f.): **əŋ' ix'ə** *M, P an ithe*, also S, **43M, ix'ə wɔ:r** *Mq ithe mhór*.
leabhar, FGB m.: the genitive is always masculine, but nominative can be both m. and f.: **ə l'aur ɣu jin' M** *an leabhar dhubh sin, sa leabhairín dhearg sin* *M* (mostly masculine for Máire); *leabhar bheag* *P*, *leabhairín bheag bhídeach* **23C**, *leabhar Ghaeilge* **21Pt**. Feminine pronominal reference is regular (cf. 6.10).
leann **l'ā:n**: *ag ól na leanna* **l'ā:nə**; *lionn dubh: eitinne na leanna duibhe* *FFG s.v. eitinne*.
leipe, cp. *liopa* FGB m.: **l'ep'ə v'og** *Mq leipe bheag*.
luaithreadh, *luaithreach*, *DIL* n., FGB m.: **luər'hə** is used in the historical phrase *Céadaoin an Luaithridh* (*cetaín an luaithridh* *DIL*). Speaker **43Mq**'s pronunciation is: **k'e:di:n nə luər'hə, k'e:di:n ə luər'hə**; she is unsure how to interpret her pronunciation exactly regarding the article, i.e. whether *an* or *na*. Máire, however, is sure of her fem gen sg form: **k'e:di:n nə luər'hə** *Mq* (also **x'e:di:n nə luər'hə 24N**), i.e. *Céadaoin na Luaithreadh*. Cp. f. *luaithe*.
maidhm, FGB f. (var. m.): often feminine, e.g. *maidhm mhaith* **11C**, including genitive *na maidhme* *Mq*. Speaker **869P2** has consistently masculine *an maidhm*, e.g. **ɣ a' maoídhm a bhí as a cíonn** **869P2**, also *an maídhm ... dhó ... sé* **869P4**; also *an maidhm sin* **06C**, gen *ar bharr an mhaidhm* **20C**. Speaker **21Pt** has nom *an mhaidhm* but gen **muləx ə wi:mə 21Pt** *mullach an mhaidheama* (*MØperm*). For examples of feminine gender in *maidhm* but with masculine pronominal reference, see 6.3.
meadh, FGB f., cp. *mea*¹ *FFG20 m.*: **tas æd k'e:rd i: n' v'æ** *S tá fhios a'd céard í an 'mheadh'*.
meacan, FGB m., cp. *meacain* f. (?) *FFG20*: **ə m'æ:kən** *M an meacan*, also sg *meacain* (3.22).
mea ghabhair, cp. *meann gabhair* FGB m.: *an mhea ghabhair* *M*.
mineigle, FGB m.: **m'í(n')n'aigl'ə** *S*, **v'í'n'aigl'ə** *SM*, *mineigle bhít sí ag imeacht fadó* *S*.
míol, FGB m. (old neuter *míl* *DIL*): regularly masculine in *míol mór* 'whale'. But *míol bhuí* *LL108, 110* 'hare' for vernacular *giorria*; cp. *míol maighe / mhaighe / buidhe* *Dinn s.v. míol m.*, *míol má / buí* *FGB*. It seems the spelling *míol bhuí* represents or reflects older *míol mhuighe*, delenited as *míol buí* **852Sh6.71**.
misneach, FGB m. (var. f.), see *1D ~ 2D* (3.45).
muinín, FGB f.: *-Nach agam* [pronounced **ānəm**, slip], *a deir sé, a bhí an mhuinín asad!* **04B**.

muirbheach, FGB m. (var. f.): *Sé an sórt áit é an muirbheach, áit a bhfuil taoille ... aníos an mhuirbheach ... aníos an mhuirbheach* **894Cs**; *an Muirbheach* **27Mdq** (place-name near Roundstone), *Port Mhuirbhí* (in Árainn (An tOileán Mór)).

muráite, cp. *bráite* FGB m.: *ar mhuráite dhomhainn S, an mhuráite*; also masculine, e.g. FFG.

rásúr, FGB m. (var. f.; *rásúir* f. gen *rásúrach* FGB): often masculine in Iorras Aithneach but *rásúr mhór S*; *ar bhéal na rásúr, 7 ... í, béal na rásúr 7 ...* **869P2**; gen *cúl an tseanrásúrach* **852SbLL34**; cp. *ráipéar*. Feminine reference is regular (cf. 6.10).

ráipéar, FGB m.: *bhí ráipéar ghlan ghéar aige* **869P4**.

pláinéid ‘planet’, cp. *pláinéad* FGB ‘planet’ m., *pláinéid* FGB ‘level surface’ f.: *an phláinéid* **05M**, *er’ ə blá:n’ e:ɪ’ S ar an bpláinéid*.

Satharn, FGB m. (var. f.): *ar an Satharn, ɔe. ‘sahərn’ 46.900 Dé Sathairn, Dé Sathairne* [x2] **894C**, *buille mall an tSatharna ... moille an tSathairne* **894C5**; *bil’ ə ma:l nə sahrə’n ə S buille mall na Sathrainne*.

sábh, FGB m. *sábh mór* is regular. In query both *sábh maith* and *sábh mhaith* were offered (speaker either Sq or Mq).

scéal, FGB m.: regularly masc, but *ax l’e’ d’er’ə nə f’k’e:l’ | 894C ach le deireadh na scéil*; cp. his synonymous *as deireadh na cúise* **894C**, and *badh é deireadh na cúise agus críochnú na scéalta aige ...* **11C**.

slad, FGB m.: *slad wə:r Mq slad mhór*.

sliocht, FGB m.: *ʃl’ox’t wə: M sliocht mhaith, sliocht mhac ort! M*.

smeach, FGB m. (var. f.): *sm’æ:x x’e:l’ ə M smeach chéille*.

spaidealach, cp. *spadalach* FGB m.: *spaidealach mhúna S*. Cp. *spairteach* f.

spairteach, FGB m.: *fód spairtí S*. Cp. *móin* f., *spaidealach* f. and *spairt* FGB f.

spríonach (cp. FGB *splíonach* m., *spíonach* m., *spíonlach* m.): *spr’i:nhəx*, genitive *spr’i:nhí*: *S spríonaf*.

spríonlach (cp. FGB *spíonlach* m. and *spríonach* above): gender ambiguous in vocative *a spríonlach mhór shalach* **889Ptn** (quotation).

sprus, cp. *brus* FGB m.: *sprus v’og M sprus bheag*.

teaspach, FGB m.: *slaghdán teaspaí, lá teaspaí S*.

tom, FGB m.: *tum ... æ:f’ə St tom ... aistí, tum ... ʃi: S tom ... sí, ə di:m’ 05Md i dtoim* (in run), *lær nə tím’ ə M lær na toime*. Cp. *sceach* f.

tomhais > *tois* ‘measure’, cp. *tomhas* FGB m.: *tif wā: S87 tois mhaith*.

tráth, FGB m.: *chaith sé sin tráth mhór gá shaol ag tráchtáil un an Chlocháin sna báid mhóra seo. 11C*. This is the only example noted with an adjective qualifying *tráth*, more formal than *scaitheamh*, *tamall*. Cp. *trá* f. ‘beach’, *aimsir* f.

trinse, FGB m. and generally so in Iorras Aithneach but ... *trínse ... bhí sé ... sé ... treasna na trínse ...* **869P3**. Cp. *draein* f. (< drain), *glaise* f.

tónáiste, FGB m., FFG20 m.: *tónáiste mhaith bhuailte M*.

tumba, cp. *tuama* FGB m.: often masculine, but also *tuamba bhreá* **03VBI14.273** (IVd), *tumba shuntasach ... tumba Haimiltean ... ortha. 892M3430–6*. Cp. *fuaigh* f.

3.5 Verbal and abstract nouns in -ú, -acht, -s, -n, -e

Among abstract nouns there are instances of gender assignment which are morphologically or historically unexpected. One finds feminine gender for expected or more common masculine gender and vice versa.

Nouns in -ú

Verbal nouns in -ú are generally masculine but instances of feminine gender or feminine syntax occur as with other abstract nouns.

athrú: *an t-athrú, athrú beag, an athrú tá ... M; an athrú mar déarthá. 63S*.

breathnú: ... (*péibrí*) *cén bhreathnú ... P*; perhaps influenced by now obsolescent *féachaint*.

ciallú: *cén chiallú a bhí leis?* S. Cp. *ciall* f., and *míniú* below, and the borrowing *míneáil* f. (< meaning).

fadú: (in query) *‘i: fəs k’ən æ:du: tə ... nə fə:di: ... nə fə:di:hə* Mq *níl fhios cén fhadú atá ... na fadaí* [pl] ... *na fadaíthe* [pl]; perhaps influenced by *fad*, e.g. *cén fhad*.

míniú: *Cén míniú M, Cén mhíniú tá a’d leis* SM. Cp. *míneáil* f. (< meaning) now more common than *míniú* in *Cén mhíneáil atá ... ?*

mothú: *an mhothú* **52P**.

oibriú: *cén t-oibriú* **869P4**, *a’ t-oighibriú* **!894C9**, *ə taibr’u:* M, **60M** *an t-oibriú, lá oibriú mhóir* **06C**; *an oibriú farraige* **18Pc** (but perhaps *ən* for *aon* here), if fem in this instance, perhaps influenced by *obair* f.

Cp. *cathú*: historical plural and historical genitive singular are homophonous, e.g.

nom: *kahi: n’ d’aul’ e n to:l* S *cathaíthe an deabhail é an t-ól. Tá cathaíthe kahi: a’ deabhail ann* S;

gen: ... *kur xahi: ort* [x2] **10Bq** ... *ag cur chathaíthe ort*, apparently singular in *v’e giv’ ə n ai nə kahi:* S *bheith ag guibhe in aghaidh na cathaíthe* (often).

Cp. *ordú* ‘condition, weight’: *aurdu: wa: 35E* *ordú mhaith*.

Nouns in -acht

Both verbal and abstract nouns in -acht can be masculine.¹ Note the article *an t-* or lack of lenition, indicating masculine gender, in the following list.

- (i) Full verbal; verbal nouns with corresponding verbs.

ceannacht: *agus ní ceannacht maith a bhí ar iasc i nGaillimh san am ar aon chor. 11C*; *ní raibh aon cheannacht maith anis ar an iasc i gCloch na Rún 11C*; *Is mór an ceannacht é ceannacht an réitigh.* (Cp. *ceannach* m. FGB.)

éisteacht: *tá éisteacht maith a’m 46.392.*

imeacht: *máis é an t-imeacht é !866E CABI §109(a) v. 5.*²

inseacht: (*ní hé*) *an t-ínseacht (atá siad a thabhairt air) 27Cb.*

- (ii) Semi-verbal; abstract nouns which can be used as verbal nouns.

múinteoireacht: *díbríodh as an múinteoireacht Caitilígeach uiliug é. 11C.*

- (iii) Nonverbal; derived abstract nouns in nominal use only.

donacht: 1 Declension genitive singular in *ruaig donaicht 11C* may indicate masculine gender; contrast typical non-inflection in *ag goil un donacht* (indicating feminine gender) and *donacht* feminine GCF, FGB.

doimhneacht: *v’i: deiv’ n’əxt mór: a:n 46.364 bhí doimhneacht mór ann.*

éascaíocht: -... *éascaíocht mhór ... BóC -Bheadh éascaíocht mór ann. 21Ptq.*

- (iv) Nonverbal and nonderived abstract nouns.

iasacht, FGB f. (var. m.): *Is gránna an rud é an t-iasacht* S.

mallacht, FGB f.: *an mallacht 35E.*

Cp. *fuacht*, gen *fuaicht*; *draíocht*, gen *draícht*; also *difiríocht mór 894C* for current vernacular *difear mór*.

Feminine gender, with lenition, is, however, common, e.g.

sclábhaíocht: *bhí sclábhaíocht mhór ag, plé leis ... 31P.*

¹ Cp. the alternation in -acht ~ -ach, for example *bólach(t)* with 1D genitive *bólaigh* (3.20) and *scliúiseach(t)* with 2D genitive *scliúisí* (3.32).

² I have heard *an imeacht* in conversation from a female speaker from Ros Muc born c. 1958. It was pronounced with some uncertainty perhaps realising the possibility of *an t-imeacht*.

cosúlacht: *cosúlacht mhór* ARN3105; *is cosúlacht mhaith é ... cosúlacht mhaith é sin* **35E**7680–1.

There is a rare example of masculine use of a verbal noun in *-achtáil*, perhaps influenced by the borrowing *fileáil* (more common in nominal use; I do not recall *fileáil* ever being lenited):

an t-aireachtáil ... an — fileáil [< feeling] **16P**.

Nouns in abstract *-as*

Abstract nouns in final *-(a)s* are mostly masculine, e.g. *bréanadas* [m.] **12S**, *brocamas* [m.] **16M**. Instances of feminine gender occur, however, e.g. *eolas*, generally masculine, but *eolas mhaith* [x2] **13Jd** meaning ‘acquaintance’, influenced by *aithne*;

oilbhéas, **ən elv̥e:s an oilbhéas** (male speaker from Carna, born c. 1950);

snas, **ń:il̥ e:n snu: nɑ: snɑ:s wɑ:h ɛr̥** Mq *níl aon snua ná snas mhaith air*;

soilíos, *go mba mhór an soilíos dhuit é* **852Sb**TS150; **gə wɔ:r ə, tɔl̥e:s ə jɪ:nhəd f̥e h̥e:n̥ jɪ** (Sm̥ds)**04B** *go* [copula] *mhór an tsoilíos a dhéanthadh sé h̥e:n̥ dhi*;

-tas, *easaontas*, *féibrí cén easaontas ...* **894C9**;

cp. gen *maitheasa*, *fír an mhaitheasa* S and *fír na maitheasa* S (*maith*, 3.6). Cf. m. >> f. abstract *-eadas* GCF §1.

Nouns in *-n*, *-e*

Rare examples of abstract nouns in *-n* and *-e* with feminine and masculine gender respectively are:

-n: *gairfean ghaoithe*;

-e: *soilse*, FGB f. (var. m.): *a’ soilse* **894C3** (very rare word).

3.6 Masculine nouns in Iorras Aithneach

aighre, FGB f., LFRM m.: *aighre cráibe* **01M**6011, **ən / ənt air̥ə, ʃin̥ i: ən air̥ə, ʃi: n tair̥ə** S *an / an t-aighre, sin í an aighre, sí an t-aighre; an t-aighre* **21Pt**, *an aighre* **47Ps**.

aistir, cp. *aistear* FGB m. ~ f.; *aistir* GCF m. ~ f.: *aistir fada* **11C**, *an t-aistir* **11C**, S, *an aistir* **21Pt**.

altóir, regular fem 3D, but *an t-altóir* **13Jdt**. Cp. *almóir* (3.4).

ancaire, often masc, including place-name *Poll an Ancaire*, but fem for **35E**: *an eancaire ... í* **35E**.

bleánach, FGB f., m. FFG20: *bleánach maith / breá* SM.

bolg ‘reef’, cp. *boilg* FGB f.: *Bolg Mór* 7 *Bolg Beag* **894C9**; *ar an mBolg Mór* ARN7875,–7, pl *na boilg* ARN7874 vs. *Boilg Bheag / Mhór* Rob.91. Cp. *bolg* ‘stomach’ m.

boige shíne, FGB f.: *an bhoige shíne* Mq (but Mq unsure), vs. *an boige shíne* S.

bloinig, FGB f.: ‘fat’ *e an bluinic*, *bluinic gé*, *bluinic muice* M.

bráillín, FGB f.: both lenited and unlenited by Máire following the article.

breith, FGB f.: **k̥e:m br̥e** [x3] S *cén breith*, **k̥e:m vr̥e** [x1] S *cén bhreith*, **gər b̥e n br̥e kir̥u: ɔrəm** M *gurb é an breith a cuireadh orm*, **br̥e xruə** SM *breith chrua*, **gə wɑ:r nə br̥ehə** Sq, Mq *dhe bharr na breithe, tús na breith’ ag Dia* S.

brí, FGB f.: generally fem (common in *Cén bhrí ach ...* !) but *Sin é an t-údar, agus, sin é, an brí am̥ br̥i*: *bhí leis an scéal*, **11C** (rare use).

bró, FGB f.: generally fem (e.g. in stories), but **wɑ:kə tu m bro: ... ɛr̥** **03C** *an bhfaca tú an bró ... air*.

buaile, FGB f. (var m.): *an buaile* SÓC3.159.

- cáith*, FGB f.; *cáitheadh*, FGB m.; ‘chaff’: *an cáitheadh* **894Cs**, M, *cáitheadh beag* M, *an cáith* **04B**, but genitive *na cáití* **894Cs**; (also *cáith* S but gender not noted).
- céim*, generally fem but *nú is crua an céim* **ḡ k'e:m' é 35E** (cp. 9.38).
- cnáimh*, cp. *cnámh* FGB f. (var. m.): *an cráimh* **869P3**, **894C3**, *an cráimh* **875T1**, *cnáimhín* *buí ... é* **864MDT63**, *krā:v'in' b'og e, ... ta: je: ...* M *cnáimhín beag é, ... tá sé ...*, *... n krā:v' ... an a:t' he:n' 20Mt* *an cnáimh ... ina áit héin, ḡ krā:v' ... e: SM, P an cnáimh ... é*, but also *... Yehə S ... léithi*.
- cneidh*, FGB (*cneá*) f.: *fágthaidh mé cneidh* **kr'i mór ort 10Bq**.
- cóisir*, FGB f.: **ḡ ko:ʃər** [sic] S *an cóisir* (in proverb).
- comharsa*, FGB f.: *an comharsa* common, e.g. 46.493; gen sg *na comharsan*.
- comhla*, generally fem but masc for speaker **31M**.
- craic*, FGB f.: e.g. *Sead í an chraic a bhíodh aige dhób* [sic] **894C9**, both *craic mhaith* and *craic maith* are prevalent.
- creidiúint*, FGB f.: *an creidiúint céanna ón gcabhnsail* **899Nt** (cp. *creideamh* 3.4; 9.32).
- criach*, FFG f.: **əḡ kr'iax** [x2] M *an criach*.
- corach*, *curach* FGB f. (var. m.): *B'ait an corach í sin* **21Pg1773**, *corach beag í* **892M3334**, **ə gora xa:nəwə:f 31D** *i gcorach chanbháis*; gen **'bqurd ə xora 46.1091** *bord an choraigh, coraigh* **17Mp**, *seas an choraigh* **31Dt**; *an curach ...* (gen) *an churaí* (often) **866ESc121**. (GCF f. as noted in *Foclóirín ARN II* s.v. *corach*, cp. **SIDm q 1091–2**.)
- dabhach*, FGB f.: *dabhach mór ... dabhach mór míllteach* **11C1039–42**, fem gen in query (**daui**: Sq, Mq, **daui**: Sq, etc., cf. 3.47).
- domhain*, FGB f.: *ar an domhain mór*. **01Pt**, *... áit a bhfuil domhain mór thímpeall air é, nach ea?* **11C -Ó!** *tá domhain mór ann, tá*. **31P**, also *domhain mór* **11C3032**.
- drad*, FGB *draid* (~ *drad*) f.; *drad* m., gen *draid*, GCF §41: masc in *drad breá fiacha* 46.437, *lán go drad* S, gen *draid* M, *i mbun l lár mo dhrad* **21Ptq**.
- draíocht*, FGB f.: *draíocht mór* **875T1**, *tarbh draícht*.
- eagla*, FGB f. (var. m.): *eágla mhór* **111C**, *eagla mór* **875PDT11**, **ə ta:glə 23Ms** *an t-eagla*. Use of *eagla* can be stylistically marked, *faitíos* being the general word for ‘fear’. Cp. *an t-eagla* but gen *na heagla* GCD §173.
- éalainn*, FGB (*éalang*) f.: *'n t-éalainn* **894C9**.
- eanraith*, FGB (*anraith*) f.: *an t-ánthruith* **866EB17**, *a' t-ánthra* (in saying) **894C9**; in proverbs: *an t-antra* (my early notes), **N'umərkə ko:kər'əxt, v'il'əns ə N'ənt'rə, ... tə:s əd k'e:rd e N' t'ənt'rə, ə N'ənt'rə, su:p 23M** *an iomarca cócaireacht a mhilleanns an eanraith, ... tá fhios a'd céard é an 't-eanraith', an 'eanraith'? Súp*. More consistently **əN' ənt'rə** S *an eanraith* (also in a proverb).
- éitheach*, FGB m.: most common without the article, is masc: *an t-éitheach* S consistently.
- féile* (*Féil*) ‘feastday’, FGB f.: gen *na féile*, *na Féil(e)*, but nom *féile mór* **25M**.
- Gaeilge*, FGB f.: often masc, e.g. *nar hig' ə ge:lg'ə ... ə hig' e: 892M* *nar thuig an Gaeilge ... a thuig é, N'i he ḡ ge:lg'ə k'e:nə M ní hé an Gaeilge céanna, is aisteach í an Gaeilge, tá gacha le leagan ortha* M, *Cén Gaeilge atá air?* M, *ge:lg'ə ... fe S* *Gaeilge ... sé, Cé fearr an Sean-Ghaeilge ná an Ghaeilge nua seo?* S, *M'anam agus Gaeilge breá!* S. Both *Gaeilge maith* and *Gaeilge mhaith* are common.
- giolcach*, FGB f. (var. m.): dat sg *sa ngiolca' sə ḡ'ulkə 852SbTS126–7* (3.26); plural *giolcaí and giolcachaí*; gen sg *bun a' ghiolca* **101S CABI** §17(a) v. 4; also gen sg *giolca LFRM* s.v. *móin*.
- glinne*, cp. *glinne*³ FGB f.: FFG 2. m. *an glinne* **06C**.
- gorta*, FGB m. (var. f.): *an bhliain deir'nach dhen ghorta mór* **11C**, nominative *an ghorta* **11C3230**. Cp. *Bean tí shamhlaí na gortan* FFG s.v. *samhlaí*.
- inneoin*, FGB f.: **N' t'in'u:n' 03C**, SM *an t-inneoin*.
- iomaire*, generally f. but *an t-iomaire* **869P5**, cp. *an tIomaire Rua* **852S2**. Note the mixture in **ə t'umər'ə wə:r l'əhən' jin'** *an t-iomaire mhór leathan sin fheiceanns tú sa talthamh anseo. B'fhéidir go bhfuil sí sé troithe ar leithead nó seacht dtroithe ... inti sin*. **11C** (masc article, fem adjective, possibly masc adjective (9.27), fem reference).

- leide*, FGB *leid* f. (*leide* m.), FFG27 *leid* f., *lide* m.: *lide beag a fháil dhen chóir* (Abtm)-**11C**, *leide beag fháil dhen chóir* !(Abtm)**881J**.
- luifearnach*, FGB f.: *é an luifearnach* S, voc. ' *luifearnach bhradaigh* M.
- maith*, FGB f. (var. m.), cp. *maitheas* FGB f. (var. m.): *fír an mhaitheasa ~ fír na maitheasa* S.
- moing mhear* FGB f.: fem *mingg' wa:rə* SM *moing mhara*, but also *ə m'ig' wa:rə* **32J** *an mig mhara* (x2).
- muinchille*, FGB f. (var. m.), FFG20 f. s.v. *mulinne*: *an muthaille* **11C** (often).
- ola*, FGB f.: generally f., e.g. *ola bhréidín, fear na hola* M, but also m., e.g. *ola maith* **48J**.
- ollphéist*, FGB f.: an infrequent word, *ən 'ol-f'e:jt'* [x2], *ən tol-f'e:jt'* [x1], also *ən f'e:jt'* P *an / an t-ollphéist* also *an phéist*.
- peil*, FGB f.: *Is íontach a' peil dh'fhata e* S, a rare word.
- pic*, FGB, FFG20, GCF f.: *rud nús* [i.e. *ar nós*] *teara e ... bhídís ' téabh an phic* **14M**.
- plump*, cp. *plimp* FGB f.: *plump* FFG19, 20 and LFRM m.: *ə plump* M *an plump*, *ən plump taur'í*: Mq *an plump toirní*, **ən flump* M???perm **an phlump*, *plump mo:r* Mq *plump mór*, *plump wo:r taur'í*: Mq, **50Nq** *plump mhór toirní*.
- saighead*, FGB f., Dinn f. also m.: *le saighead glan géar* !(Aln)**11C**; *pl nə said'* **869P** *na saighid*.
- scológ*, FGB f.: *scológ bhreá* **866E**Sc42.22, *a deir a' seanscológ* **866E**Semr122, Bl6.109, *ag a' seanscológ* Semr78; *maide na scolóige ... fereil an scolóigin* Bl6.110.
- seisc*, FGB f.: *an seisc* with *é* often **869P5**.
- snaidhm*, FGB f.: often *an snaidhm*, but *an tsnaidhm* [x2] ... *sé* **35E**.
- spig* (etc.) *neanta*, FGB *speig* f.: *smig neanta mór* P.
- sraoille*, FGB *sraoill* f. (var. *sraoille* m. ~ f.): *sraoill mhór* S; *frí:ə L'eb'əd'əx* **11C** *sraoille leibideach* (this speaker lenites *L'*- regularly, almost categorically, where appropriate).
- tamhnach*, FGB f., cp. 3.32.
- tanaí*, FGB f.: fem in ... *f ... tanaí* Clad18, but *s br'a: ŋ tam'í e'* Mq *is breá an tanaí é*.
- taobh*, FGB m. (var. f.): regularly masc, example in gen: *əg' im'əxt ə n'íə hi:v'* M *ag imeacht i ndiaidh a thaoibh*; there are examples of obsolescent fem dat *taoibh* (3.24).
- taoille*, cp. *taoide* FGB m., *taoide* and *taoile* Dinn f. and m., GCF *taoille* f.: *taoille tuile, taoille trábh, taoille mallúrach; an taoille ... tá sé ... oíche an taoille mhóir* **864M**-DT29, 35; *ní hé an taoille mór ...* **892M**.
- úchta*, cp. *uacht* FGB f. (var. m.), s.v. *úchta* FFG20, 24 f.: fem, e.g. *ən u:xtə wo:r* M *an úchta mhór*, but note *ri'n'u: n tu:xtə ... rinneadh an t-úchta* later selfcorrected to *ən u:xtə* M *an úchta*.
- Véanas* (*Véineas* FGB f. gen identical): 1D gen in *ə'mfər' f'ek'dər'* [sic] *əgəs v'e:nəʃ* (Abf)**03C** *aimsir Heictair agus Véanais*.

3.7 Gender dependent on case

Masculine gender in the nominative but feminine in the genitive is found in *talamh* (*na talún(a)*) and in the local place-name *An Gleann Mór, bóthar na Gleanna Móire* SM. Cp. *trinse* (generally masculine) but: ... *trínse ... bhí sé ... sé ... treasna na trínse ...* **869P3** (perhaps influenced by common *draein* and rarer *díog*, both feminine). Contrast *leabhar* which is both masculine and feminine in the nominative but only masculine in the genitive (3.4); masculine *am* and *scéal* are attested with feminine genitives in very limited circumstances (3.4). Cp. (*sean*)*rásúr* > gen *an tseanrásúrach*, 6 Declension nouns being otherwise feminine. Feminine genitive is most aberrant in *máthair na cailín beag* **894C4**, and *dhe chruithí na capall* **892M**2132. Interestingly, anomalous *na háma* and *na scéil* as well as *na cailín* are used by speaker **894C** (Colm Ó Caoitheáin, Glinsce, the renowned singer). It is tempting to interpret other anomalous usages from **894C**,

such as negative alternative *céard ... níl nach's céard* (8.31), as indicative of an independent or unconventional or nonconformist personality.

3.8 Mixed or indeclinable nouns; Gender depletion

The verbal noun *cleachtadh*, most commonly used as a noun, takes the masculine article, i.e. *an cleachtadh*, but, like a feminine noun, lenites a following adjective. This is very common in the phrase without the article *cleachtadh mhaith*, e.g.

tá cleachtadh mhaith a'm air 'I am well used to it'.

Two nouns used as indefinite pronouns have noteworthy gender:

méid is feminine meaning 'size', e.g.

an mhéid chéanna 'the same size',

but indeclinable meaning 'amount', with nominative resembling masculine, e.g.

an méid céanna 'the same amount', *an méid daoine*,

identical in genitive syntax: *ag iarraidh an méid céanna*;

oiread 'amount' is indeclinable: the nominative resembles the feminine article, the genitive resembles the masculine article and the adjective is not lenited (neither in nominative or genitive construction), e.g.

an oiread céanna, *ag iarraidh an oiread céanna*.

For anomalous *an am*, *ar an t-am*, see 'Article' (6.90).

Gender depletion, in particular loss of feminine gender, is very evident in the case, mutation and anaphoric systems of younger speakers, particularly of those born in the 1960s and later. A pertinent example is speaker 66N's use of masculine *iarnáil* (influenced perhaps by base *an t-iarann*); nouns in *-áil* being a productive feminine class for older speakers:

ə́n' t' iə́rná:ɫ' 66N *an t-iarannáil*,

t' uɾhə m' e iə́rná:ɫ' b' og o' 66N *tiúrthaidh mé iarnáil beag dhó*.

This contrasts, for example, with 66N's feminine gender in the borrowing 'guess'-*áil* in:

s ma hi: n' jəsaɫ' 66N *is maith í an ghesáil* (< guess).

Case

3.9 General

'Nominative' case is generally used as a cover term for historical nominative, accusative and dative cases, unless the dative, which has limited relevance, is being discussed (e.g. 3.15). The generalised form (which is formally the inherited nominative), often also used in the historical genitive position, is also termed the 'common case'.

Nominative plural morphology is most conveniently treated separately from case which is dealt with here, i.e. vocative (sg and pl) and genitive (sg and pl), although many nouns have at least one plural form corresponding to their particular declension (which is basically defined by the genitive singular formation). For the purpose of exposition, these correspondences are described as declensional conditioning of (often optional) plural formations (4.28) which may interact with other (often phonological) conditions.

3.10 Vocative

The vocative (whether inflected or uninflected) is generally used with humans, but use with other animates and inanimates is common. Also common in metaphorical use addressing humans or animals:

o: ə vr'ɛ:ntəʃ M *Ó! a bhréantais!*

o: ə vr'ɛ:ntəməʃ Mq *Ó! a bhréantamais!*

Addressing an animal:

tə loxən' mɑ:ri: æd ə v'ehiəx P

tá luchain maráithe a'd a bheithíoch (to cat);

Cúnamh! Cúnamh, a sheabhaic! x'auk' 889Ptn.

Addressing an inanimate object:

a: wɛl'əʒ S A, *a bhoilg!* (to speaker's own stomach, having eaten well);

air'ə | ə hu:n' l'ɛʃk'u:l' | M *Éirigh, a thóin leisciúil!*

(addressed to speaker's own posterior, getting up from chair);

ə wa:ʃi:n' woxt' M *a waitsín (< watch) bhoicht.*

In folk tales, where 'animacy' can be extended, such vocatives are common:

'fáisc, a fháinne' 869P2;

'a dhorais' ... 'a chairn aoiligh' ... 'a fhionnóg' ... 'a chrainn' 864M61–2.

From traditional speakers, examples of nominative form preceded by the vocative particle occur in qualified nouns or complex noun phrases:

Ach annis, a Cholm a Cualáin! 892M5053;

Deatach as do chíonn, a deir sé, a bhád púcáin! 05M;

cp. *Go mbeannaí Dia dhuit, a deir sé, a bhéal an tsuaircis, !894C.*

Note vocative (addressing dog) *a mhadaí* but also *a mhada* as in nominative (*a mhadaí* GCF §88n, recall that *gadhar* is the common term for 'dog' in Iorras Aithneach). Cf. obsolete feminine vocative (3.30).

3.11 Vocative plural

A few 1D words have special long plural forms in the vocative plural.

créatúr (unmarked pl *créatúir*):

voc pl **ə xr'ɛ:tu:r'əxi:** 10B *a chréatúireachaí,*

ə xr'ɛ:tu:r'i: SM *a chréatúirí;*

voc pl + qualifier, **ə xr'ɛ:tu:r'i' boxtə** SM *a chréatúirí bochta.*

deabhal (unmarked pl *deabhail*):

voc pl **ə jaulə** SM *a dheabhla;*

voc pl + qualifier, **ə jaul' wo:rə** SM *a dheabhail mhóra, ə jaul' / jaul lofə*

SM *a dheabhail lofa, ə jaul' wo:'*, [hesitation] **wo:rə 897S** *a dheabhail*

mhór—mhóra, ə jaul' v'ogə 897S *a dheabhail bheaga.*

fear (unmarked pl *fir*):

voc pl **ærə, ærəv'** *a fheara(íbh),* e.g.

ærə Mq, Sq *a fheara; ærəv' 894C* *a fhearaibh, Bhuel nach íontach an rud*

anis é, a fhearaibh, ærəv' tá daoíní go leor ... 11C; Seán does not permit

a fhearaibh 12SØperm.

voc pl *-fhir* with prefixed adjective in song in:

'óigfhir a' tsléibhe ... chugaí !01S CABI §239(b) v. 3, (c) v. 4.

stór (no unmarked pl recorded in this affectionate meaning 'my dears, darlings'):

ə sto:rəxi: 43M *a stórachaí* (but MØperm).

There are examples of vocative *a* with nouns which are qualified by numerals:

a sheacht gcéad gaiscíoch **852SbLL**.

Genitive

The genitive case is being depleted. Some examples of use and non-use of the genitive form are presented in 3.12–3.14. The term ‘common case’ is used to describe nongenitive inflection (generally use of nominative in genitive, dative, dual).

3.12 Genitive and nominative singular

Qualified nouns are most often not inflected for genitive case, e.g.

ceann go mhaidí an ghaiscidheach buidhe (sic) **852S4**;

a thóirt un na taltha’ ó thua **894C9** (contrast *ro-ghéar un na talúna S*).

This includes prefixed nouns, e.g. lack of genitive in:

kosə nə ‘fæ:m’ v æ:n 00Ttn cosa na seanbhean;

lær mə ‘xi:l, dri:m’ M lár mo chaoldroim.

Máire (Mq) disliked the suggested *lár mo chaoldrama* (FGB *caoldroma*). Also:

sheas sé as cíonn an seanfhear (sic) *arís* **894C2**,

although *an tseanfhear* would be common here.

Similarly, the possessive pronoun occurs with common case in:

,bær nə ‘t æ:ngən, (or *,bær də ‘ha.ngə*), **46.248**

barr na teangan, barr do theanga;

Less frequently, genitive inflection with a qualifying adjective does occur, e.g.

trod’ e:n’ ir’ ə’wæn’ 11Ct troid aon fhir amháin (in tale),

í ehi’ n dor’əf’ fin’ M le haghaidh an doiris sin,

thíocht ag iarraidh na mrá sin **892M5748**,

bróig na coise deise.

Genitive with (adjective and) relative or subordinate clause is quite rare:

mæ:hər’ nə mra:’ fin ta kæl’t’ ə S máthair na mná sin atá cailte,

ag iarraidh na bróige fháil M,

’ Bhfuil tú ag iarraidh na mbeaigeannaí eile tá anseo a chuir suas, ’ Bhrid?

M.

An example of the common case with lenition is:

əg’ iərə ŋ yair ə xir’ ə’mæ:x 20J ag iarraidh an ghadhar a chuir amach.

An example of the common case without lenition is:

ag inseacht an bealach a bhí ann agus an margadh a bhí idir iad. Sc205.

Similarly, genitive used with following predicative adjective or adverb is not frequent, but does occur, especially in set phrases, e.g.

ta tu g æ:r’əxtæ:l’ ə ti:l’ uəgn’əx ə f’i’fæn S

tá tú ag aireachtáil an tsaoil uaigneach, a Stiofán?

ta fi:’ fin’ ə kolə í ehə si:l’ S tá sí sin ag codladh léithi a saoil;

kahə mæ:x ən i:l’ ə 898Ptn ag caitheamh amach an aoiligh.

In the following example the nominative case is apparently attributable to the phrasal structure of the verb *lig ... tha(i)r*:

l’ig’ən ə mur’ hær’əf’ P ag ligean an múr thairis.

Examples with adverbs separating genitives and head nouns are cited above. The genitive of a dependent noun is separated from its head noun by the conjunctions *agus* or *na* in:

bhí sé ag tóigeál miosúr an ghasúir, agus miosúir an tseanfhir agus miosúir an fhir óig. **894Cst** (note common case in initial token of *miosúir*);
bhí sé ag cuir an tsaol thrína chéile agus na ceiste ... ach bhí sé ag cuir na ceiste thrína chéile ar an gcaoi sin **11C**
 ‘... pondering life and his predicament ...’;
Ach, i gculaith gleiteoige, ná báid mhóir, bhí u-, obair go leor ... **899D-6089**.

There are examples of separation of the dependent noun in parenthesis from its head noun:

Ghabh sé go dtí é — crann mór millteach a bhí ag fás — coille — agus tharraing sé é. **866ESc96.18**;
cheithre chéad tonna, san iarraidh, feamainne, ... **36P**.

Feminine nouns tend to take the genitive form when the article is also in the genitive form *na*. This can be seen in Máire’s frequent use in elicitation. For example, when asked to translate ‘the middle of the *cabhail*’ she responds:

-lær ə xaul’ *M Lár an chabhail*.
-ʃa əgəs lær nə *BóC Sea agus ‘lár na —’ ?*
-lær nə kauləx *M Lár na cabhlach*.

The feminine genitive article *na* followed by a common case noun is nonetheless also found, e.g. *un na taltha’ ó thua* **894C9** (cited above). There is an example, which is anomalous for traditional speakers, of nonlenition following the article in genitive position, i.e. nominative article, in:

d’fhógair sí thar cheann agus thar chosa an mac é. **866ESc299.36**.

When *uafás* is used as a pronominal the nominative case is retained, e.g. as object of *ag* + VN:

b’imfə d’inə n tu:həs **43M** *bímse ag déanamh an t-uafás*.

The adjective can be lenited following a common case masculine noun in genitive syntax, e.g. *an t-iasc mór* > gen *an iasc mhór* (9.47).

Examples of common case or case variation in genitive position in various syntags are listed here.

Noun+Øgen:

Bairéad: Céibh Bhairéad Rob;
beann ~ binn ‘regard’: gen inflection was not heard in this meaning, e.g. *gan beagán beann ar Shasana* **11C5654**;
bois: lár do bhoise, cp. **er’ ə bi:xt’ ə bof(ə)** *M ar an bpointe bois(e)*;
bord: le druím bodhard **852S4** (i.e. *bord*);
cathaoir: ‘... ar mhíorúiltí na cathaoir go dteaga ...’ **852SbTS136**, similarly, **TS135**;
Cincis: dʉ:nək k’iŋk’i:f *S Domhnach Cincis*;
cion: níos mú cion **M**, **ner’əd jin’ k’un am er’** *P an oiread sin cion a’m air*;
Dia: in set phrases nominative is regular, e.g. *grá dia* ‘charity’, *bhí sé sna mallachtaí Dia air faoi ... [é] ... a dhíona* **894C9**, *eascainí Dhia is / agus Phádraig ort!* **M**, **P**, cp. *meamanáí Dia le deá-scéala ‘ugam S; do dhon is do dhofairn (?) ort is do neart Dia i dtala’ leat!* **852Sb6.71**;
geall: ag rícheacht an gheall i nGaillimh ... ag rich an gheall in éanacht leis **11Ct**;
 gen *geill* is obsolescent;
lár: nə k’i:n lær əs k’i:n ə rud **50N** *na cinn lár as cionn an rud*, **əŋ k’a:n lær** **62J** *an ceann lár*;
leicneach: Artha an Leicneach **06C**;

Luan: **d'e lu:n 66N** *Dé Luan*;

maidin: cp. **ʃkr'æ:d ə wa:n' ort** *P scread (an) mhaidne ort!* explained as **ʃin' ma:n'əxən** *S, P sin maidneachan* which would imply that neither Seán nor Pádraig (P) associate **wa:n'ə** here directly with *mhaidne*. Cp. phrasal epenthesis (1.367 ff.);

marbh: *ag cuir an bheo is an mharbh thrína chéile*;

muir: *chuir sé amach i lár na muir í 866ESc68.2* (unless **muire*);

Nollaig: *oíche Nollaig, lá Nollaig* generally but **i:hə nolək', la: nolək' 64Me** *oíche Nollaig, lá Nollaig*;

speal: *torann an speal 64M*.

tosach: in lexicalised adverbial use following *un* (< *chun*) the genitive is regular, i.e. **ən tosə un tosaigh**, but **ən tosəx** is also heard, e.g. **v'i' fe ən tāsəx orəm M bhí sé un tosach orm**. This is perhaps based on the alternation in the dative, historical *i dtosaigh*, found in other dialects, now replaced by *i dtosach*.

tuí: cp. *in éadan an tuí 864MDT45* (possibly transcribed for ... *na tuí*).

Art(masc) with Noun+Øgen:

teach: **bhí crann le taobh an teach 66N**;

fios: **ə v'i: əg' iərə n f'is | ... | ə wəɹd fe he:n' ə xid' f'æ:sə he:n' | 894C** *a bhí ag iarraidh an fios ... go bhfaigheadh sé héin a chuid feasa héin*.

Art(masc)+gen with Noun+Øgen:

fathach: no gen recorded from oldest speakers in primary sources (contrast, higher register vocative **æ:i: ɣrænə | (Smbb)04B** *a fhathaigh ghránna*), e.g.

b'æ:nəxt ən ahəx, ə d'a:x ən ahəx 892M

beannacht an fhathach, i dteach an fhathach.

Speakers **852SbTS** and **866ESemr** have gen, e.g. *teach fatha' é ... teach fatha' eile 852SbTS121–2*, and speaker **35E** (son of **04B**) has gen **ən æhə 35E** *an fhathaigh*.

Art(masc)+gen with Noun+Øgen and Adj+gen:

im: *i gcomórtas an ím bhoicht a ... !894C9*.

Art(fem)+Øgen with Verbal Noun(+Øgen):

aire: **ʃe: tɑ fɑ:l' ən æ:r'ə S** *Sé atá ag fáil an aire*.

gloine: *le haghaidh an ghloine mheasa ... de réir an ghloine*. Clad1225 (possible serial effect).

Art(fem)+Øgen with Ordinal and (Verbal) Noun(+Øgen):

fathach: *teach a' tríú fathach ... teach a' dárna fathach ...*[but contrast]

teach an chéad fhatha' 852Sb6.75;

inín: *bhí an dárna ceann ag iarra an dárna hiníon 852SbTS*.

Art(fem)+gen (with Noun+gen or Noun+Øgen) and Adj+Øgen:

an Tír Íseal: *arm na Tíre Íseal thoir ... ansin 852S2*.

Art(fem)+gen with Noun+Øgen:

liathróid: *a' cur amach na liathróid, nú nach ... 852S4*;

clann: *ag fágáil na clánn (sic) ag ... 894C2*;

óinseach: **gæk'tɑ:l' nə ho:nfəx S85** *ag aicteáil na hóinseach*.

Art(fem)+gen with Noun+Øgen and Adj/Noun+Øgen:

feamainn: ag tabhairt na feamainn fliuch [attributive] leis 894C9;

cruaich: le haghaidh na cruaich choirce 894C5;

bean: athair na bean uasal seo 875T1.

Art(fem)+gen with Noun+Øgen + qualifying Adverb:

k'i:n nə nolək' ə'norə s k'i:n nə nolək' (nə bl'ianə rɪv'ə ʃɪn') S

cinn na Nollaig anuraidh is cinn na Nollaig (na bliana roimhe sin).

Metalinguistic remarks on genitive or common case use are rare. I have noted two in conversation:

-Máthair a bhean BóC

-Óra nach frusta aithnte nach as an gcliabhán a fuair tú do chuid Gaeilge 'máthair na mrá' a déarthadh muide S.

The noun *im* does not generally inflect in **punt i:m' M punt im**; Máire, however, does less frequently use **punt im'ə M punt ime**. Speaker 23B once said while buying butter from me (c. 1985):

Tor 'um punt ím nú ime nú péibí céard abraíonn siad.

When queried regarding her genitive of *snátha(i)d*, speaker 23B responded (transcription only approximate):

'Barr an tsráthaid' a déarthainnse nú 'barr na snáthaide'. Ach 'barr an tsráthaid' is mú, a déarthainnse. Nús, ní bheitheá badráilte 'barr na snáthaide' a rá. 23Bq.

3.13 Prepositions *roimhe*, *idir* with genitive

The simple preposition *roimhe* only rarely takes the genitive singular:

- ... **rɪv' ən æfr'ən ... M ... roimhe an Aifreann.**

- ... **rɪv' ən æfr'ən' 47P88 ... roimhe an Aifrinn.**

rɪv'ə nə hi:hə M roimhe na hoíche << rɪv' ən i:hə SM roimhe an oíche.

rɪv'ə nə nolək 43M roimhe na Nollag.¹

- ... **rɪv'ə ... S ... roimhe ...**

-ha Ha?

-nə bə:ʃt'i: S Na báistí.

-o: rɪv'ə n wə:ʃt'əx M Ó roimhe an bháisteach.

On the other hand, *roimhe* with the genitive plural is more common (7.71), e.g.

rɪv'ə nə ɲ'altə ... rɪv'ə nə ɲ'altə ... (brother of 21J) *roimhe na (n)geallta*;

rɪv'ə nə m'ehiəx 43M roimhe na mbeithíoch.

The preposition *idir* is rarely followed by the genitive plural.

3.14 Genitive plural

Variation in genitive plural use in conversation is common. Typical examples are:

-kə:r nə ɲi:rəx v'i: eg'ə M Carr na nGaorach a bhí aige.

-hæ S Hea?

-kə:r nə ɲi:rə, kə:r nə ɲi:rə M Carr na nGaoraigh, carr na nGaoraigh.

ə ʃl'e:v'ə:l' ə n'ia b'ehiəx | ʃ kir'ə 899N

ag sléibheáil i ndiaidh beithíoch, is caoirigh.

¹ Also 59P (Ros Muc). Cp. **fi: nolək' ... rɪv' ən nolək 60M faoi Nollaig ... roimh an Nollag.**

Use is often confined to set phrases, e.g.

comhaireamh na sop (nom pl *soip*, *soipreachaí*, etc.).

An example of retention of the plural form following a numeral in genitive plural position occurs in a traditional run:

... *na gcúig muiníl* **894C1**.

For *grás*, see 3.47.

There is a possible example of the shorter plural form *slata* being preferred in genitive plural position in:

... (*slatræxi*) ... *v'i: slatæxi*: ... *v'i:n' he:n' ə tarənt nə slatə* ... *v'i: nə slatə* ... P ... (*slatracháí*) ... *bhí slatacháí* ... *bhínn héin ag tarraint na slata* ... *bhí na slata* ...

Cp. *scamhlach iongach* S which resembles an old genitive plural form but the form is innovative for this 5D noun; it is most likely an adjectival form here. Máire also has *scamhach ionga(ch)*.

A few nouns which have no genitive singular form have genitive plural inflection, in set phrases, e.g.

deoir: *go deo na ndeor*;

fiacail: *ag bualadh fiacal*, *doightheacháí fiacal*.

Such nouns are therefore classified as irregular.

There are examples in the genitive plural position of a form identical to the singular of the noun *peaca* from speaker **11C**:

agus na mra ag scuabadh na bpeaca amach 'na dhiaidh an doras. **11C**;

agus beirt bhan ag scuabadh na bpeaca amach an doras ina dhiaidh. '

Scuabadh peaca ina dhiaidh. **11C**.

Although a genitive plural *peaca* < *peachadh* is regular from a historical phonological viewpoint, we should recall that the two examples of plural *file* were recorded from this speaker as well as singular *gr'eisə bro:g* **11C** *gréasaí bróg* (otherwise *gr'e:si:*), and that nominal plural *p'æ:kə* occurs in *insna peaca seo* (Aif) **05Mt**. See *file/í* (3.155). Cp. *crann úllaí* > *croinnte úlla* with *úlla* functioning as genitive plural (4.34); and *páiste* in *cúigear nó seisear páiste aige* **866ESc260.33** (cf. zero plural nouns, 4.71).

For genitive plural, rarely the genitive singular, following the preposition *roimh(e)*, rarely also genitive plural following the preposition *idir*, see 3.13.

3.15 Dative

There is obsolescent dative use in the 2 Declension (also obsolescent dual), which palatalises the final consonant (3.24 ff., adjectives 3.51), and in the 5 Declension in final palatal -*n* (3.36). The old dative of *teach* (i.e. *tigh*) can synchronically be categorised as a preposition, but the dative does occur in '*n'e:n',t'i: 't'umsə* **10B** in *aontigh liomsa*, obsolescent for *in aonteach* (*liomsa*). For lenition in certain dative syntagms, see 9.50 ff.

3.16 Formation of genitive — Declensions

Nouns are divided into ten declensions according to their genitive singular formation; in some declensions consideration must be given to alternative nominative realisations and also to dative singular use. Most nouns in a given declension have the same gender. Feminine gender is more declensionally diverse than

masculine. Cp. nouns belonging to several declensions (3.45 ff.). There are two further genitive noun classes: irregular nouns (which are described in 3.47) and a large number of nouns which have no special genitive form (cf. 3.48). Many nouns are declined only in a few set phrases or by few people so that they can be said to belong in general to the nondeclined class. The formations of the declensions with representative nouns and corresponding declensional gender are:

Declension	Genitive	Nominative	Genitive	Gender
1	-C' > -C'	<i>bád</i>	<i>báid</i>	m.
2	-C > -C' ə	<i>bréag</i>	<i>bréige</i>	f. (m. rare)
3	-C > -C' ə	<i>rud</i>	<i>ruda</i>	m., f.
4	+ i:	<i>tua</i>	<i>tuai</i>	f.
5	-ə(n'/n') > -ən	<i>teanga</i>	<i>teangan</i>	f.
6	+ əx	<i>cabhail</i>	<i>cabhlach</i>	f. (m. rare)
7	-ə(d') > -əd	<i>cara(id)</i>	<i>carad</i>	f.
8	-r' > -r	<i>athair</i>	<i>athar</i>	m., f.
9	+ v	<i>tuí</i>	<i>tuíobh</i>	f.
10	-h > -həsə	<i>rath</i>	<i>rathasa</i>	m., f.

The main declensions are the first and second. These two, and the sixth, are the only productive declensions with modern borrowings. The other declensions have limited membership and could be classified together. The seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth have only two or three members each.

3.17 First declension: *bád* > *báid*

Vocative and genitive involve palatalisation of the final consonant, i.e. -C' > -C'. All nouns are masculine (but cf. *leabhar*, 3.4). Regular oppositions are:

Nominative	>	Genitive; e.g.	Nominative	>	Genitive
-C		-C'	<i>bá:d</i>		<i>bá:d'</i>
-CəC (epenthetic)		-C' ə C'	<i>arəm</i>		<i>ær'əm'</i>
-əx		-ə	<i>bakəx</i>		<i>bakə</i>
-V:nəx		-V:ni:	<i>o:ga:nəx</i>		<i>o:ga:ni:</i>

Vocative

Examples of vocative are:

a Sheáin; a sheabhaic **894C2** (addressing a hawk);

ə wæ'n'əv' S a bhainbh (addressing a person).

Special instances of vocative use

Metaphorical use with non-inflection can contrast with literal (nonmetaphorical) inflected use in:

L'anə leanbh *ə l'anə a leanbh, ə l'in'əv' a linbh;*

mak mac *ə wak a mhac, ə v'ik' a mhic*, also *a mhic na stríopaí* **35E** (as term of abuse); note also:

a mhac Uí Con Fhaoltha **04B**,

A Mhurach[a]ín ghránna, a mhac Bhriain as Éirinn! **866EBI-6.111.**

The noun *fear* has inflected vocative singular when followed by an adjective, but no vocative inflection when unqualified (cp. GCF §40), i.e.

ə **ir'** xo:r', **ir'** wa: Mq *a fhir chóir, a fhir mhaith*
vs. *ə **ir'** MØperm **a fhir*.

Note voc sg: ə **ya'sur'**, ə **yasur** Mperm *a ghasúir, a ghasúr* (contrast GCF §40).

Nominative **gaul mak mo:rn'** ə Mq *Goll mac Moirne* has identical vocative in:
ə **yaɣwəl** Mq *a Gholl*.

Note the use with the rare female proper name *Guilean* in:

orsə **gil'an o:g**, ... ə **ɣil'an' o:g** (Lam)04B
arsa Guilean Óg, '... a Ghuilin Óg.'

Speaker 49J reports that his wife, 52T, palatalises *Seán* (and perhaps other words) when lenited, e.g. *Seán* > *dho Sheáin*. A speaker from Doire an Fhéich informed 49J that he too has heard such palatalisation in his own district. A possible example from a younger speaker may be: **er' f'ædər'** 79J *ar Pheadair*. This palatalisation may derive either from vocative or genitive use, or both, which combine lenition (of definite nouns) and palatalisation.

3.18 Genitive examples

alt: lár ən el't' Mq *lár an ailt*.

aer: chomh hard le clabhtaí an aeir er' | 11Ctn.

barr: a ndóthain bairr bær' 01P 'growth, crop (of potatoes)'.

beart: lár ən v'ert' Mq *lár an bheirt*.

ceart: deabhal leith an chirt x'irt' *a bhí aici liom 05M.*

cáirt: buidéal mór cáirt ARN8635.

cuntanas: mo:ra:n ku:ntənəʃ S *mórán cuntanais*.

craiceann: buələ kræk'ən' M *ag bualadh craicinn*.

Damhras: mi:n't'ər 'yãvrəʃ 01C6365 *muintir Dhamhrais*.

dochtúir: ən ai ən doxtu:r' 54C *in aghaidh an dochtúir*.

drad: iæxtər də ɣræd' Mq *íochtair do dhraid* vs. *i mbun l lár mo dhrad 21Ptq*.

draíocht: k' o: dri:xt' (Aár)04B *ceo draícht*.

dug: bæ:lən dīg' 46.1070 *balla an duig* (one should probably read **dīg'**, 1.425).

feac: f'e ti:w ən' ek' S *le taobh an fheic*.

fuaicht: an iomarca fuaicht fuəxt' 35E, ən uəxt' !39D *an fhuaicht*.

gob: er wər mə ɣib' M *ar bharr mo ghoib*, mə ɣob' 21Ptq *mo ghoib*.

lóchrann: ə t'æx lo:rən' 04B *an teach lóchrainn*.

lucht: ær'əʃ əd ə loxt' 894C *airgead an loicht*.

milleán: v' i fət'e:s m' il' a:n' orəm (Smids)04B *'bhí faitíos milleáin orm'*.

nóiméad: nu:m'eɪd' M *nóiméid*.

oilbhéas: elv'e:ʃ M *oilbhéis*.

portús: ə l'e:v ə fortu:ʃ 04B *ag léabh a phortúis*.

praghas: l' æh ə fraiʃ 892M *leath an phraghais*.

sancas: gə wər ən taŋkəʃ Mq *dhe bharr an tsancais*.

siól fíal: nə fə:ti: ʃi:l' 01P *na fataí síl*, mæ:l'i:n' ʃi:l' 35E *máilín síl*.

smior: ə lər ə sm'ir' Mq *i lár an smir*.

stuf: roínnst stuif ARN9381.

taos: beagán taois !894C9.

tintéan: æs k'i:n ə t'i:nt' a:n' (Smids)04B *as cionn an tintéain*.

torann: gə l'or torən' P *go leor torainn*.

toras: gə wər ən torəʃ Mq *dhe bharr an torais*.

ucht: mu:n' oxt' *móin uicht*.

The use of the genitive form in this declension may be influenced by whether the noun is commonly used in the plural with palatalised final (-C') or not: if the plural in -C' is in common use, it seems the genitive singular will be avoided. Mass nouns, etc., may preserve genitive use better as they are not generally used in the plural, e.g.

k'ina:l ukrəf M *cineál ocrais*;
v'efi ka'h ær'əg'əd' M *bheith ag caitheamh airgid*.

The noun *Mac* used in surnames has regular genitive **v'ik'** *Mhic*. Reduced 'ac has genitive 'ic, e.g.

nominative **ʃæ'n ək du:nəl'** S *Seanadh 'ac Dónaill*;
 genitive **hæ'n ək' du:nəl'** S *Sheanadh 'ic Dónaill*.

For further variation and examples of *Mac* and *mac* in names, see 12.2 ff.

3.19 Nouns in -ach, -əx > -ə; -ánach > -ánaí, etc.

Nouns in -ach have morphophonologically regular -əx > -ə (with //x^{+pal}// > /Ø/ finally).

Examples

Vocative: *Clochartach*: **ə xlohərtə** S *a Chlochartaigh*;
fathach: **æhə wox ɣrənə** 892M *a fhathaigh mhór ghránna*.
 Genitive: *bealach*: **i lár an bhealaigh v'æ'lə** S;
cuthach: **le buile cuthaigh** FFG;
Flathartach: **... an Fhlatharta'** 869P4;
Lochrannach: **kut ə loxrənə** 894Cs *cat an Lochrannaigh*;
Máilleach: **f'i: n wæl'ə** 11C *tigh an Mháilligh*;
Sasanach: **dlíobh an tSasanaigh tasənə** 892M3147;
soitheach: **g'iarə sohə v'i: ʃe** S *ag iarraidh soithigh a bhí sé*;
tormach: **moxən torənə** 43M *mórán tormaigh*;
triomach: **ru:n'ə tr'umə** 25M *rúinne triomaigh*.

Two nouns in final stressed -ch have genitive inflection, **f'iax** *fiach* and **fri:x** *fraoch* in:

toirt fiaigh f'ia ná fionnóige; *uailín fraoigh fri:*, *cearc fhraoigh*, etc.

Example of common form in genitive position:

(ta ʃe) lə:r ə v'æ'ləx | 66N *(tá sé) i lár an bhealach*.

The noun *iascach* (mostly feminine) has not been heard with a specific genitive, e.g. *bád iascach* 11C, *orchar iascach* 11C, *Bord na hIascach* 11C, except masculine *le haghaidh iascaigh* ABg4, *cineálacha iascaigh* Clad7.

Nouns in -V:Cəx; -ánach, -únach > -ánaí, -únaí

Nouns in unstressed -ánach, -únach (i.e. in -V:Cəx) have (alternative) vocatives and genitives in -əx > -i:. There are examples of vocative and genitive in -ə from an old speaker:

'*A bhithiúna!*' 869P4, *teach a' tíorána' seo* 869P4,

and vocative -i: in song:

'*ógánaí óg* !01S, 03V CABI §68(a) v. 2, 7.

Two further nouns have exceptional **-əx > -i:**, i.e. *bodach* (voc) and *stócach* (voc (and gen in query)):

ə **wodi:** | **869P, 897P** *a bhodaigh* (contrast genitive, e.g. *Cnocán an Bhodaigh wodə*);

ə **stoki:** *M a stócaigh*.

(For *fionnfach* and *misneach*, see 1D ~ 2D, 3.45.) Further investigation is necessary in this subclass but Máire's pattern, presented in Table 3.1, may be taken as generally representative of her generation.

Genitive *-aigh* is one environment where Seán and Máire in query occasionally became confused or influenced by other lects or subclasses. For example, when asked to translate 'the head of the giant' the forms:

... **ən æhi:** *Mq an fhathaigh*;

... **ən æ'hə, ... nə fahi:** *Sq an fhathaigh ... na fathaigh*

were produced. Only **ən æ'hə an fhathaigh** is regular for the historical phonology of the vernacular. The forms in Table 3.1 of nouns in *-ach*, however, were double-checked with Máire (Mq). Since she showed no confusion or hesitation in the query sessions, it can be taken as a reliable indicator of her actual usage in conversation.

Table 3.1 Nouns in *-ach* 1D, Mq

nom sg -x	voc sg			gen sg	
	-x	-ə	-i:	-ə	-i:
<i>bacach</i>				-kə	
<i>Breatnach</i>		-nhə			
<i>Flathartach</i>		-tə			
<i>bithiúnach</i>	-u:nəx	-u:nə	-u:ni:		
<i>Cúlánach</i>	-ɑ:nəx		-ɑ:ni:		
<i>ógánach</i>			-ɑ:ni:		-ɑ:ni:
<i>Bairéadach</i>					
<i>stócach</i>	-kəx		-ki:		-ki:
<i>ruifíneach</i>	-i:n'əx				
nom sg -x	nom pl			voc pl	
	-xi:	-ə	-i:	-xi:	-i:
<i>bacach</i>				-nhə	
<i>Breatnach</i>		-nhə			
<i>Flathartach</i>			-ti:		-ti:
<i>bithiúnach</i>			-u:ni:		-u:ni:
<i>Cúlánach</i>			-ɑ:ni:		-ɑ:ni:
<i>ógánach</i>					-ɑ:ni:
<i>Bairéadach</i>			-e:di:		-e:di:
<i>stócach</i>					
<i>ruifíneach</i>	-i:n'əxi:			-i:n'əxi:	

Speaker **21Ptq** has:

Voc sg *a Chúlánach; a bhacaigh wa'kə; a Bhreathna'; a mharlach; a scorach skor(h)əx.*

Voc sg / pl *a bhithiúnaí.*

Voc pl *goilligí a stócaigh stókə, a Chúláin; a bhacachaí; a Bhreathnachaí; a mharlachai; a scorachai skor(h)əxi.*

3.20 Nouns in -V_ix; -ach(f)

Nouns in -V_ix; -íoch, -úch > -ígh, -úigh

Nouns in -íoch, -iəx > -i: . The change -iəx > -i: is morphophonologically regular here. It is realised in the word *beithíoch* in obsolescent usage; *beithíoch* is now generally not inflected in the genitive singular, but some older speakers have been noted with *beithígh*, e.g.

go dhrioball a' bheithí [x1] 869P2, but also *go dhrioball a' bheithíoch* [x2] 869P2;

luach a' bheithí [x4+] 869P, but also *luach a' bheithíoch* [x1] 869P5;

m'axən ə v'ehi: (older male, Cill Chiaráin) *meáchan an bheithígh*.

Vocative of *gaiscíoch* appears in tales often as the common case, i.e. *a ghaiscíoch*, *a ghaiscíoch álainn*, but -i: in:

ə ya:fk'i: o:g' 11Ctn *a ghaiscígh óig*,

also *a ghaiscígh!*, *a ghaiscígh álainn!*, *a ghaiscígh óg* 866ESemr, but

a ghaiscíoch fir ná mná is fearr a casadh ariamh liom 866ESemr.

-u: > -u: is rare. The word *díthriúch* generally has genitive as nominative form but -u: in the title:

'du:wā:k ogəs 'daun.wā:k ə d'ir'hu: also 'du:wā:k ə d'ir'hu: 11C

Dubhmhac (agus Donnfhac) an Díthriúigh;

Dounn-mhac a' Díthriú 894C2.

Nouns in -ach or -acht

Many nouns in -acht have alternatives in -ach. Some of the latter variants inflect regularly as 1D nouns with genitive -igh, e.g. *bólacht* ~ *bólach*:

A' seoladh 'gcuid bóla' !894C6, *bólach* S, FFG19, 32;

Ní raibh ba ná bólacht aige M.

(For similar nouns in the 2D, e.g. *scliúiseach(t)*, see 3.32.)

Note that *draíocht* is generally a 1D noun. It is seldom declined in the genitive, but note:

'cuir draoidheaicht !894C9, *tæ:ru' dri:xt'* (Abó)21Pt *tarbh draícht*.

Speaker !03V has (in his own compositions): *faoi dhraíochta*, *ceol draíochta*, *claimhe draíochta*. Speaker 35E, who is highly literate, has *súilín draíochta*.

Also 1D are *ríocht* and *trácht*:

muintir a' ríocht 875T1; *as cíonn a' ríocht uiliug* 869P2;

b'e:l də hræ:xt' S béal do thráicht.

3.21 Other subclasses

GREANN class

The GREANN class consists of nouns with long vocoid alternations in palatalisation.

V_i^{+,back} > V_i^{-,back}, e.g. *gr'ɑ:n greann* > *gr'i:n' grinn*; *fu:n fonn* > *fi:n' foinn*.

ɑ: > ai (also ɑ:, e:) in:

ball bɑ:l *bail'* 894Cs, 894C *baill*;

dall dɑ:l *dail'* 04B, *daɪl'* Mq *dail*;

feall f'ɑ:l *f'aiɪl'* *feill*, generally as nom, e.g. *f'æ:r ən' ɑ:l M fear an fheall*;

geall g'ɑ:l *g'aiɪl'* *geill* (obsolete);

meall m'ɑ:l gen in *gū:ŋgər ə v'ail' əgəs ə win'i:l' e' 869Pt* *i gcóngar a mheill agus a mhuiníl é*; also in the place-name *An Meall Rua* with *ənə v'ail' ruə*, *ənə v'ail ruə S un An Mheill Rua*, but also *ənə v'e:l ruə*.

ARM class

The ARM class consists of nouns in historical final clusters now separated by an epenthetic vowel, i.e. *-C'əC' > -C'əC'*, e.g.

arəm arm > ær'əm' airm; *kaləm calm > kal'əm' cailm*; cp. *d'arəg an Dearg > d'er'əg' an Deirg*.

Also unhistorical *koləm Colm*: *xel'əm' Choilm*; and *cúram*: *gə wər ə xu:r'əm' M dhe bharr a chúirim*.

Subclass in *-bh*:

taru: tarbh > ter'əv' tairbh; *banu: banbh > ban'əv' bainbh*.

Cp. *leanbh* (also *leanabh*): *ʔanə*, gen sg *ʔin'ə* 46.763; also nom *ʔæ'nu:*, voc *ʔin'əv'*, gen *ʔin'əv'*.

Exception: *doras > der'əf' doiris*.

See also 3.174; adjectival DEARG class and GARBH subclass (3.52–3.53, 3.55, 3.61).

Unstressed vowel alternations

Unstressed *-ál > -áil, -íl*

muineál min'ɑ:l >> min'e:l has genitive *min'i:l' muiníl*.

Mícheál: nominative *m'i:/i/ehɑ:l, m'ix'ɑ:l*;

vocative *ə v'ehɑ:l'*; *ə v'i:ha:l' ~ v'ihɑ:l' ~ ə v'ihɪ:l' M a Mhícheáil / Mhíchíl*;

genitive in *-áil*: *ahər' v'ihɑ:l' S athair Mhícheáil, t'i: v'i:ɑ:l' M tigh Mhícheáil*;

contrasting with older genitive in *-íl*: *p'æt'i:n' fə:rək' v'ihɪ:l' Peaitín Phádraig Mhíchíl* and *lɑ: ʔ m'ihɪ:l' Lá Fhéil Míchíl*.

Unstressed *-iəs, -i:is, -e:is, -əs > -iəf, -i:ɪf, -e:ɪf*

coimhthíos: generally *kuhi:is > genitive kuhi:ɪf*, but nominative also *kūhiəs 18J, kuhias 21Pt*.

faitíos: nominative *fat'əs S, fat'e:is S, 21Pt*; genitive *fat'i:ɪf P, fat'e:ɪf 21Pt*; note the consistency of *-e:* in nominative and genitive in:

fat'e:is ɔrt | n'i:l' e:ŋ xɑ:l fat'e:ɪf ʷɪt' | 894C

faitíos ɔrt, níl aon chall faitís dhuit.

Maitias: *pɑ:rə kɔ:l'i:n' wɑ:t'ɪəf M Pádraig Cólín Mhaitias*; nom *mat'e:is > gen mat'e:ɪf 21Pt*.

Proinséas: nominative *prinʃe:is S*, cp. gen *Phróinséis !894C9*.

For further examples, see 1.57, where it is evident that the vowel of the nominative corresponds to that of the genitive for the various speakers.

3.22 Irregularities: quality alternation in finals; *-C' ~ -C'*

Both palatal and nonpalatal final consonants are found in the nominative singular of a few nouns.

ancard ~ *ancaird* ~ *ancairt* ~ *ancart*, cp. *tancard* FFG; speaker 20C has *ancard* ~ *ancaird* and feminine reference.

ceannfort (older spelling *ceannphort*): *ceannfort* as nom sg: *an ceánnphort* 869P5, *ag a' gceánnfort* !894C9; *ceannphoirt* as nom sg 852S2, 894C3, S.

créatúr: one younger speaker has nom sg *an créatúir*! 75C, presumably from the common voc *a chréatúir*!

fómhar, a form identical to the gen is sometimes used after *gə dhe* in *x'e:d v'i: gū:vər' S an chéad mhí dh'fhómhair* (possibly influenced by (*mí*) *deireadh fómhair*, etc.).

salann: generally *salann* but *ím gan salainn* !894C9; younger speakers with consistent nom *salainn* are 66N, 76Nq.

gligear: *gligear* general as nom, gen *un* (= *chun*) *gligir*, but dat *i ngligir*.

meacan: sg *m'ækən* S *meacan*, including *kid' fə:d'i:n' gən v'ækən cuid Pháidín dhen mheacan*; also sg *meacain* 869P5, 20C and *kid' fə:d'i:n' gən v'ækən 19J cuid Pháidín dhen mheacain*. Plural commonly *meacna*. Also sg *an meacna* 32J.

nádúr: *nádúr* is the only nominative recorded in conversation, but nominative *nádúr* ~ *nádúir* 866ESemr148, etc., with *-ir* perhaps a mistranscription due to the variant nominative feminine *nádúir* of other lects.

ros 'flax-seed': the nominative of this obsolescent word is *rois* in the recording of 892Mg, perhaps generalised from the phrase *sceitheadh rois* common in describing great heat in the weather.

3.23 Second declension: *bréag* > *bréige*

Genitive formation involves palatalisation of stem-final consonant, if not already palatal, and addition of schwa, i.e. *-C* > *-C'ə*. Regular oppositions are:

Nominative	>	Genitive; e.g.	Nominative	>	Genitive
<i>-C</i>		<i>-C'ə</i>	<i>olhən' iothlainn</i>		<i>olhən'ə</i>
			<i>br'eg bréag</i>		<i>br'eg'ə</i>
<i>-CəC</i> (epenthetic)		<i>-C'əC'ə</i>	<i>f'æræg fearg</i>		<i>f'er'æg'ə</i>
<i>-əx</i>		<i>-i:</i>	<i>kaurl'əx coirleach</i>		<i>kaurl'i:</i>

All nouns are feminine except for masculine *im*, *corach* (also 1D), *nóiméad* (also 1D), *sliabh*, *dúch* (following FGB) and mixed gender *clúmhach*, *fionnfach*, *misneach*, *Satharn* (sometimes f. in genitive, e.g. *na Sathrainne* S, also 1D). Relatively rare *éala(i)nn* was noted with masculine article in *an t-éalainn* !894C9. Speaker 35E has anomalous genitive of masculine *máistir* in traditional narrative: *ar lorg máistire*, perhaps influenced by the corresponding phrase *ar lorg buachalla*. For obsolete vocative *a chailligh*, see 3.30.

3.24 Quality alternation: nominative, dative, dual usage

Many nouns in this declension have only one form in the common case, e.g. *iothlainn*. Many others show alternation of palatality in the final consonant in common case usage, reflecting the obsolescent palatalising rule in the dual and dative, i.e. *-C`* nominative vs. *-C'* dual / dative. For an example in the genitive plural, see *clo(i)ch* below. A list of such nouns is given here.

ábhaich: *Chuaigh Seán ag an ábhaigh* 866ESc275.

adharc: *ən airk' [x3] airk [x1]* (accusative) (Suda)04B.

baintreach: for *ə wə:n't'ər'ə S an bhaintrigh*, see 1.360.

barrann: nom *barann* 869P2–5, dat *barainn* 869P2–5; nom *ba:rən' M*, gen *nə ba:rən'ə Mq*.

beann ‘respect, regard’: *beann* >> *binn*; the form *beann* only has been heard in conversation in this meaning from Seán and Máire. Speaker 23Bq does not permit *binn* in this meaning. Máire, however, claims *binn* ‘respect’ is also used; it is also given as a variant in FFG s.v. *beann* and is attested in *dheamhan blas binn a bhí aige* 21Pg, 892M2496. Contrast ‘gable’ *binn* only (more prevalent in dative syntax than ‘respect’ *beann*).

blaosc: *blaoisc* = nom and dat 894C2; *blaosc* ~ *blaoisc* nom S; *blaosc* ~ *blaoisc* ‘shell’ nom M; in the meaning ‘skull’ *blaosc* is general, but also *blaoisc* ‘skull’ nom Mq (speaker slightly uncertain).

bos: generally *bois* in dative / dual but occasionally *bos*, e.g. *lena bhos* 852S5, *wuəɫʲ fe ʲyā: ʲwos fi: ʲx'e:lʲə* 11C *bhuail sé a dhá bhos faoi chéile*, *də ʲyā: wos fi: ʲx'e:lʲə* P *do dhá bhos faoi chéile*; *bos* ~ *bois* nom S. Cp. *pointe bos a dtáinic an bhean eile isteach* 11Ct for common *ar an bpointe bois(e)*.

bréag: *bréag* nom 04B, SM, Pt, dat *gən vr'e:g* 04B, S *gan bhréig*.

bruas: *bruas* M, *bruais* SM.

bruin ‘fighting’: *ə tɾədʲ oɡəs ə bri:nʲ* (Smds)04B *ag troid agus ag bruín*, *bri:nʲ* 11C *ag bruín*.

bruíon ‘fairy-mound’: *sa mbroínn* 7 !894C9, often *sa mbruín* (cp. *sə mri:nʲ* GCF §381 *sa mbruídhin*, *bruíon* FFG20).

ceard ‘direction’ (FGB *cearn*): *k'ɑ:rd* ~ *k'ɑ:rdʲ* S, *ceárd* 852S4, *ceáird* 866ESemr46.

ceird ‘trade’: generally; obsolete *ceárd* 852SbTS133 which occurs in the context of *ceárdaí* 852SbTS132–3.

ciall: dat *céill* is used in a few idioms, e.g. *as mo* (etc.) *chéill*, e.g. *Cuirthidh tú as mo chéill me* S, *glan as a céill* S; *cuir i gcéill*; *ga m'eɫʲ fe er' ə x'e:lʲ* 43M *dhá mbeadh sé ar a chéill*; also *chuir sé i gcéill dom g'e:l dum cén fear a bhí in éindí leis* 894C. Dative also in compound *xu fe ɑ:n er' ə ʲyɫɑ:nʲx'e:lʲ* M *chuaigh sé ann ar a ghlanchéill*. In the nominative, *céill* is seldom used: *ta k'e:lʲ wɔ:r æd an S tá céill mhór a'd ann*. The common case *ciall* also occurs in the above idioms, e.g. *er' ə x'iəl* 21C *ar a chiall*, *ʲi:ɫəɾ kurh æs ə g'iəl eg'ə* P *bhíodar curtha as a gciall aige*.

cíoch: dat *k'i: cích* (*cígh*) is rare, confined to fixed collocations, with prepositions *faoi* and *as* and possessive pronouns: *faoi mo chí' dheas* 894C2, ... *chí' dheis* 894C2, *ina cí' dheas*. [...] *as a cí'*. 866Eóc220 §5, *faoina cí(ch)* ÓC210; also in dual, e.g. (gen) *gə d'i: m'ɑ:l ə gɑ: g'i: 11C4233 go dtí meall a* (3pl) *dhá gcích*. In gen pl *nə ʲŋ'æl,x'i: e: !!39D na ngealchích é*. Base form retained in genitive: *bainne cíoch* 00Ttn.

cíor ‘comb’: regularly *cíor*, contrast ‘ridge’ *cír ar theach* = *círín* S.

cloch: *cloch* is often used in both nom and dat, e.g. *gən klox gən kra:n* S *gan cloch gan crann*, dat *cloch* 875T1.

cloich is often used in the nom, e.g. 894C2, *klo wɔ:r* S, 23M *cloich mhór*, *klo klai* S *cloich claí*, *ta klo ən'fín* P, 69C *tá cloich ansin*, *n'i: ro klo bo:hər an S ní raibh cloich bóthar ann*, *klo ʲɫas* M *cloich ghlas*, *n'ir ɑ:g fe klo gən umpu: S níor fhág sé cloich gan iompú*.

Example of *cloich* in dative context from a young male speaker: *le cloich* 80CAI (who fishes with his father).

Perhaps particularly common (for some speakers) in *cloich aoil*: *mar ja:l er' ə glo hi:lʲ* 01J *mar gheall ar an gcloich aoil*; *klo hi:lʲ* [x2] 20C *cloich aoil*.

Speaker 899D6579–6688 has *cloich* in all six examples of this lexeme, both nominative and dative. This implies *cloich* is his main variant.

cloich is the general form in *klo wura:tʲə cloich mhuráite*; *klox wura:tʲə cloch mhuráite* was recorded from Seán, only in explanation of the term.

cloich also heard in the compound:

ʲɫ'æ:xlo ʲɑ:xənʲ S *leathchloich mheáchain*.

Note the variation in:

Séard í a' chloich neart — cloch gon chlaí ... M;
Cuir an eochair faoin gcloich, faoin gcloich dhearg, tá sé ceart má fhaigheann
se faoin gcloch í M;

klo v'á:xən' ká:l' ek'ə | **ta klo** v'á:xən' ká:l' ek'ə M
cloich mheáchain caillte aici, tá cloch mheáchain caillte aici;
-kir' ə xlox ən'jin' ə'r'i:ft' M *Cuir an chloch ansin aríst.*
-ha' S Ha?
-kir' ə xlo ən'jin' ə'r'i:ft' M *Cuir an chloich ansin aríst.*

There is an instance of *cloich* in the genitive plural in:
leathchléibhín anis sé cloich fe: klo | P (i.e. *cliabh sé clo(i)ch*);
 cp. nom pl **fe: klo**xə P *sé clocha*.

For the non-elision of schwa following *cloich*, see 2.41.

cluas: generally *cluais*, e.g. nom and dat **875T1**, but examples of *cluas* occur in nom, dat and gen, as well as (least commonly) in the dual, e.g. *bhí cluas ar Jaic. ... cluas mhaith air. 866Et* (*cluas* ~ *cluais* in dative in **866ESemr**), *tóirt cluas mhath 894C2*, *goite 'steach i gcluas agus amach i gcluas S, mórán cluas dhó FFG s.v. cluais, beag an chluas a thug FFG s.v. cluais, do chluas leis an talthamh 35E* (*cluais* >> *cluas 35E*).

Note *bhí cluas bhodhar ag Féarlí dhó 892Mt; leag mé cluas ... leis an gcluais eile 892M2092, dhá chluais ... an dá chluas 894Cs*.

cnámh: generally *cráimh* with no genitive and often masc, but *crámh* is given for the nom in **875TRBÉ** and **869P2**–5 has frequent *crámh* vs. dat *cráimh*.

coch: **kox** >> **ko** S *co(i)ch*; other speakers were noted with *coch* only.

coisméig: *coisméig* ~ *coismeig* generally, but also nonpalatal -g in secondary sources: nom. sg. *coisméag 894C2* and pl *coisméagachaí 866ESc260.18*.

cos: **SID.46**: *cos* nom. sg., *mo dhá chois 463a, cos na scine 521, cos na leapa 499*. Cp. *muc*.

866E: *bonn a dhá chos leagtha ar an urlár Sc49.26*.

875T: *cos* nom, dat (x2), *cois* dual **875T1**.

889P: *an chos* 'foot', *cos* (x2) 'handle' (of a bailing vessel), *a gá [dá] cois*.

892Mg: *cos* nom, dat (x3), *dhá chos speal*.

894C: *cos* is nom and gen in the phrases: *cos as cíonn cos* (x2), *léis a leathchos a bheith ... 894C2*.

SM: generally with possessive pronoun: *mo chois*, etc., but *cos* sometimes, e.g. *ghortaigh sí a cos S*; regularly in the proverb:

An té nach bhfuil aige ach a shlaointe is mairg a chaill a chos S (cp. T. S. Ó Máille (1948) §370), and generally in phrases such as:

dheamhan mo chos S, d'aul mæ xos M deabhal mo chos, na l'æ:g lã:v' na kos er' M ná leag láimh ná cos air,

although M claims that **kof** is perfectly acceptable and used here also, e.g.

n'ir l'æ:g m'e lã:v' na kof er', n'ir l'æ:g m'e mæ lã:v' na mæ xof er' Mq
níor leag mé láimh ná cois air, níor leag mé mo láimh ná mo chois air.

27Cb: *ar an gcós* (5/5). He is the youngest speaker noted with consistent or frequent *cos* use (perhaps archaising).

35E: *an coiséara ... is luaithe ... ar dhá chos* in traditional narrative.

craobh: generally *craobh*, e.g. *an chraobh 11C, éan a bhí ar an gcraobh 11C*, but *sa gcraoibh 11C, insa gcraoibh 11C*.

Críoch: attested in gen in **ə xri: xofəntə xr'i:hə fa:l' !04B21** a (voc) *chroí choiseanta Chríche Fáil* and as **kr'i:** *crích in ar fud Chrích Fáil (Aed)03VRBÉ*.

croch: only forms deriving from *Croich* have been recorded in the phrase *An Chroich Chéasta*, e.g. **ə xro x'estə**, cp. **er' ə gro !19J** *ar an gCroich*;

krox *croch* is, on the other hand, the only form recorded for 'crane'.

cruach: generally *cruach*, obsolete dative **kruə** *cruaich* (also spelt *cruaigh*); *an deasú a bhí ar an gcruaigh ... anuas den chruaich 866ESc285.26, an t-arbhar istigh agus é i*

gcruaigh **866ESc265.4**, regularly **kruə** *cruaich* in place-names *Cruaich na Cara* and *Cruaich na Caoile*.

crúb: **kru:b** S, **kru:b'** SM *crú(i)b*.

cuach: dat occurs only in **sə guə jernəx** S *sa gcuach dheireanach*, also s.v. FFG, but nom and dat otherwise *cuach*, e.g. *Bhí chaon chuach aici* S (of horse).

déas: dat now rare, e.g. **ə n' e:ʃ 894Cst** *i ndéis*; *déis* >> *déas* **869P**, cp. **ə n' e:s** 46.662, **ə n' e:s** **20A** *i ndéas*.

éalann: *éalann* ~ *éalainn* **!894C9**, note *'n t-éalainn* **!894C9**; **e:lən** M *éalann*.

eascann: *eascann* generally, but *... chomh sleamhain leis an eascainn æ'skɲ'* **896P** *-Leis an eascann?* **31P**.

fearg: *fearg* generally, e.g. dat *fearg* **875T1**, but *faoi fheirg mhóir* **866ESc136.3**.

fearsad: generally *fearsad*, but *ón bhfíorsaid, an fhíorsaid* **894C9**, cp. plural **f' æ:rʃ, ədəxi: 894Ct**.

fréamh ~ *préamh*: **fr'e:m'**, plural **fr'e:m'rəxi:**, **fr'e:v'** S; **fr'e:w** *fréamh*, plural **fr'e:w'rəxi:** S; *ón bpréimh ... cuide dhen phréamh air. ... ar an bpréamh aige* **35E9166-9**.

glac: **875T1**: *glac* nom (x2), *gluic* dat (x2);

S: nom *glac*, *glac maith málaí* [sic], dat *a ghoile ina ghlaic / nglaiç*;

M: nom *glaic* in **kuplə glik' wā:** M88 *cupla glaic mhaith*.

Cp. *gomh*: **guv** ~ **giv'** Mq *go(i)mh air le olc* (*goimh* probably more common). Gender not recorded, cp. *gomh* masc FGB and *Ó Sé* (1995: 76), *goimh* fem FGB, similarly *goimh* fem (~ *gomh* masc) DIL s.v. *goim*.

grían: dat *gréin* in set phrases and occasionally in unmarked datives: *bolg le gréin, tá teas sa ngréin* 46.898, *ní bheidh aon dochtúir faoin ngréin [...] chó maith leat* **869PóC211**, **ʃ' eʃ ə ɲr'e:n'** S *leis an ngréin*, **er' ə ɲr'e:n'** S *ar an ngréin*. Cp. *le gréin-scoilítithe* (3.84 p. 583 n. 1).

lag: nom and dat **lag**, **lag'** S *lag*, *laig*.

lámh: *lámh* nom (x2) **875T1**, *lámh* dat (x2) **875T1**. Regularly *lámh* **04B**. Speaker **11C** often has *lámh* but note *lámh* in *ní fhéadtha tú ... aon lámh lá:w a leagan ar an éadach* **11C**, *ná leag lámh lá:w a bich orthub* **11C**, *chuir sé a lámh ina phóca* **11C** (often), *mar steafóg ina lámh*. (run) **11C**.

Cp. *Seán* in proverb **bant' ə tu: o' la:w ə tí:r'** S *baint an tua ó lámh an tsaoir*.

lasc: nom *laisc* SM, Pt, **27Md**; no example of *lasc*; gen **liʃkə** Mq *laisce*.

leac: nom and dat **ʌ æk** ~ **ʌ ek'** (also **ʌ ik'**), e.g. **n ʌ ek' air'** M *an leic oighir*; the form *leic* only was noted in the phrase *leic na crúnach* SM, cp. *leac na crónach* FFG20.

leadhb: **ʌ aib ʌ i:b ʌ i:b'** M (also *leidhb* in my early notes), e.g. **tə: tu də ʌ i:b'** M *tá tú i do líb*.

long: *long* ~ *loing*; e.g. *gan long lūŋg ná bád ... choinic sé loing liŋg' | ag seoladh ... bhí an loing liŋg' ag díonamh air díreach ... ó dheas dhen loing liŋg' | chasadh an loing liŋg' roimhe, ... dhen loing liŋg' | chasadh sí ... a loing liŋk' | héin ... scaoil do long le sruth ... i mo loing héin ... ní scaoilthidh mise mo long le sruth ... scaoil thusa do long le sruth ... scaoil sé an loing le sruth ... sa long in éineacht le Fionn. ...* **11Ctn**.

lúb: nom and dat **lu:b** ~ **lu:b'** S *lú(i)b*.

mám: nom and dat **mə:m** << **mə:m'** M, gen **lə:n mə wə:m'** ə M *lán mo mháime*.

méar: nom and dat *méir* is common;

SID.46: *corrmeáir, treasmhéar* 451, *méar* 452, **'yo: ʃe ə 'v'er**, 578 *dhóigh sé a mhéar, m'er' pl. **m'erəxi:** 450, *dhá mhéir* (s.v. *méar*);*

875T1: *méar* nom (x3);

894C2: nom, dat and gen *a' síne méar ag* (= singular), *gan aon mhéar* (in rhyme);

04B1: **ʃ'u:n ʃe ə 'v'er** *leon sé a mhéar*;

18J: *chomh minic 's tá méar orm* ARN7294.

mias: *mias* (>> ?) *méis*.

muc: SID.46: 'pig' *muic* 46.105 (x2), 118, contrast 'sandbank' *muc ghaineamh* 46.1066.

- S: nom and dat *muc* ~ *muic*;
- M: nom *muc* ~ *muic*, her dat is generally *muic* but *ta pus er fo xə mɔr l'ɛ muk ə t'ixt tá pus air seo chomh mór le muc ag tíocht*.
- nead*: generally *nead*, but as *an neid* 866ESc188.28.
- olann*: SID.46: ə 'nolən 46.87; P: olən, ru:n ə mɔr m'i:l'əx olən ənə v'el, m'ɑ:l mah olən Pt *olann, ruainne mór millteach olainn ina bhéal, meall maith olainn*.
- péac*: nom p'e:k S *péic*.
- pléasc*: n pl'e:sk M *an pléasc, pléisc* 864MDT19, cp. 14 *pléisc* S.
- pluc*: nom **pluk** <<< **plik** M (in 1988 Máire produced **pluk wɔr** *pluc mhór* but in 1989 claimed she would not use **pluk**, Máire also claimed pl **plik**).
- scalp*: generally *scaip*, but *scalp* 10B often.
- scead*: generally *scead* 'blaze'; cp. *sceid* 'chip': jk'ed ə wænt' gə xlo / wæ:d' ə M *sceid a bhaint dhe chloich / mhaide*.
- sclag*: sclag S, cp. *sclaig, sclog* S, *schuig* ~ *slug* FFG, cp. also *schuigear*.
- slat*: generally *slat*, regressive *sluit*, e.g. *bhí slat aici ... agus bhuaill sí ceann dhe na héanachaí dhen tsluit* 869Pt. In sense of horse's penis, Seán has *sluit* only.
- sliabh*: regularly nom *sliabh*, 2D gen *sléibhe* but note (in the Kerry place-name *Sliabh Luachra*), *Buachaill bó Shléibh Luachra* 852S5 (probably from a song), historically a fossilised dative (neuter *s*-stem), although in this context *Shléibh* is synchronically interpretable as 1D genitive.
- sluasad*: *sluasad* ~ *sluasaid*; nom *sluasad* 11C often, *sluasad* 892M3010.
- sméar*: *sméar mhullaigh* S, *chomh du' leis an sméir* S; note *sméara*, in *Chomh dubh leis an sméara dhubh* FFG s.v. *dubh*.
- snáthad*: nom *snáthad* 875T1, S, 60M, e.g. *snā:həd kro:ʃa:lə* S *snáthad cróiseála*;
- nom *snáthaid*: *an tsnáthaid* S;
- dat *snáthad*: *sə tñā:həd* 01C6037 *sa tsnáthad*.
- spéir*: generally *spéir*, but *go dtí an spéar* 7 ... *sa spéir* ... 894C2.
- splanc*: nom and dat *splanc* ~ *splainc* SM.
- srathar* 'straddle': *srathar* ~ *srathair* 21Jq; 'auger': *srathar* ~ *srathair* S.
- srón*: nom and dat *ʃ/sru:n* M, *də hrū:n* 46.428 *do shrón*; cp. *de shróin* FFG s.v. *goijiún* and s.v. *graibhneach*.
- taobh*: generally *ti:w* (with 1D gen *taoibh*); but *ə dɪ:v ə x'l'e*: 46.191 *i dtaoibh an chléibh*. Speaker 01Pt has broad *ti:w* generally including in | *he:n ti:v* | *gəŋ yruə* 01P *chaon taoibh dhen ghrua*, *er' ə'he:n ti:w* | 01P *ar achaon taoibh* and *er' ə'he:n ti:w* *e* | 01P *ar achaon taoibh é*, but before *d*(-)- of the prepositional pronoun from *dhe* he has *ti:v*, although it is auditorily difficult to distinguish *v* and *v'* here. His examples follow the preposition *ar* (01P):
- er' ə'he:n ti:v d'i:b* | ... *er' ə'he:n ti:v dɪt* | ... *er' ə'he:n ti:v d'e*
ar achaon taoibh díob ... *ar achaon taoibh duit* ... *ar achaon taoibh de*.
- A change *w > v'* (before a palatal consonant) is not a regular sandhi rule, although it can be expressed as a lexicalised sandhi rule for *taobh* in 01P's use.
- tonn*: generally *tonn* (although replaced by *maidhm*); *toinn* apparently mostly in set phrases, e.g. *fi:n ti:n* (Atb)P *faoin toinn*, cp.
- tá: ā:t ə'ma:x ə dʊgən ʃiəd ə ti:n* *er', ə'muh er' ə ti:n*, *n'i:l is am əb' i: n*
arəg'ə l'ig ə ti:n wɔr S *tá áit amach a dtugann siad 'an toinn' air*,
'amuigh ar an toinn', níl fhios a'm ab í an fharraige uilig 'an toinn mhór'.
- treabh*: Seán has *treibh tr'ev'* only.
- Also in my material *ao(i)s*, *bró(i)g*, *coinneal* ~ *coinnil*, *foireann* ~ *foirinn*, *scua(i)b*, *téad* ~ *téid* (cf. 3.28 ff.).

3.25 Derivatives

The palatal (historical dative / dual) alternant can be used in derivatives and compounds, e.g.

- brua(i)s*: *bruaiseachán* S, *bruasachán* M;
clua(i)s: *cluasóg* FFG, Mq, *cluaiseog* Mq;
mu(i)c: *muiciúlacht* S;
co(i)s: *cois-éasca* FFG19, 20; *kōfnoxtih'ě* Mp 135 *coisnochtaíthe*;
crois: cp. *kroʃəm' hū* M (x3) *croisim thú*, *croischant* S, *croschant* M, *kruʃo:g(')* S *croiseo(i)g*, *kruʃo:g* 05M, 37M *crosóg*.
féasó(i)g: *fíósóigeach* S, M85, in pl *f'í:so:g'əxi* S, *f'í:so:g'í* M;
lá(i)mh: *deaslámhach* Mq, *'luə,lā:v'əx* M, *'luə,lā:wəx* S *luathlá(i)mh-(e)ach*; cp. *'lā:v' jkr'í:n'or'əxt* M *lámhscríbhneoireacht*, also (plural) *lámhinní* 852Sb6.75 (*lámhainn* FGB).

This quality alternation is seen in derivations from bases other than 2D nouns, e.g.

cruit > *cruitíneach*, *cruiteachán*, *crotachán* S, *crotaí* 894C9;
cur, *cuir* > *curaíocht*, *cuiríocht*.

3.26 -ach ~ -aigh

The dative in *-aigh* is rare and occurs generally in set phrases. The few nouns that show alternation are listed here. Cp. place-name *ə tolə an Tulaigh* (in Cois Fharraige). For *-ach* ~ *-aí*, see *dumhach* below.

báisteach: *ná bí amuigh sa mbáistigh* 46.847; *ina bháistigh*, e.g. *ina bháisteach* >> *ina bháistigh* S; as VN *ag báisteach* S only, except in *ə jkr'e:xə gəs ə bə:ft'ə* S *ag scréachadh agus ag báistigh*. Also as noun *eg' bə:ft'ə* 21Pt *ag báistigh* 'because of rain'.

cailleach: 870B1: *an Chailleach Bhéarthach*; *ag an gCailligh Bhéartha*.

866ESc310-3.4(b): *leis an gcaille mhóir*.

875T1: *cailleach* nom (x5+), dat (x3); as a character in a tale *an chaille mhór* nom (x3), ... *gcaille mhóir* dat (x8).

04B: nom *xə:l'əx v'ər'həx* *an Chailleach Bhéarrach*,

nom and dat: *x/gə:l'ə v'ər'hə* (Scbér) *Ch/gCailligh Bhéarra(igh)*,

gen: *f'ə:gəs nu l'ais nə kə:l'i: b'ər'hə* (Scbér) *Teagas(c) nó Leigheas na Caillí Béarra(igh)*.

19P: examples of nom use of *cailligh* in Pádraig's speech occur in higher register only, e.g. *kə:l'ə m fail' wi*: (Atb)P *Cailligh an Phoill Bhuí* (of boat); *b'ín ə kə:l'ə mən'təx* [sic] P *bíonn an cailligh mantach* (in saying).

dumhach: generally *dumhach*, cp. PIN *duə wə:r'* S, P *An Dumhaigh Mhóir*; also *-aí* (most likely through sandhi): *ar dumhaí 7 ar tráigh* 852S2.

gealach: *tá urú ar an ngealaigh 'ŋ'a:lə*, 46.1058, *sa gceathrú dheireanach dhen ghealaigh 'ja:lə* 46.1059 (cp. dative *gealaigh* common in songs).

lathach: old dat in *sa latha'* (run) 894C2, and in phrases, e.g. *cis ar an lathaigh* and *Sheasfá sa lathaigh* ... (both FFG s.v. *lathach*); *ar as an lathaigh a fríodh thú* 11Ctn (quotation). Cp. dependent *tínte lathaigh* ~ *tínte lathach*.

leathrach: as noun nom and dat *ə l'ər'hə* S *an leathraigh*, in PINs, *ə l'ər'hə ʃorəm* S *An Leathraigh Ghorm*, *ə l'ər'həx wə:r* M *An Leathrach Mhór*, *er' ə l'ər'həx wə:r* M *An An Leathrach Mhóir*, *n' l'ər'hə* M *An Leathraigh*.

Speaker 852SbTS, however, has *sa ngiolca'* 126–7 (often), *gon tairse'* 127–7 (x2) (both lexemes are found in these datives on the speaker's audio recording), as well as *sa latha'* (run)123, but also *leis a' gcailleach* 131.

3.27 -óg ~ -óig

Nouns in final -óg and -óig form a large subset of 2D nouns which have alternating quality in their final consonant. In some set phrases -óig may be the general form, e.g. *d'eiltreoig* (FFG). The most frequent patterns of speakers' use are:

- (i) general -óg;
- (ii) -óg >> -óig, where -óig occurs particularly with frequent nouns, e.g. *fuinneog*, *bodóig*.

Speakers with pattern (i) include **14M** and **64M**. Those with pattern (ii) include Máire (**16M**). Some older speakers may have -óig more frequently in the dative. Evidence collated from a handful of speakers regarding this alternation in -óg ~ -óig is presented here. (For speaker **869P** and SID.46, see 3.29.)

870B1	-óg in dat: <i>go shéideog</i> .
875T	-óg nom regularly, -óig dat mostly but <i>sculóg</i> dative (x5+) (because of its male referent), and <i>g'athmhóg</i> (= <i>abhóg</i>) 875T1 .
894C	example of historical contrast: <i>hugədər kr'iafo:g əft'a</i> [sic] <i>ugəs ... ugəs</i> <i>ya: gir'əd'i:f ənsə gr'iafo:g e ...</i> 894C <i>thugadar créafóg isteach agus ...</i> <i>dhá gcuiridís insa gcréafóig é.</i>
04B	-óg in dat: <i>v'ialto:g</i> (Abr) 04B <i>mhíoltóg</i> , <i>gə he:d'og</i> (Smbb) 04B <i>dhe shéideog</i> , <i>gə hruslo:g</i> (Smbb) 04B <i>dhe thruslóg</i> .
10Bq	nom -óg (x3), -óig (x1); dat and dual -óg (x1), -óig (x2).
16M	-óg >> -óig; <i>ag an bhfuinneog</i> , <i>an fhuinneog</i> , <i>an ordóig</i> M.12.96.
23B	-óig only (in conversation and query), e.g. <i>baslóig</i> 23Bq , <i>an ghlasóig sráide</i> 23Bq , <i>screamhóig</i> 23B .
26Pq	-óg <i>neantóg</i> (x2), <i>ar an neantóg</i> ; <i>an fhainleog</i> ; <i>thrid an bhfuinneog</i> ; <i>screamhóg</i> (x2); -óg ~ -óig <i>bodóig</i> , <i>dhá bhodóg</i> , <i>ar mo bhodóg</i> ; -óig <i>an ordóig</i> .
29C	-óg: <i>bodóg</i> (x2), <i>fuinneog</i> ; <i>baslóg</i> (x2), <i>ciarthóg</i> .
43M	<i>caróig</i> ~ <i>an charóig</i> .
64M	-óg only.

3.28 Speaker 869P and SID.46

Words in the 2D have been noted from speaker **869P**'s RBÉ material and from SID.46 (unfortunately not systematically). Entries in SID.46 with no preceding material are taken here as nominative, since the majority of them can be taken to be citation forms. The totals of tokens noted for each lexeme in a given case are given in Table 3.2. Lexemes noted from both RBÉ and SID.46 are given in bold type.

One may conclude from Table 3.2 that in SID.46 there is only weak evidence for a higher use of palatal finals (-C') in the dative / dual environment for this class as a whole. In **869P2–5** (folklore material) the higher proportion of historical usage may well be a conservative transcription error.

Table 3.2 Quality variation in finals of 2D nouns, 869P2–5 and SID.46 (continued overleaf)

869P2–5	-C`		-C´			SID.46	-C`		-C´	
Word	Nom	Dat	Nom	Dat	Dual	Word	Nom	Dat	Nom	Dat
<i>barann</i>	x2			x3		<i>adharc</i>			35	
<i>bróg</i>	x5+	x1 ¹		x3		<i>ao(i)s</i>		s.v. <i>aois</i>		118, s.v. <i>aois</i>
<i>bruíon</i>				x2		<i>cloch</i>	415			
<i>cluach</i>		x2				<i>cluas</i>			386	
<i>cluas</i>	x1			x3	x2	<i>cos</i>	x2 ²		463a	463a (dual)
<i>coinneal</i>				x1 ³		<i>déas</i>		662		
<i>cos</i>	x7	x3		(1+)	x6	<i>grian</i>	x2			898
							908			
<i>croch</i>		x1				<i>láimh</i>			x2 446a-b	
<i>cruach</i>		x1				<i>long</i>	<i>lū:ng</i> 1093			
<i>crúb</i>				x2		<i>méar</i>	x3 451–2		450	
<i>foireann</i>		x3		x2 ⁴		<i>mias</i>	671			
<i>láimh</i>			cp. (o)urláimh			<i>scuab</i>				514
<i>long</i>	<i>lūng</i> often		<i>luing</i> x1	x3						
<i>méar</i>	x3 (?)									
<i>slat</i>	often	dual x1		x3	x1					
<i>sméar</i>		x1 ⁵								
<i>téad</i>	x1			x1						

¹ *bróg*: gon *bhróg úr-leathair* 4.466.² *cos*: ***kos nā l´a:pə*** 46.499 *cos na leapa*; ***kos nā fʃk´in´ě*** 46.521 *cos na scine*.³ *coinneal*: ar a' gcoinnil ghiúsaí 5.218.⁴ *foireann*: gon *fhuirinn* 4.435 (of boat).⁵ *sméar*: chomh mór le sméar nach ... 5.216.

869P2-5			-C`			SID.46			-C`		
Word	Nom	Dat	Nom	Dat	Dual	Word	Nom	Dat	Nom	Dat	
-ach <i>cailleach</i>	often	x9		x3		-ach <i>báisteach</i> <i>gealach</i>		ag ~ 846		<i>sa m~ 847</i> 1059	
-ad <i>snáthad</i>		x1				-ad <i>sluasad</i> <i>snáthad</i>	632 220				
Total ¹	29	23	1	27			13	3	6	7	
cp. <i>spírid</i>			often								
Cp. <i>cnáimh</i> cp. <i>speidhear</i>	often		x1 x1	often		Cp. <i>cnáimh</i> <i>cráig</i> <i>taobh</i>			384 s.v. <i>cráig</i> x1 ²		

¹ The totals are derived by giving 'often' a (low) value of 3; 1+ is given a value of 2, and 5+ a value of 6.

² *taobh*: ə dɪːv̥ ə xʲe; 46.191 *i dtaoibh an chléibh*.

3.29 -ÓG ~ -ÓIG subclass

Table 3.3 presents evidence of -óg ~ -óig from SID.46 and 869P.

Table 3.3 Variation in -óg ~ -óig, SID.46 and 869P2-5

SID.46	-óg		-óig	
	Nom	Dat	Nom	Dat
<u>bodóg</u>			Mp 9	
<i>bruithneog</i>	266			
<u>ciaróg</u>	808			s.v. <i>rádh</i>
<i>ciseog</i>	671			
<i>coirceog</i>	s.v. <i>cruiceóg</i>			
<i>corrscréachóg</i>	Mp 218			
<u>corróg</u>			462	
<i>créafóg</i>	713			
<i>crúóg</i>	VIII.19			
<i>cuasnóg</i>	164			
<i>cuileog</i>	805			
<i>cuinneog</i>	Mp 21			
<i>dallamullóg</i>	85			
<i>dilleog</i>	251			
<u>eiltreog</u>		ə'g'el't'ro:g 140		è'r'el't'ro:ig 140
<i>fáinleog</i>	836			
<i>féasóg</i>	380			
<i>fuinneog</i>	498	498		
<i>fuiseog</i>	840			
<i>gleoiteog</i>	s.v. <i>gleoiteóg</i>			
<i>gráinneog</i>	814			
<i>liabóg leathair</i>	811			
<i>neantóg</i>	Mp 249			
<u>ordóg</u>			451 = Mp 134	
<i>ruaóg</i>		le ~ VIII.19		
<i>spúnóg</i>	Mp 165			
<i>toróg</i>	Mp 263			
Total SID.46	22	3	3	2
869P2-5				
Including				
<i>ciaróg</i>		ar a' gciaróg		<i>lena choróig</i>
<i>corróg</i>				x2
<i>cuasnóg</i>				
<i>eiltreog</i>		ar eiltreóg		x2+
<i>fuinneog</i>				x2
<i>ordóg</i>				
<i>ruaóg</i>		le ruadhóg		
Total for RBÉ	45+	9		44

The material from SID.46 implies the speaker has general use of -óg with infrequent nominative -óig. Note that the three lexemes with nominative -óig are very frequent nouns: *bodóg*, *corróg* and *ordóg*. The data on use in dative position are very scant, both -óig and -óg occur relatively equally. The data from 869P2-5 would imply a reasonably high percentage use of -óig in the dative, with quite frequent use of -óg in the same position. There are no noted examples of -óig in the nom in 869P2-5, here 869P2-5 disagrees with SID.46 and this may well be because of a conservative inaccuracy in transcription by Liam

Mac Coisteala, as noted for other 2D nouns listed in Table 3.2 above. Compare *sliseog*, *glasóg* from **869P**'s audio recordings; and **f'iaso:g** (x2) *féasóg* from **04Br** (**869P**'s daughter).

3.30 Vocative

There is generally no special vocative form. A vocative *-ach* > *-aigh* is common with *cailleach* for speaker **894C**, e.g.

'*S a chailli' n Phuighill [Phoill] Bhuí !894C9, a chaille(ach) 894C2* (often).

Contrast *a chailleach* **869P2–5** (often). Speaker **894C** also has a synchronically aberrant vocative adjective with palatalisation:

*a sheanbhean bhoicht 894C9.*¹

3.31 Genitive examples

baog: **bun nā bi:g'ə** Mq *bun na baoige*. Cp. *baog* m. FFG.

barrann: *ar lorga na barrainne 869P5, barən'ə* M *barrainne*.

blao: cp. place-name in Maínis, **karəg' nā bli:hə** *Carraig na Blaoithe*.

bráillín: *na bráillíne* Mq, **brəl'i:n'ə** Pt.

brath: **K'ed:n nā brahə** M *Céadaoin na Braithe*.

bruíon: **aur:lər nā bri:n'ə** **04B1** *urlár na bruíinne*.

cleith: *ar bharr na cleithe 869P3, bər nā kl'ehə* Mq *barr na cleithe*.

compóirt: **l'ehi: kumpo:rt' 894Cs** *le haghaidh compóirt, gə wər nā kumpo:rt' / kumpo:rt'ə* Mq *dhe bharr na compóirt(e)*.

cuilt: **bun nā kult'ə** Mq *bun na cuilte*.

fearg: **fi: xuhəx f'er'əg'ə** (Smds) **04B** *faoi chuthach feirge*.

gaoth: nom and gen generally identical, i.e. **gi:hə** *gaoithe*. Some older speakers have nom **gi:** *gaoth* > gen **gi:hə** *gaoithe*, e.g. nom **gə yi: ər'n 892M1613** *dhe ghaoth ann* (with lack of linking **h**, typical following long vowel), but in *lá stoirme gaoithe gi:hə aniar'neas 892M1598* (where **h** is best interpreted as word internal).

ginn: **lär nā g'in'ə** S *lár na ginne*.

glac: **su:gən glok'ə 04B** *súgán gloice, as poll do ghlaice ylik' é* M.

glao: **gə wər nā gli:** / **gli:hə** Mq *dhe bharr na glao / glaoithe*.

glib: **bər nā gl'ib'ə** Mq *barr na glibe*; similarly, *glibs*.

glibs: **bər nā gl'ibfə** Mq *barr na glibse*.

gruaim: **gə wər nā gruəm'ə** M *dhe bharr na gruaim*.

iothlainn: **kokə olhən'ə** S *coca iothlainne*.

maidhm: *ar bhárr na maidhme mi:m'ə* | **05M**.

mám: *díontha' lán do mháime thú 10B*.

práinn: **mo:rən prə:n'ə** SM *mórán práinne*.

próis: **pro:fə** S *próise*.

ríseach: *ag baint na rísí 06C*.

reilig: **skunsə nā ril'ək'ə** Pt *sconsa na reillige*.

scillinn: **luəx | f'k'il'ən'ə gə wil'i:n' | 869P** *luach scillinne dhe bhuilín*.

scoltair: **eg' bun nā skoltər'ə** Mq *ag bun na scoltaire*.

sraith: **iəxtər nā skræ:hə / skræ: / skræhə** Mq *íochtar na sraith(e)*. But *cíb as cionn na sraith skræ:ʔ* | **894Cs**.

slat: **slit'ə** M *sluite*.

srathair 'auger', **paul nā sra'hər'ə, nā sra:r'hə, paul ən trahər'** S *poll na srathaire, na srathre, poll an tsrathair* (example of nominative: **fi: n trahər' ta gol' f'i:s** S *sí an tsrathair atá ag goil síos*).

ursainn: **lär nā hurf'n'ə** SM *lár na huirsne*.

¹ Cp. examples, mostly from Munster, in O'Rahilly (1921–3a), Ua Súilleabháin (1994: 491 §3.2).

Female names in *-óg* generally have no specific genitive form, e.g.

póg Bhideog (Abtm)11C, **gari: x'æ:ʔo:g** *Garraí Cheaiteog*,

but *mo mháthair ... Anna Shaileoige Pheige Anna nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid*. SÓC2.281. Compare *Siúbhán* genitive **x'u:an'ə** *Shiúbháine*.

Genitive plural

Genitive plural forms in nonpalatal final consonant are found in a few nouns, generally restricted to set phrases or very commonly occurring nouns, e.g.

torəs nə gros SM *turas na gcros*; *bhí sé ag craitheadh na gcros*;

máistir na stóg 05M (of *an Fimbheara*); cp. *le radharc do shúl*.

An example in palatal final is **əŋ xla:n in'i:n'** Mq *an chlann inín*.

3.32 Nouns in *-ch*

Unstressed *-ach* **-əx** > *-aighe* **-i:**

Nouns in *-ach* have morphophonologically regular **-əx** > **-i:** (where unstressed **//x^{+pal}ə//** > **/i:/**). Examples:

Banrach: nom **ən wə:nʔrəx** *An Bhanrach*, gen **nə bæ:nʔri:** M *Na Banraí*.

briollach: **g'ulə nə br'oli:** S *giolla na briollaí*.

cisteach: **fi'n'ə:g nə k'if'əni:** *fuinneog na cisteanáí*.

coirleach: **ə gosə nə kauri'i:** 896P *i gcosa na coirlí*.

Note, however, *tamhnach* > *i lár na tamhna* 866ESc63.13, nom / dat *ar an tamhnach bán* LL98, *ar thamhnach bán* LL70, cp. place-names **rofi:n' ə tā:v(n)ə** *Roisín an tSamhaidh* or *an / na Tamhnaigh* (Robinson 2002: 66–7, spelt *Roisín na Tamhnaí*, a form I have not heard), and *Loch an Tamhnaigh* Rob.94. Cp. *dumhach*, below.

The younger speaker 66N has what is analysable as a 1D genitive of *gealach* in:

b'ei d'er'ə n jə:l an | d'e mæ:rt' 66N

beidh deireadh an ghealaigh ann Dé Máirt.

For obsolescent (2D dative) *gealaigh*, which may have influenced 66N's genitive, see 3.26.

Many nouns have nominative *-acht* ~ *-ach*. Some of the latter inflect as 2D, e.g.

scliúiseach(t) ~ *scliúsach(t)*: gen **fkl'u:fi:**, **fkl'u:si:** M *scliúisí* ~ *scliúsaí*.

Stressed *-ach* > *-thí*

bláthach: nom mostly **blə:x** (less commonly **blə:həx**), gen **blə:hi:**.

sceach: gen **fkl'ehi:** !19J in place-name **bæn'rəx nə fkl'ehi:** 24Nt *Banrach na Sceithí*, cp. 'Plural Noun' (4.28).

Cp. the irregular noun **daux** *dabhach* which has among its genitive variants **daui:** **dauhi:** Mq (and compare place-name **L'et'ər daif'** *Leitir Daibhche*).

Unstressed *-íoch* > *-í*

loilíoch: **dr'ibəl nə lol'i:** M *drioball na loilí*.

Stressed *-úch* > *-uí*, *-úithí* (*-úithe*)

clúmchach nom **klu:x**, e.g. **klū:x bæ:n** (Aár)04B *clúmchach bán* (in dependent position); gen **klu:i:** P, **klū:wī:** 894Cs *clúmhaí*.

dúch: **du:x**, gen recorded in traditional narrative *buidéal dúbhaí* 852Sb6.75 ⇒ ***du:i:**.

dumhach: **du:x**, gen **nə du:hə** M (cp. gen *Tamhnaigh*, above), **nə du:hi:** SM, 18J,

nə dui: na dumhaí, gari: nə dui: 35M Garraí na Dumhaí.

Unstressed *-úch > -í*

Cp. *béiciúch* in translation *gə wə:r nə dhe bharr na ...* :

nə b'ɛ:k'uxə Sq ... na béiciúcha, nə b'ɛ:k'i: Mq ... na béicí;

nə b'ɛ:k'ux Sq, Mq ... na béiciúch, ən v'ɛ:k'ux Mq ... an bhéiciúch.

3.33 Third declension: *rud > ruda*

Genitive formation involves addition of schwa with depalatalisation if the stem is palatal, i.e. *-C > C' ə*. Nouns are both masculine and feminine.

Examples

áibhéal: áibhéala M (nom also *áibhéil*).

altóir: i bhfianaise na haltóra 866ESc212.25, ar chúla na haltóra 899N.

am: nom a:m, gen amə generally, sometimes a:mə; gen na hama sometimes, e.g. nə

ha:mə 32P na hama; there is an example of hesitation and change of stressed vowel

in: kah ən a | a:mə 12J ag caitheamh an ama.

anáil: Bhí mé ag cailleadh na hanála SM, ag tarraint a n-anála ARN7304.

anam: ar chabhair an anama !05M.

bádóir: bádóra.

banríon: ag dul un leapa le fear na banríona 866ESc168.40 (genitive perhaps editorial).

bráid: loga:n də vɾa:də logán do bhráda.

cp. bruach: na bruacha Sq, Mq.

cath: le haghaidh an chatha 7... 869P4, nom often cath, e.g. ka' | 04B, but nom also kaha

in: ə tred' | ə gahə | 06C ag troid i gcath.

cíos: pinn cíosa 894C9, ag tóigeál cíosa 881Jt.

crios: slata creasa S.

cuid: ar fud na coda eile de pharáiste Chárna. SÓC1.83.

dinnéar: g'ihə ji:n'e:ɾə 46.302 ag ithe a dhínnéara.

dochtúr: tigh an dochtúra M.

dreatháir: teach mo dhreathára yr'eha:ɾə 11C.

feoil: p'isə f'olə 46.317 píosa feola.

fios: ag inSean feasa dhóib, agus fios (RíBB)04B, seanfhear feasa 894Ct.

fuil: folə, fulə, e.g. mu:n fʊlə 46.51 mún fola, to:ɾf olə 46.475 ag tabhairt fhola.

ga: kra:n ga'hə 04B1 crann gatha.

gamhain: in set phrase scéal an ghamhna bhuí.

greim gr'i:m': gr'æ:mə greama.

leann l'ũ:n: ag ól na leanna l'æ'nə; bairille leanna 852SbDT78; lionn dubh: eitinne na

leanna duibhe FFG s.v. eitinne.

loch: Bóthar na Locha SM, Garraí an Locha 04F.

luch: dr'ibəl nə loxə SM drioball na lucha.

Maighdean: lámha na Maighdeana maid'ənə Beannaíthe !05M, le cúnamh Dé is na

Maighdeana (Muire) 05M. Also gen Maighdine.

maidhm: muləx ə wi:mə 21Pt mullach an mhaidheama (MØperm).

meas: gloine mar dheis measa Clad204.

muiceoil: muiceola.

punann: bun nə punənə (?) Mq bun na punanna.

rud: | æs k'ũn ə rɪdə fɪn' | 894Cs as cionn an ruda sin, er xu:l ə rudə 10B ar chúl an ruda.

Samhain: i:hə hã'vnə Oíche Shamhna.

srathair: cp. place-name Bealach na Srathra sra'rhə 35E.

srian: 'a' cratha na sriana, 'a deir sé 875T1. Note example of possible non-inflection: ' cur na srian ar a' gcapall 869P2.

táilliúr: *teach táilliúra* **11C**, *buidéal an táilliúra* ARN5840.

Cp. local place-name *An Gleann Mór*, *bóthar na Gleanna Móire* SM.

There is one instance of unstressed *-il* inflecting for genitive, in the verbal noun *scréachaíl* > *scréachaíola* (in *ə xidʲ ʲkʲrʲe:xi:l ə nã:n* **875T**) *a chuid scréachaíola i ndan*). Cp. *glamhaíl* > *glamhaíle* Clad235. Feminine nouns in *-acht* do not generally inflect for the genitive. A possible genitive in *-achta* occurs in *brainsí móra nuaíochta* SM, although there may be some influence from plural *móra* and the general plural context. Cp. *draíocht* gen 1D generally, but also *súilín draíochta* **35E** (3.45).

There is double depalatalisation in the genitive of *mairteoil* recorded in *m̥a:rtʲo:lʲ ; iʃbʲi:nʲi m̥a:rtʲo:lʲ* 46.98 *mairteoil*; *ispíní martóla*; also *caoireoil* > *caoróla*. Double depalatalisation is also found in *caoireoil* in the 6D.

Optional elision of genitive *-ə* of *Cáisc* *k̥a:ʃkʲ* in *Domhnach Cásca* *du:nəx k̥a:sk(ə)*, *Luan Cásca* *lu:n k̥a:sk(ə)*, etc.; cp. *Domhnach Cincís* *du:nəx ʲkiŋʲ kʲi:ʃ*, 46.800.

The genitive of *broim*, has been recorded in the following curse only:

imʲəxt ə vram ɔ:n / a:n tu:nʲ ort imeacht an bhrama ɔ:n tóin ort!

This is understood by SM (etc.) as *ən vramə an bhrama*, but by **43M** (their daughter) as *ə vram* **43M** *an bhram*. The latter genitive, *broim* > *bram*, would then correspond closest to the 8D (*athair* > *athar*).

Vocative singular involving palatalisation (as 1D) is heard in *táilliúr*:

ə ha:lʲu:rʲ woxʲʲ !21Pt a tháilliúr bhoicht (in song composed by **03V**).

3.34 Fourth declension: *tua* > *tuai*

Genitive involves addition of *-i:*. Oppositions involved are:

Nominative	>	Genitive; e.g.	Nominative	>	Genitive
-uə		-uəi	tuə <i>tua</i>		tuəi
-ə		-i:	du:hə <i>dúiche</i>		du:hi:
-V(h)		-Vhi:	fro <i>froigh</i>		frohi:
-Cʲ		-Cʲi:	selʲ <i>soil</i>		selʲi:
-Cʲ		-Cʲi:	dæ:rʲ <i>dair</i>		da:ri:

All nouns are feminine (except *creideamh* which is usually masculine).

-uə > **-uəi** *fuaigh* **fuə** > **fuəi** *fuaighe*.

tua nom **tuə** > **b̥a:r nə tuəi** Mq *barr na tuai*. Note variation in **869P**'s use: *ag iarra tua*, 3.492, *a' géarú na tua*, 3.497, *béal na tuai* 3.521.

-ə > **-i:**

dúiche **du:hə** > **du:hi:**, e.g. *dúthaí* **894C3**; *air'ə du:hi: e ʲinʲ* (Sdás)**04B** *oighre dúichí é sin*. Common case *fréimh dhútha SÓC1.82*. The lexeme is now commonly heard only in *oighre dúichí*. Speaker **11C** has both **du:hə** and **du:hi:** in the nominative: *fuaire sé an dúichí uilig, ... an dúiche uiliug, ... ar an dúiche dhuit ... bhí an dúichí goite i bhfiacha* **11C**3248–9, 3267, 3374.

Noted once in *creideamh*: *le díocas creidí* (prose) **894C9**,

presumably influenced by higher register (< *creidimh*, cp. also *creidmhe*); *creideamh* generally and historically for IA has no specific genitive form, i.e. as nom **kr'ed'ə**.

-V(hə) > -Vhi: *froigh fro* > **frohi:**, e.g. **er' hi:w nə frohi:** SM *ar thaobh na froighthí*; (FGB *fraigh* gen *fraighe*).
stoith > **stehi:**, *stoithí* FFG; *stothaí* Clad179 (FGB *stagh* gen id.).

Cp. -x > -hi: in *sceach* and *bláthach* classified under 2D above (3.32).

-C' > -C'i: *soil:* **slatə sel'i:** S, **slatə sol'i:** 25M *slata soilí*.

-C' > -C'i: *dair:* **bun da'ri:** S *bun daraí*.

3.35 Fifth declension: *teanga* > *teangan*

Genitive is characterised by final -n, following u: also -nə. The following oppositions occur:

Nominative	>	Genitive;	e.g.	Nominative	>	Genitive
-V		-n		laxə <i>lacha</i>		laxən
-n'		-n		kū:rfən' (dat) <i>comharsain</i>		kū:rfən
-N'		-n		aun' <i>abhainn</i>		aun
-ə, -u:		-u:n, -u:nə		talhə <i>talamh</i>		talhu:n, talhu:nə
				k'ærhu: <i>ceathrú</i>		k'ærhu:n
						(k'ærhu:nə q)

All nouns are feminine, except *talamh*, which has mixed gender.

3.36 Nominative and dative ± final -n', -N' (-n)

A few words have final vowel alternating with final nasal (-n', -N', also unhistorical -n) in the common case. Only in the word *comharsa* is the nasal commonly found in set dative phrases.

brí ~ *brín* nom and dat, both as noun and in conjunction (*dhe bhrí(n) go*). In the common phrase *Cén bhrí ach ...* I have heard only *brí*.

comharsa: dat in -n' is regular in some set phrases, e.g. (**b'an** *bean*, etc.) **gən xū:rfən'** *dhen chomharsain*; *ar an gcomharsain* FFG. Note **gən xū:rfən** M *dhen chomharsan*. Otherwise dat as nom, e.g. *seandúide fháilt ó chomharsa xū:rfə* 11C.

cora(inn): in place-names *cora* ~ *corainn*. Cp. *corrach* (3.4).

ionga: nom and dat generally *ionga*, but note *cor faoi iongain* FFG.

pearsa: *i bpearsa an duine* 866ESc122.22, *i bpearsa fíir agus i mo phearsa féin* Sc122.24, *i bpearsain mná* Sc129.15.

rogha: *rogha rau* *gach bí* (run), **ə r'au rud a** [3m] *rogha rud*, **a** [3pl] *rogha r'au beithíoch eile* (**rau** seems preferred when qualified by a following (genitive) noun); **də 'r'aun' did'** 46.77 *do roghain duid*, *bhí a* [1pl] *roghain r'aun' againn*, *mo roghain mə raun'* 105M.

teanga: cp. *duine fadteangain* S.

Cp. *díog d'i:g*, pl *díogannaí* 21Ptq (but the plural is to be avoided 21Ptq), also sg *díogainn* 'mud hole or trench' CAR.

3.37 Genitive: -n, -u:n(ə)

-V > -n

bró: **bro**; > **bru:n** *brón*.

ceárta: **t'a:x k'artən** (Sdás)04B *teach ceártan*.

cora: see *corainn* below: -N' > -n.

comharsa: *fear comharsan* 869Pt; **ka'f'i:n' 'kū:rʃən** 11C *cailín comharsan*; **ȳā: hax kū:ʃən** 11C *dhá theach comharsan*.

eorna: gen generally *eorna*, but *a' baint eornan*, *stuca eornan* 894C9.

faocha: **gsg fi:xən faochan**, **gpl fi:xən faochan**.

ionga: **bun nə huggə nu bun nə huggən** Sq 'bun na hionga,' nó 'bun na hiongan.'

lacha: **koʃ nə laxən i:ən'** Mq *cois na lachan fhiáin*, but *ubh lacha* 46.162.

lorga: special genitive perhaps only in set phrases: *cnáimh na lorgan* 869P, *cneidh lorgan*.

teanga: **torə nə t'æggən** 869P *toradh na teangan*, *Níl leath a theangan aige* 894C9, *fear teangan* (e.g. (Anl)03V).

tórramh: gen generally *tórramh*, e.g. **t'ehi: nə to:r'hə** 11C *le haghaidh na tórramh*, **t'e:ʃ ə 'to:r'hə**, 46.703 *thar éis an tórramh*, but **i:h'ə nə to:r'hən** 46.703 *oíche na tórramh(n)*, possibly an indication of prepausa nasalisation (1.295; cp. *tórainn*, gen **to:r'hən tórrann**).

Cp. an apparent gen of *gorta* in *Bean tí shamhláí na gortan* FFG s.v. *samhláí*.

-N' > -n

abhainn: **aun**.

Árainn: **arən**, e.g. 889P, 35E7561. Generally as nominative, e.g. **ig' m'w'i:n' t'ər' 'ar:n'** 46.1092 *ag muintir Árainn*.

cora(inn): in PIN **feməs nə korən** S *Séamas na Corann* from *Cora na hAirde*.

gualainn: gen noted in *ó mhaol gualann*, *ó mhaoil na gualann*; *i ngreim gualann* Sc65.39; *ar ghrím gualann* 869P2; **klo ȳuələn** 11C *cloich ghualann*. The only nom attested for the vast majority of speakers is *gualainn*, it is also 869P's general form, cp. **gu:əlín'** 46.385, but note *thiúrhach gual' gon tuamba* 869P2.

iothlainn: **gari: nə holhən** 45M *Garraí na hIothlann*.

tórainn: gen **to:r'hən**, *cláí tórrann*, *móta tórrann*, *sruthán tórrann*.

uillin: *ón uilinn*, *cráimh uileann* 894C3, also *cráimh na huilinne* 894C5.

Cp. *broinn bri:n'*: *íochtair mo / do bhronn vru:n* SM no longer associated with *broinn*.

-ə, -u: > -u:n ~ -u:nə

ceathrú: *téad cheathrún*; **k'ærhu:nə ~ k'ærhu:n** Sq *ceathrún(a)*; only -n in *An Cheathrú Rua* > **nə k'ærhu:n ruə(i)** *Na Ceathrún Rua(i)*.

talamm **talhə** > **talhu:nə** >> **talhu:n** *talún(a)*; e.g. **ta(:)lhu:nə** 46.116, 121, 293, **ū:n' hq:lhu:nə** 46.1072, **u:n' ha'lhu:nə** (Smbb)04B *uamhain thalúna*; *tiarna(i) talúna* 11C; **uə halhu:n** *uaigh thalún*; *tine thalún* 899D6708.

3.38 Irregularities

cú: nom and dat usually *cú*. In a 'scéal agus rann' type of tale, speaker 869P3 has nom, voc, gen *coin*, but also more usual nom *a' chú*. Similarly, his brother 875T1 in one tale has nom and gen *coin*, as well as nom and gen *con*, but elsewhere 875T has the more common usage. Speaker 04B also has *coin* in a tale: nom **ə xín'** ... **əŋ xun'** ... (Suda)04B *an choin*. Speaker 852SbTS has nom *cú*, gen *coileán con* 852SbTS149.

Éirinn: gen generally -*ann* but sometimes -*inn*, in higher register and set phrases: *leath na hÉirinn*, (sic) 894C9; **er' o:d' e:r'ən'** *St ar fhóid Éirinn*;

gə x'unti: nə he:r'ən, (MP)04B *dhe chiontaí na hÉirinn*.

The nom is most often *-inn*, but note a younger speaker's nom **e:r'ən** [x2]

64Mt Éireann.

leaba: gen *na leapan* 894C9. Also gen *leapa*.

talamh: cp. *Ní raibh teach ná talthúin ann* S85, cp. sandhi **talhu: iəxtər'** *talamh íochtair* (2.55).

3.39 Sixth declension: *cabhail* > *cabhlach*

Genitive formation entails addition of **-əx**, rarely **-həx**. Oppositions involved are:

	Nominative	>	Genitive; e.g.	Nominative	>	Genitive
(i)	-C		-C`əx	kaul' <i>cabhail</i>		kauləx
(ii)	-C'		-C'əx	ke:v' <i>céibh</i>		ke:v'əx
(iii)	-C'		-C'həx	də:r' <i>dáir</i>		də:r'həx
(iv)	-C`		-C'əx	sp'æ'l <i>speal</i>		sp'el'əx

All nouns are feminine. Exception *rásúr*: *cúl an tseanrásúrach* 852SbLL34 (3.4).

(i) -C > -C`əx

athair 'snake': **ə m'e:l nə harhəx** !ZCP165 *i mbéal na hathrach*.

beoir **b'or'**: *cáirt beorach* 852SbDT78.

cabhail **kaul'**: **kauləx** SM *cabhlach*, **lən mə xauləx** S *lán mo chabhlach*, *cóitín cabhlach*.

cairt **kart'**: **ə tarənt nə kartəx ... s ə kir nə p'uni: nə kartəx | əg obər' | 892Mg** *ag tarraint na cartach ... is ag cuir na pionnaí na cartach ag obair*.

caoireoil: *caoireolach* 11C4101.

ciob: *lár na ciobach* Sq.

cóir: **korəx** S *córach*; *le neart córach* (Sgbf)869P.

coróin **kru:n'**: **p'isə kru:nəx** S *píosa corónach*. Also *leathchoróin* below.

cráin: *cránach* S.

clúid: *clúdach* S.

cuid: **kodəx** S *codach*.

dáir: *dáirach*.

eochair: **'paul nə 'hoxr.əx**, 46.491 *poll na heochrach*.

feoil: **plə:tə wən' f'oləx** 52J *pláta amháin feolach*.

foghail: **fə:l ə n'io nə fauləx** S *fál i ndiaidh na foghlach* (set phrase).

gabháil: **go:ləx** SM *gabháilach*, e.g. *mála gabháilach go:ləx* 13Jd.

glúin: *caipín na glúinach glū:nəx* 46.457.

láir: *lárach* 866ESc195.

láthair: *un láthrach* 866ESemr40, etc., cp. *láithreach* (ii) below.

leathchoróin: **luəx l'æxrū:nəx** 892M *luach leathchorónach*.

meabhair: **m'aurəx** S *meabhach*.

rásúr: *-rásúrach* LL34.

sail: nom **sæ'f**, in *éadan na salach* 06C, **k'ɑ:n nə sa'ləx** 32J *ceann na salach*, **klog'ən** [kli- original note] **ə sa:ləx** P *cloigeann na salach*. Note the selfcorrected slip of the tongue in *chuadar i gcíonn na salach*. Agus nuair a chuadar, chomh lua' agus leagadar a láimh ar an salach, ar an tsail, bhreathaigh fear acú ina thímpeall, 06C.

sáil: *sálach* S.

srian: **nə sri:nəx** S *srianach*.

srathair: cp. place-name *Bealach na Srathrach* Rob.97.

stiúir: *as cíonn na stiúrach* 06C.

toil: nom **til'** *toil*, **nai də holəx** M in *aghaidh do tholach*.

tóin: **tunəx** M *tónach*.

Tuaim: æspøk hu:məx S *easpag Thuamach*.

uamhain u:n': kut nə hu:nəx (Smbb)04B *Cat na hUamhnach*.

Cp. *cith* > *bogha ceathach* S << *ceatha*.

Cp. *gail*: t'i:n' gə wə:r ə ɣa:l' n'i: e:tə tu ... gə wə:r nə galəx ə rə Mq
*tinn dhe bharr an ghail, ní fhéadthaidh tú ... 'dhe bharr na *galach' a rá*
 (Máire found the latter form funny or ridiculous).

Optional syncope and depalatalisation in *cathair*:

kar'həx 881J *caithreach*, **kahəɾəx** S *catharach*. Cp. **karhəx** 46.I *cathrach*.

There is double depalatalisation in:

caoireoil > **ki:ro:ləx** *caorólach*; but not in:

muiceoil > *muiceolach*, *mairteoil* > **mar'to:ləx** S;

(cp. double depalatalisation 3D **mar'to:lə** 46.98).

3.40 (ii) — (iv)

(ii) -C' > -C'əx

cathaoir: ka:hi:r'əx S *cathaoireach*.

céibh: síos un na céibheach **11C**, **gari**: nə k'e:v'əx **25M** *Garraí na Céibheach*.

céir: snə:hə k'e:r'əx SM *snáithe céireach*.

láthair: nuair a tháinig Maidhdeac un láithreach **lar'həx aríst 892Mtn**.

leitir: ʃkr'i:v l'etr'əx (ʔ)əm **21Pt** *ag scríobh leitreach dhom* if heard correctly. In my early notes gen sg *leitreach* was rejected in query and *leitire* produced instead.

muiceoil: *muiceolach* [x3] Sq, *muiceoileach* [x1] Sq.

sail: cp. gen na *saileach* (x2) (perhaps meaning 'beam', speaker perhaps Seán).

soil **sef**: **gari**: **sef'əx** S *Garraí Soileach*.

stiúir: na *stiúireach* [x2] **894C3**.

(iii) -C' > -C'həx

dáir: **kir'** ə **də:r'həx** ə'max M *ag cuir a dáireach amach*; gen also **də:rəx**.

cp. *soil*: *Doire Soileach*, **dor'ə sol'həx 36S**.

(iv) -C' > -C'əx

speal: *speileach* Mperm; generally *speile*.

Note **malu:r'** *mallmhuir*, -C'əx genitive in **ti:l'ə malu:rəx 35E** *taoille mallmhurach*, *taoille mallúrach* SÓC2.282; but also **trə: walu:r'əxt** M *trá mhallmhuireacht*, where the normally abstract ending *-acht* appears in genitive position only. (Recall that abstract *-ach* frequently alternates with *-acht*. Cp. *mallmhuir* (variant) genitive *mallmhuireach* FGB, also *díthrá mhallmhuireach* Clad216; *mallmhurach* taken as adjective in LFRM s.v. *mallmhuir* but possibly attributive genitive: *trá mhallmhurach*, *taoillí mallmhurach* LFRM.)

3.41 Seventh declension: *cara(id)* > *carad*

Only two nouns, both of which are feminine, have declensional *-d*. The nominative occurs in *-a* ~ *-id* (~ *-ad*). The historical genitive is *-ad*.

cara: e.g. ' *do char' 'uit fhéin 894C9* (cf. 7.30), *cara mhaith* S. Cp. *cara agus l* is *coimrí*, e.g.

go bhfuighead sé cara agus coimrí dhom **kar' əgəs ki:mr'i' ɣum 11C**.

caraid is most common, **də xarəd'** M *do charaid, thar do charaid* 852S2, *caraid mhaith* Semr114.

Cp. *a charaidín mo chléibh* 1852S.

námhaid: *námhaid* is most common, e.g. SM, etc., but nom *námhad* [x2] 894C9, [x2] 852S2; **gə m'e:rhəx er', ə ruəg' na:vəd'** 04B1 *go mbéarthadh air, i ruaig námhaid* may well be specific gen pl.

Genitive: *cara*: *côirle charad* 1894C9, *lámh a charad* S;

námhaid: *in aghaidh do námhad* Semr124.

Cp. numeral *fiche*, dependent *fichead*, plural *fichid*; nominal plural *ficheadaí*; also *caoga* > plural *caogadachaí*, etc., (3.77 ff.).

3.42 Eighth declension: *athair* > *athar*

Genitive inflection involves the depalatalisation of final *-r* and *-g*, i.e. *-r'* > *-r*; *-k'* > *-k*. Cp. 5D *-n'/n'* > *-n* (3.35) and 7D *-d'* > *-d* (3.41). There is one masculine and one feminine noun in the *-r* class.

athair: gen *athar*. Note Máire's nominative form in her sign of the cross:

In ainm an Athair ... M.

máthair: gen *máthar*. Note Máire's use of the nominative form in:

klæn ə dæ: wə:hər' Mq *clann an dá mháthair*.

There is one feminine noun in final *-g*.

Nollaig nolək': gen *nolək*, e.g. **læ: nolək** Lá Nollag, **i:hě 'nolək**, 46.801 *Oíche Nollag, Mí na Nollag*; gen also *nolæg*, e.g. **i:hě | nolæg** 1894C *oíche Nollag*. Cp. common case in *dhá lá déag na Nollaig* 46.801.

3.43 Ninth declension: *tuí* > *tuíobh*

Two feminine monosyllables in final long vowels add *-v* in the genitive.

trá **træ:** > **træ:w** *trábh*, e.g. *barr na trábh, taoille trábh, laidhríní trábh*.

tuí **ti:** > **ti:w** *tuíobh*, e.g. *punann tuíobh, teach ceann tuíobh*.

3.44 Tenth declension: *rath* > *rathasa*

Three nouns add genitive *-əsə* *-asa*. All three have the nominative phonotactic shape *-Vh(ə)*, i.e. a stressed short vowel followed by *-th* or *-tha*. There is one masculine *rath*, one mostly feminine *maith*, and one mixed gender noun *gnotha*.

maith: *maith* as nom with gen *maitheasa* is quite common, e.g.

Níl mórán maitheasa inti ... nach mbíonn aon mhaith mhór inti ... Clad244;

ā' wa: hæ:n ... mo:ræ:m mahəsə P *aon mhaith ann ... mórán maitheasa*;

ní dhearna sé an iomarca maitheasa mähəsə dhó 892Mg;

fír an mhaithheasa S and *fír na maitheasa* S.

rath: *go mbadh é tús rathasa aige é* 872Pt; **e:n læ: ræ:həsə** S *aon lá rathasa*.

gnotha: **grūhəsə** *gnothasa* (less common), e.g.

tá mé ag ceapadh ... gob eod fír ... nach bhfuil mórán gnothasa acub **grūhəs**

a'kəb *ag goil ag traíáil aon-nduine*. 11C.

One noun, feminine *mí*, adds *-sə* *-sa* (historical):

mí: gen **m'isə** *míosa*, e.g. *go ceann míosa*.

The genitive formation in *-əsə* *-asa* has not been reported for any other dialect. It is based on the genitive *maitheasa* of the abstract noun with nominative *maitheas*, the latter being obsolete in our dialect and replaced by *maith*. The opposition

maith > *maitheasa* has been extended (in some speakers' usage) to phonologically and semantically similar *rath*. The example of the genitive in *aon lá rathasa* in fact coincides with more common *aon lá maitheasa*. Similarly, *mórán gnothasa* is semantically close to common *mórán maitheasa*; and compare *déantas maitheasa* with *déantas gnotha* SÓC2.283.¹ Cp. *dhá mhaitheas é* (3.71). Historical *mí* > *míosa* could support the development of innovation in this declension and could itself be (re)analysed as genitive *m'í: +əsa*.

3.45 Nouns in more than one declension; 1D combined

Some nouns have more than one genitive formation thus belonging to several declensions. The declensions found together in the same noun(s) are:

1D ~ 2D; 1D ~ 3D; 1D ~ 6D
2D ~ 3D; 2D ~ 4D; 2D ~ 5D; 2D ~ 6D; 2D or 3D ~ 6D; 2D ~ 4D ~ 6D;
4D ~ 9D.

In *cathair* (2D ~ 6D) and *trá* (4D ~ 9D) the less common declension, in final vowel, occurs followed by an epithet in proper names.

1D ~ 2D

corach (m.) has two gen alternants: 1D *korə coraigh*; 2D *curat* (866ESc121). (The 2D variant reflects the feminine gender found in other lects, 3.6.)

fhionnfach has two gen alternants: 1D nom *an fhionnfach* SM, gen *f'í:nhə* M, *ag caitheamh an fhionnfai* *ə́n' í:nhə* 894Cs; 2D nom *ə́n' í:nəx* 21Pt *an fhionnfach*, gen *f'í:nhí: S, P, fionthaí* FFG s.v. *fionnach*.

Luimneach *li(ɔ)mr'əx, l'i:mn'əx*; gen *li:m' n' i* 46.365 *Luimnigh, l'i:mn' i: 894Cs* *Luimní*.

ladhar, gen *lair' ladhair*, e.g. *lən lair' lán ladhair*, but also *lən lair'ə lán laidhre*; perhaps dative singular in the set phrase *tə tu lair' ə xəs:ur' tá tú i ladhair an chasúir*, although *lair' ə xəs:ur' ladhair an chasúir* is plural for Seán (plural *lair' ~ lairəxi: S*). Cp. *lair'ək' i:n' laidhricín*.

misneach, fem nom SM, e.g. *m'íjN'əx S an mhisneach, m'íjN'əxi:n' v'og M misneachaín bheag*;

masc nom *m m'íjN'əx 892M, M, 43M an misneach*,

2D masc gen (proverb) *níor chaill fear an mhisní v'íjN' i: ariamh é 49Jq, 52J*; also *fear misní 18J*;

1D masc gen *f'ær m'íjN'ə 06C fear misnigh*.

nóiméad masc has two gen alternants: 1D *nu:m'eɪd' M nóiméid*; 2D *faoi cheann ceathrú nóiméide tháinig ... 866ESc67.14, ... saol núiméide dhóib 20A*. Apparent gen pl in *ar spota na nóiméad* [recte] 866ESc191.11 'immediately'.

Cp. *foireann, k'ɑ:n ən or'ən / ən or'ən' Mq ceann an fhoireann / an fhoirinn*.

1D ~ 2D (~ 3D ?)

Satharn: 1D: nom *ə sahərən S an Sathrann*; gen *de. 'sahərən'* 46.900 *Dé Sathairn, d'e: sahərən' S, d'e: sarhən' M, d'e: səhərən' P Dé Sathrainn*;

speaker 71D has nom *sahrənə*, gen *sahrən'ə* (perhaps *-rh-* in both instances);

2D: *Dé Sathairne* [x2] 894C, *d'e sarhən'ə S Dé Sathrainne, bil'ə mɑ:l nə sahrən'ə S buille mall na Sathrainne*;

3D: (only one token, if correctly transcribed) *buille mall an tSatharna ... moille an tSathairne 894C5*.

¹ Cf. Ó Curnáin (1999: 146, footnote 5).

No inflection **d'e saħəŋ** 20Mlt; cp. plural **sarħəŋəxi**: SM *Sathrannachaí*. Also with nominaliser *-ach*, e.g. **'kaur'haharənəx** 52J *corr-Shathrannach*.
taobh: 1D generally genitive *taoibh*; 2D obsolescent dative *taoibh*.

1D ~ 3D

áibhéal: gen *áibhéala* M, examples of *áibhéil* in a genitive context are ambiguous with the nominative by-form *áibhéil*.
cíos: gen *pínn cíosa* 894C9, *ag tóigeál cíosa* 881Jt; but also *sé phunt cíis* (x1), *sé phunt cíos* (often). Note further *ag iarra na h-árd-chíos' ar Mhac ...* 6C195.
dochtúr: gen *dochtúra*, but also progressive gen *dochtúir*.
draíocht: gen *tarbh draícht*; but also *súilín draíochta* 35E (highly literate speaker), *ceol draíochta* !03V; but nom *faoi dhraíochta* !03V.
más: as a common noun the nominative form only was noted. In place-names one finds nom *Más*, *Leath-Mhás* and gen *Mása*, *Leath-Mháis*: *ag an Más* 23Ms, *muintir an Leath-Mháis* 23Ms (also 892M, 11C), *ar Thuín an Mhása* 23Ms, *Céibh an Mhása*, *Béal an Mhása* Rob.97, *Ceann Mása* Rob (map). Máire has nom common noun (*más* ?) ~ *mása*, place-name *Leath-Mháis*; in query 21Ptq also has nom place-name *Mása*. Cp. *faoi mheall a dhá mhása* (run) 11C.
snámh: generally no genitive inflection; Cladí has 1D (e.g. *rásaí snáimh ... iasacht an tsnáimh* 156) and 3D *snámha*.

1D ~ 6D

rásúr: regular 1D *rásúir*, but 6D *cúl an tseanrásúrach* 852SbLL34.

3.46 Other declensions combined

2D ~ 3D

A few monosyllabic nouns in *-ch*, generally in the 2D with gen *-hə*, may alternatively have gen *-xə* as in the 3D.

cloch in field-names: some more progressive speakers have *clocha* as 3D, e.g. **gari: nə kloxə ʃin'** M *Garraí na Clocha sin*, **gari: nə kloxə mo:r'ə** 60C *Garraí na Clocha Móire*, **gari: nə kloxə mo:rə** 60C *Garraí na Clocha Móra* (contrast, for the same field, regular **gari: nə klohə mo:r'ə** S *Garraí na Cloiche Móire*). Speaker 869P5 has consistent *taltha maith cloche* (implying perhaps *-xə* or even *-xə*, cp. *croch, cruach*).

coch: regular **da: nə kohə** Sq *dath na coiche*, but as 3D **m'e:d' nə koxə** Pq *méid na cocha*.

croch: **mad'ə krohə** P *maide croiche* but *ar chránn na crocha* 869P4 'cross'.

cruach: ... *chroc na Cruaiche* (pron[ounced] *Cruacha*) 869P4.

Note further:

cíor: gen *círe* ~ *cíora*: **kə.ŋgəl'í' ə 'k'ir'ě** 46.33, **kəŋgəl' ə 'k'irə** M *ag cangailt a círe / cíora*.

Maighdean: *Mac na Maighdine* M, **lə:və nə maid'ənə b'æ:ni:h iəd** !05M *lámha na Maighdeana Beannaíthe iad*.

maidhm: gen **nə mi:m'ə** Mq *na maidhme* (gen also *an mhaidhm* Mq (as nom)), **muləx ə wi:mə** 21Pt *mullach an mhaidheama* (MØperm).

Compare the rare instances of genitive of nouns in unstressed *-il*:

3D *scréachaíl* > *scréachaíola* 875Tt; 2D *glamhaíl* > *glamhaíle* Clad235.

2D ~ 5D

abhainn: 5D **ər 'vruəx 'qun** 46.832 *ar bhruach abhann, trasna na habhann* 04B, PIN *Bun na hAbhann*; in my notes 2D is found with the article only: *na haibhne*; both 2D and 5D in the same passage:

aun' ... træs:nə nə haivn'ə ... er' vruəx nə hau.ən, ... træs:nə nə hauən, ... er' vruəx nə hau'n (Sdás) **04B** *abhainn ... trasna na haibhne, ... trasna na habhann, ... ar bhruach na habhann.*

The 2D form has an irregular change **aun' > aivn'** - (also in plural stem) and *abhainn* could therefore be classed as an irregular noun.

uilinn: 2D *cráimh na huilinne* **894C5**, 5D *cráimh uileann* **894C3**.

2D ~ 6D

cathair: generally 6D gen **kar'həx 881J** *caithreach*, **kahəxəx** *S catharach*, but 2D in **in'i:n' ri: nə kahəx'ə d'er'əg'ə 11Ct** *inín Rí na Cathaire Deirge* (in title of tale).

cathaoir: gen **kahi:r'ə** Mq, Sq, **kahi:r'əx** Sq; gen also often identical with nom, e.g. *beaic na cathaoir* S.

clúid: gen *clúide* ~ *clúdach* S.

2D or 3D ~ 6D

Table 3.4 summarises variation and speakers recorded with these nouns.

Table 3.4 2D or 3D ~ 6D

	6D -ach	3D -a	2D -e	6D -ach	Speakers 3D -a 2D -e
<i>caoireoil</i>	+	+		11C	SM
<i>céir</i>	+		+	SM	LL23
<i>céibh</i>	+		+	11C, 25M	866E, 897P, 21Pt
<i>cuid</i>	+	+		S	sóc1.83
<i>mairteoil</i>	+	+		S	46.98
<i>muiceoil</i>	+			S	
<i>feoil</i>	+	+		52J	regular
<i>foghail</i>	+	+	+	S	S young ¹
<i>tóin</i>	+	+		46 s.v. <i>pimín</i> , SM	SM
<i>soil self</i>	+		+	regular	Mq
<i>speal</i> ²	Mperm		+	<i>speileach</i> Mperm	regular
<i>srón</i>	Mperm		+	Mperm	regular, 46.428
<i>súil</i>	+		+	11J	often

Cp. place-name *Bealach na Srathra* **şra:rhə 35E, 47Ps**, *Bealach na Srathrach* Rob.97. Cp. *leitir*, 3.40.

2D ~ 4D (~ 6D)

soil self: **krən self'ə** M *crann soile*, **slatə self'i: S, slatə sol'i: 25M** *slata soilí*, **gari: self'əx** *S Garraí Soileach*, cp. PIN **dor'ə sol'həx 36S** *Doire Soileach*. Cp. *dair > daraí* and personal name *Darach* < **Mac Darach* (for *Mac Dara*) also PIN *Cill Dara*.

4D ~ 9D

trá regular 9D gen **nə trə:v** na *trábh*. But 4D in place-names: **ən trə: wo:r'** an *Trá Mhóir* in Maínis, **bo:hər nə trə:i: mo:r'ə** SM *Bóthar na Tráí Móire*, **bal'ə nə trə:i: ba:n'ə** *S Baile na Tráí Báine*, and cp. in query **ba:r nə trə:i: / trə:** Mq *barr na tráí / trá*. Cp. **'L'æk ə 'trə:i 'a:l 35E** *Leac an Tráí Ál*. Note *bárr na tráí* **869P2** (⇒ **trə:'w**), but *go ghaine na trá'* [urthe] (in run [sic in source]) **869P2**.

¹ In the saying '... buille foghaile Chlann Dhonnchadha, ...' **63Sóc194**, n. 44.

² What may be 1 Declension genitive occurs in: *rug sé ar speal, ... láinn speil*, **889P**.

3.47 Irregular nouns

- ballasta*: nom **baləstə**, e.g. *an balasta* **869P4**, gen sg (or perhaps nom pl) *na clocha balaist* **869P4**; cp. *simléar* below.
- Banrach*: regular gen **bəntʰri**: M in *an Bhanrach Ard* > **nə bəntʰri: hɑrd'ə / haird'ə / ɑrd'ə / aird'ə** *na Banraí (h)Airde*, but also with stressed **ai** diphthong in the by-form **nə baintʰri: haird'ə** S.
- bean*: dative sg noted in *sin í tá mar mhnaoi* **ĩĩĩ: a'm inniubh** **889P**; gen sg and nom pl **mná**, marked pl *beanachaí* (4.47), gen pl *ban*.
- bia*: gen = nom, except in some phrases, e.g. **ʃk'i:n xat'ə b'i:** *scian chaite bí* (but also **ʃk'i:n xat'ə b'ia** **04B1** *scian chaite bia*); **rau gax b'i: 04B** *rogha gach bí*; (proverb) **təba:k l'e:ʃ b'i: | er' æ:r ə t'i: ta (ʃe) ʃin' P** *tobac thar éis bí ar fhear an tí atá (sé) sin*; **v'i d'er'ə b'i: ka:t'ə 35E** *bhí deireadh bí caite*.
- caora*: gen sg and gen pl **ki:rəx** (e.g. 46.88, 46.93, ARN2666), pl **ki:r'ə ~ ki:r'i:**. Note *craiceann na caora ~ craiceann caorach* 46.78.
- Connacht*: **gl'ɑ:n (h)jər'xunəxt S** *Gleann (Th)iar-Chonnacht*; gen = nom in *ar fud Cúige Chonnachta* **869P2.9**, *i gCúige Chonnachta* **11C4116**.
- cnáimh*: sg **cnáimh**, pl **cnámha**, *cnámhannaí*, gen pl in *tine c(h)námh*, *tinte cnámh*, *tinteachaí cnámh*; also sg *tine chnámh*, pl *tinte cnámha*, *tinteachaí cnámha*, *tinte cnáimh*.
- dabhach*: **daux** gen (regularly) as 2D: **daui**: Sq, Mq, **daui**: Sq, but note, from query, gen **daiv'i**: Mq (form given after I enquired about the plural **daif'i**: heard in a Fenian lay). The place-name *Leitir Daibhche* **l'et'ər daif'** indicates perhaps older ***daif'ə**.
- deoir*: gen pl *go deo na ndeor*; pl *deora*, *deorachaí*.
- deoch*: gen = nom, e.g. **kru:mtə g ol ə d'ox 04B1** *cromta ag ól an deoch*; except in phrase **tau gax d'i: togha gach dí**.
- Dia d'ia > Dé d'e*: (cp. 3.12).
- dlíobh* **dl'i:w**: gen generally as nom, but sometimes **dl'i:** (in set phrases): *bhí sé ina ghiúistís dlí*, **ju:ʃt'i:ʃ dl'i:ə | le dlíobh dl'i:v Shasana**. **11C5009**.
- dreatháir* **dr'eha:r'**: gen **dr'eha:rə**, gen pl (following personal numerals) **dr'eha:r**; pl **dr'eha:r(')əxi:**.
- dreithiúr* **dr'ehu:r** >> **dr'efu:r**: gen **dr'ef'i:r'ə** *dreifire*, gen pl (following personal numerals) **dr'ehu:r**. Cp. anomalous extension of the genitive in a younger speaker: (*mac*) *le dreifir(e) (a bhí ...)* **52P** from traditional *mac dreifire*.
- féile*: as common noun in unmarked use *féile* 'feast day, holy day (of obligation)', e.g. *tá an féile bainte de* S. In specific feast days *féil*, e.g. **ed'ər' ya: e:l mir'ə S** *eidir dhá fhéil Muire*, **fi: e:l pa:rək' M** *faoi Fhéil Pádraig*; following *oíche* and *lá* further reduced to (ə)l', e.g. **il' v'ik' də:rə S** *oíche Fhéil Mhic Dara*, **la: əl' lá 'il, la:l' lá'il**. Also **ol'ə** in **la: ol'ə v'ik' də:rə 23Ms** *Lá 'ile Mhic Dara*. With gen article *na féil*, e.g. **anə nə f'e:l m'ihil' S** *ana na Féil Míchíl*, **nə f'e:l t'in' ʃa:n' M** *na Féil tSin Séáin*, **raurtə mo:r nə f'e:l pa:rək' S** *rabharta mór na Féil Pádraig*, less commonly *na féile*, e.g. **la:əl' mir'ə nə f'e:l'ə pa:rək' SM** *lá 'il Muire na Féile Pádraig*, cp. **ihə nə f'e:l'ə v'ik' 'da:rə 896P** *oíche na Féile Mhic Dara*. Cp. **ə muləx nə fl'e: ʃa:n' S** *i mullach na Flé Séáin* (14 flé; cp. *pléiseán*).
- fiacail*: gen sg as nom, as in *doigh fhiacail*, but note also **ta: 'dö' 'iəkəl orəm** 46.439 *tá doigh fhiacal orm*; gen pl *ag bualadh fiacal*, *doightheachaí fiacal*.

grás, grásta: sg *grás* in phrase *grás trócaire* (cf. 14 *grás*), sg *grásta*, e.g. *go ndíona Dia grásta ar a anam*; pl *grástaí*, e.g. *grástaí: d'e: M grástaí Dé, ó na grástaí S*; gen pl *grást* (apparently) >> *grás*, also *grásta*, e.g. *Mac na nGrás* !894C9; *A Rí na ngrást* !869P6, *ə wir'ə nə ɣrɑːst M*, 43M *a Mhuire na ngrást, ə v'it̪ nə ɣrɑːst M a bhít na ngrást; o: ri: ɡ'æ:l nə ɣrɑːstə* (Acb)04B *ó Rí Geal na ngrásta, a Mhaighdean na ngrásta! S*, 14M, *bhí sé ag gearradh na ngrásta CAR s.v. grásta*.

lá: gen *le: lae*, special dative in set phrases, e.g. *uər' ɡə lo: uair dhe ló* and *k'an ɡə lo: ceann dhe ló* 'once a day', *sa ló* (e.g. *faoi dhó sa ló* 'twice a day'), *ó ló* 'before nightfall', *le do ló* 'in your lifetime'.

lao: cp. gen pl in field-names, e.g. *ɡari: nə li: 25M Garraí na Lao*; also obsolete pl *lao*, current pl *laonta(í)*.

leaba: ,*kos nə 'L'a:pə*, 46.499 *cos na leapa, posta na leapa* 892M, *ar fud a leapa* !892M; cp. gen sg *na leapan* 894C9.

leanbh: *l'anə*, gen *l'in'ə* 46.763, cp. *lini[bh]* 852Sb6.76 (i.e. *l'in'ə*); similarly nom *leana* !869P2, also nom *l'ænu:*; voc *l'anə*, *l'in'əv'*; gen *l'in'əv'*; gen pl *tugann siad Lá na Leanú air* 869P2.

mac: voc *a mhac*, *a mhic*; gen *mic*; gen pl *mac*.

mada: voc *ə wadə* Mq, 21Ptq, *ə wadi:* (e.g. Mq) *a mhadaí*.

meach: pl *meachain*, gen pl *meachan*, also in set phrase *míl mheach*.

Ó: in surnames, e.g. *o: kulə:n' Ó Cúláin*; voc, gen *i: Uí*, e.g. *i: xu:lə:n' Uí Chúláin*.

ola(i)nn: gen commonly *olə olla*, e.g. ,*lu:mrə 'olə*, 46.90 *lomra olla, mæ:li: olə* 892M *málaí olla*, but also *nə holənə S na holanna, mála (mór) olainne* SNG294.

simléar, similéar: gen generally *simléir, similéir*; speaker 894C has nom *ʃim'əl'ɛrə similéara* gen *ʃim'əl'ɛr' similéir* 894Ct, cp. *ballasta* above.

súil: gen *súile, súlach*; gen pl *súl*, e.g. ,*ʔə.fərk nə 'su:l*, 46.405 *afarc na súl*.

tosach: regular 1D noun except for the old dat in the phrase: *o: hu:s d'ɛr'ə ɡə to:sə S ó thús deireadh go tosaigh* (so also FFG20 s.v. *tosach*).

teach: gen *t'i: tí*, dat in lexicalised adverbial use *t'i: tigh*, also in obsolescent '*ne:n' t'i: l'umsə 10B in aontigh liomsa* for regular *in aonteach*.

Uladh / Ula / Ultach: *Cúig' Ulla, i dtír Ullta, naoi gconndae Thír Olltach* 852S2, 4, *aultəx*.

úlla: gen = nom, pl *úllaí* with gen pl *úlla* sometimes, but also gen pl *úll* in set phrases: *chomh géar le sú na n-úll S, gáirdín úll* (Abtm)11C; gen pl also *nə nu:li:* (Smds)04B *na n-úllaí*. Cp. sg *úll na scórnaí* (1.52).

Cp. *Caolan* (saint, also *Caonlan* 894Ct), eponym of the island known as *kruə nə ki:l'ə Cruaich na Caoile*.

3.48 Nouns without genitive inflection

Certain nouns have lost their historically inflected genitive forms or at least no such inflection is found in my notes.

From 1D *fiach*: *fear an fhiach* 866ESc117.15.

gníomh: *ə kur ɡr'i:v M ag cur gníomh*.

iallach: *níl aon nduine ' cuir iallach ort S*.

stór: *ag leagan an stór* 21Ptq.

Cp. *fearas barr*: *a' clúdú an fhearr-is-bárr* Clad1217; borrowing *sábh* (gen *sáibh* FGB): *ag tabhairt aníos an tsábh*. **892M**1323, *obair an tsábh mhór* **11C**1423.

From 2D *anachain*: *uair na hanachain* **10B**, FFG.
buaic: *buille buaic* FFG, S.
cailís: *ag ardú na cailís* **11C**2348.
coingilt: *i mullach na coingilt*, **11C**.
faoistean: *bosca na faoistin* [or *-tean* ?] S, *bosca na faoistín* M.
íoth: **gə wɑ:r nə hi**: Mq *dhe bharr na híoth*.
mairg: **blas ma'r əg' (ər')** Mq *blas mairg (air)*, ***ma'r əg' ə** MØperm **mairge*.
mísc: *ag díonamh na mísc ... aon bhlas mísc* **869P**.
ollphéist: *na hollphéist* Semr166, etc.
spóirt: fem in IA, e.g. *spóirt mhór* **!894C**6, gen identical in Semr46, cp. 2D gen *spóirte* LFRM.
streall: no genitive Mq.

Cp. *Spáinn*, uninflected in gen *na Spáinn* **866E**Semr168, etc.

From 3D *sruth*: *i dtaobh an tsruth*. **06C**.

Also *tois* (< *tomhais*): **t̪e:p' t̪eʃ** **24Nt** *téip tois*.

Male Christian names in *-ach* are not declined for vocative or genitive, e.g.

Cól Dharach **899N**; *Teaimín Thomáis Phaitseach* ARN8588;

t̪i: ɣa:rəx fa'ʃəx **899N** *tigh Dharach Phaitseach*.

Cp. female *-óg* (3.31).

Adjectives

3.49 General

The most conservative adjectival attributive inflection is set out here. There are four declensions, only the first being in any way prevalent. Adjectives in final vowels and diphthongs (-V, -V:, -VV) generally have no attributive inflection.

1D Adjective: palatalisation of final consonant in gen masc and voc masc (as well as fem dative, 3.51); palatalisation with schwa in gen fem. It is convenient to classify adjectives with neutralised finals (-C', e.g. *glic*; -V(h), i.e. *maith*) here also. Masculine 1D adjectival inflection corresponds to 1D nouns; feminine 1D adjectival inflection corresponds to 2D nouns.

2D Adjective: depalatalisation of *-úil* with schwa > *-úla* in gen fem and in plural.

3D Adjective: nom *-mhar*, gen fem *-mhaire*, plural *-mhara*.

4D Adjective: nom *-ann*, both gen fem and plural *-anna*.

Paradigms of representative adjectives (*mór*, *bacach*, *usal*, *glic*, *maith*; *leisciúil*; *slachtmhar*; *baineann*; *breá*, *crua*) are given here.

	Nominative singular	Genitive masculine	Genitive feminine	(Dative) feminine	Plural
1D	-C` <i>mór</i> <i>bacach</i> <i>uasal</i>	-C´ <i>móir</i> <i>bacaigh</i> <i>uasail</i>	-C´ə <i>móire</i> <i>bacaí</i> <i>uaisle</i>	-C´ <i>móir</i>	-Cə <i>móra</i> <i>bacacha</i> <i>uaisle</i>
	-C´, -V(h) <i>glic</i> <i>maith</i>	<i>glic</i> <i>maith</i>	<i>glice</i> <i>maithe</i>		<i>glice</i> <i>maithe</i>
2D	-C´ <i>leisciúil</i>	-C´ <i>leisciúil</i>	-C´ə <i>leisciúla</i>		-C´ə <i>leisciúla</i>
3D	-C` <i>slachtmhar</i>	-C` <i>slachtmhar</i>	-C´ə <i>slachtmhaire</i>		-C´ə <i>slachtmhara</i>
4D	-C` <i>baineann</i>	-C` <i>baineann</i>	-C´ə <i>baineanna</i>		-C´ə <i>baineanna</i>
None	-V, -V:, -VV <i>breá</i> <i>crua</i>	<i>breá</i> <i>crua</i>	<i>breá</i> <i>crua</i>		<i>breá</i> <i>crua</i>

One adjective, *rua*, adds **-i:** in the feminine genitive (cp. 4D nouns) in set phrases:

er´əd nə fr´i:d´ə ruəi M *oiread na fríde ruaí* (also ... **ruə** M ... *rua*);

er´əd nə ri: ruəi M *oiread na rí ruaí* (note ***nə ri: ruə** MØperm);

əŋ x´arhu: ruə An *Cheathrú Rua: oistə:n nə k´arhu:n ruəi* S *óstán na Ceathrún Ruaí*, also **nə k´ærhu:n ruə** 35E7561.

Some other irregularities occur.

cóir: plural **kø:rhə**, e.g. **mra: kø:rhə mná córtha**. Cp. comparative, also **kø:rhə** (3.67).

gléigeal: plural generally as singular, or conservative *gléigeala*, but note *a leicini geala gléigile* !894C9.

te: plural *teo* found in *deochannaí garúa teo* 869P2.30 (*garúa*, pl of *garbh*, 3.55), and in the saying (from a story, but also used as an aphorism):

n´i: fa´ti: tor ax fa´ti: t´o: S ní fataí tora ach fataí teo!

Cf. *mór*, genitive *móra* for traditional *móire* (3.53).

The inflection of the BAINEANN class adjectives is based on very scant evidence. There is even less evidence for the SLACHTMHAR class. In query, Máire (Mq) gives the following:

gen m.	-mhar	... əN´ ir´ hla:xtwər ... <i>an fhir shlachtmhar</i> ;
		... ən t´i: hla:xtwər ... <i>an tí shlachtmhar</i> ;
gen f.	-mhaire	... nə brø:g´ə slə:xtwər´ə ... <i>na bróige slachtmhaire</i> ;
pl	-mhara	nə t´ihəwi: slə:xtwərə <i>na titheabhaí slachtmhara</i> .

The most progressive adjectival system has a complete lack of inflection, both in the singular and plural. Genitive masculine is common with only a handful of

adjectives, and may be replaced by the nominative in most instances. Familiar collocations retain inflection best, e.g. regularly *doras an tseomra bhig* M (for *seomra mór* and *seomra beag* cf. FFG s.v. *seomra*). A small example of the depletion in the use of genitive forms can be given here from Máire's use. She was noted on two separate occasions addressing age-cohorts discussing *edi*: *v'ærɪl'ə v'ig' / b'og* M *Eidí Bheairtle Bhig / Beag* (i.e. my speaker 35E, son of *Beairtle Beag*, my 04B). On both occasions she used the *Bhig* form in the initial token of the discussion and subsequently replaced it, in the first discussion, or reduced its use, in the second, for the *Beag* alternate, which was then more frequent than *Bhig*. The impression given here is of an avoidance of the conservative use. Máire frequently refers to *Maidhcil Beag* (my speaker 23M) in the genitive, e.g. *leoraí Mhaidhcil Beag* M, *tigh Mhaidhcil Beag* M; this was never heard from her as *leoraí / tigh Mhaidhcil *Bhig*. The contrast between optional *Bhig* in *Eidí Bheairtle Bhig* and categorical *Beag* in *leoraí / tigh Mhaidhcil Beag* might be interpreted either as a preference for retention of older *Bhig* in the genealogical system of by-names or in reference to older people whose names were in use when inflection was more prevalent. For further illustrations of the complex combinations of adjectives with masculine nouns, see 9.47 ff. There is a rare instance of adjectival feminine inflection with uninflected noun in *ag tarraint feamainn deirge* 881Nt (3.53), similarly, vocative *a luifearnach bhradaigh* (3.50), dative, e.g. *ar an gcloch ghluís* (3.51).

In query sessions with speakers, genitive forms were best elicited in conjunction with very common nouns such as *fear* and *bean*, otherwise the base form was generally given in the response. For example, Máire gave the response:

kɔʃ nə laxən i:ən' Mq cois na lachan fhiáin,

but both alternants in:

kɔʃ nə mra: f'i:ən' ə / f'i:ən' Mq cois na mná fiáine / fiáin.

Similarly, *bu:n nə brog'ə i:fəl Mq bonn na bróige íseal* but *kɔ:tə nə mra: i:fɪl'ə Mq cóta na mná ísle*.

Some adjectives have alternating palatality in the nominative singular (-C ~ -C'): *sámh*, e.g. *kolə sã:w S codladh sámh*, but also *sáimh*, e.g. *kolə sã:v' M codladh sáimh*, *sã:v' 35Et sáimh*.

mór: *mhóir* (historically the dative feminine) sometimes occurs with feminine nouns. Examples in maritime contexts are found in Seán's usage:

nom (and dat) *an bhruth mhóir / mhór S*,

nom (and dat) *an fharraige mhóir / mhór S*,

seldom with masc dat *tá se 'na ghála mhóir* S85.

Certain older speakers have more consistent feminine dative *mhóir* (some in secondary sources possibly attributable to archaising transcriptors; 3.51).

3.50 Vocative

Vocative masculine when inflected is identical with the genitive masculine, e.g.

'a:məda:n' ,wo:r' SM a amadáin mhóir;

tə tu a:n ə xolə v'ig' S tá tú ann, a chollaigh bhig;

ə xolə v'ig' ə xra:n' S a chollaigh bhig, a chráin.

Following an uninflectable vocative noun, e.g. *duine*, also as genitive in:

| 'yʊn'ə ,woxt' 35E a dhuine bhoicht;

ə ʔin' 'uəsəl' a dhuine uasail; a dhuine óig 35Etn.

Cp. also a luifearnach bhradaigh M (luifearnach masc).

But also as nominative form in:

| ʔin' ə woxt | 894C a dhuine bhocht.

The BAINEANN class (4D) shows no change from the nominative, e.g.

ə li:d' i:n' er' ən Mq a laoidín fhireann.

Inflected noun with uninflected adjective is prevalent in the vocative, e.g.

ɑ: ʔaul' woxt [x2] 05M a dheabhail bhocht;

ə ʔaul' vrokəx Mq a dheabhail bhrocach;

ə wastərd' vra'dəx M a bhastaird bhradach;

ə wa'stərd' vrokəx Mq a bhastaird bhrocach.

Only the second adjective is inflected in the following example:

frætəstu:n' wɔ:r vræ:də P a Phratastúin mhór bhradaigh!

Vocative feminine does not inflect. Exceptionally, palatalisation of the adjective, as with masculine nouns, is found following feminine nouns:

a sheanbhean bhoicht 894C9; also a Abhainn Mhóir bhoicht 1894C;

cp. vocative a chailligh (as well as general a chailleach) also noted from this speaker (3.30).

3.51 Dative

Dative feminine when inflected is identical to the genitive masculine. It occurs in a few set phrases.

deas: 'right(-hand)' generally d'as, e.g. mə lɑ:v' ʔæ:s mo láimh dheas; but obsolete deis in the phrase:

faoi mo chí' dheis also ... chí' dheas 894C2.

glas: dat gluis in set phrase in tale:

suí ar a' gcloch ghluis ... shuí sí ar a' gcloch ghluis 894C2.

liath: (in 'pseudo'-dative) in tale:

ó smior go ... ó smiortán go dtí an leic léith air. 875T1.

mór: the most productive adjective with dat fem for the oldest speakers, e.g.

insa gcailligh mhóir 866ESc79.29, ag a' gcailleach mhóir 875T1 often;

faoi fheirg mhóir 866ESc136.3;

an Leathrach Mhór M, ar an Leathrach Mhóir M.

Cp. 870B1: an Chailleach Bhéarthach, ag an gCailligh Bhéartha (3.26, 3.53).

3.52 Genitive masculine

Cf. 9.47 ff.

MÓR class

fuair: noted in: agus chaith sí síos i mbuicéad uisce, fuair í, 18J8624.

glan: d'ox ən iʃk' ə ʔlæn' 05M deoch an uisce ghlain.

mór: ar aghaidh an chriathraigh mhóir. | əŋ' xɾ' iər'hə 'wɔ:r' | 11C.

glas: in place-name: ɡa'ri: xruka:n ʔliʃ 25M Garraí an Chnocáin Ghlais.

An example of non-inflection is:

'æmfəɾ' ə 'x' e:d xogə 'wɔ:r 01C6348 aimsir an chéad chogadh mhór.

BACACH class

brocach: níos túisce ná thiúrthas tú aghaidh do bhéil bhrocaigh orm ai də v'e:l'

vrok orəm ... ná é bhei' ag tabhairt aghaidh, aghaidh a bhéal brocach orm.
892Mtn.

DALL class

dall: **dail'**, e.g. **ən' ir' ɣail'** Mq *an fhir dhaill*.

DEARG class

marbh: **sp'ir'əd' ə din'ə wa'r'əv' 35E** *spirid an duine mhairbh*.

UASAL class

uasal: **mac duine uasail 866Et**, ... *an duine uasail S, dh'inín an ard-dhuine uasail 866Et*.

BAINEANN class

koj ən ænəv' i: f'er'ən Mq *cois an ainmhí fireann*;
 ... **ə t'unə er'ən** Mq ... *an tsionnaigh fhireann*.

3.53 Genitive feminine

MÓR class

mór: *i mbéal na farraige móire*.

Exception: *mór* > *móra* (*mhóir*) in progressive use in field-names (for traditional *móire*): **gari: nə kloħə mo:r'ə** *Garraí na Cloiche Móire* but also **gari: nə kloħə mo:rə 60C** *Garraí na Clocha Móra*; (of another field) **gari: ŋ xlo wo:r' 60M** *Garraí an Chloich Mhóir*.

Non-inflection: *le haghaidh na caillí mór*. **866ESc133.31**.

bréan: **na bləhi: 'b'r'e'n'ə**, 46.65 *na bláthaí bréine*.

dearg: the noun is uninflected (and unlenited) in: *ag tarraint feamainn deirge 881Nt*.

deas, e.g. *laidhricín mo chois deise 869Ptn*, *bróig na coise deise 11C*.

dubh, e.g. *a gcuid feamainne duibhe div'ə 896P*.

fiáin, e.g. **koj nə mra: f'i:an'ə** Mq *cois na mná fiáine*.

geal, e.g. *aon ní faoi loighe na gealaí gile; a Rí na glóire gile!*

Cp. *breac in cloigeann Rí na Binne Brice 11Cst*.

BACACH class

Cp. **xa'l'əx v'erhəx** (Sdás)**04B** *an Chailleach Bhéarrach*; genitive **nə ka'l'i b'erhə** (Sdás)**04B** *na Caillí Béarraigh* (resembling the historical dative adjective, 3.26).

Note the lack of adjectival genitive inflection in a traditional run:

ag treobhadh na farraige fiabhnach uaigneach nar treobhadh ... 11C.

DALL class

mall: nom **ma:l**, cp. **əg' u:nsi: mřa: me'l'ə** (MP)**04B** *ag ionsaí mná moille*.

tinn: nom **t'i:n' > la: nə kojə t'in'ə** S *lá na coise tinne*.

Cp. *fionn:* ? **kolħə nə mra: f'i:nə** Mq *culaith na mná fionna*.

DEARG class

dearg: *bhíodh muid ag iarraidh feamainne deirge f'æ'mə'n'ə d'er'əg'ə ann. 896P*.

marbh: **kruka:n nə ma ma'r'əv'ə 20M** *Cnocán na Ma [< Mná] Mairbhe (PIN)*.

UASAL class

uasal: uəʃl'ə, e.g. ... nə mra: uəʃl'ə Mq ... na mná uaisle; mə xud' folə
 'f' iər, uəʃl'ə 11Ct mo chuid fola fíoruaisle.

dílis: d'i:lʃə, e.g. kof nə mra: d'i:lʃə Mq cois na mná dílse.

íseal: i:ʃl'ə, e.g. kə:tə nə mra: i:ʃl'ə Mq cóta na mná ísle.

láidir: lə:dr'ə, e.g. kof nə mra: lə:dr'ə Mq cois na mná láidre.

milis: m'i:lʃə, e.g. klæ'b'i:n nə hiv'ə m'i:lʃə Mq claibín na huibhe milse.

LEISCIÚIL class

gnáúúil: gri:u:lə, e.g. lə:r nə kant'ə gri:u:lə Mq lár na cainte gnaúúla.

BAINEANN class

baineann: bin'ənə, e.g. bə:r nə slit'ə bin'ənə Mq barr na sluite baineanna.

fireann: N'æd nə m'æxən er'ənə / bin'ənə Mq nead na meachan fhireanna /
 baineanna.

Cp. *fionn*: ? kəlhə nə mra: f'i:nə Mq culaith na mná fionna.

Non-inflection is most frequent:

baineann: bə:r nə slit'ə bin'ən Mq barr na sluite baineann.

fireann: N'æd ən v'æx er'ən / win'ən Mq nead an mheach fhireann /
 bhaineann.

MAITH class

liath: léithe in set phrases in tales:

... na coille léithe 894C2, *Scológ na Féasóige Léithe* 875T1.

3.54 Non-inflection

The genitive is not inflected in many lexemes which historically belong to 1D Adjectives, or inflection is almost lost.

ard: cois an bhean ard ~ cois na mrá ard 27Mdperm (*cois na mrá airde a:rd'ə 27MdØperm). Cp. gen na Banraí (h)Airde (3.47).

tor: gə wə:r ən rən' tor Mq, Pq dhe bharr an aráin tor, note dhe bharr an aráin *toir *ter' MØperm.

ramhar: kə:tə ən' ir' rā:vər Mq cóta an fhir ramhar. Cp. genitive masculine in:
 stuki: bā'n'ə fā'wər | 869P stocaí bainne ramhair (in traditional ending of tale);

bun nə kəfə rā:vər Mq bonn na coise ramhar;

kə:tə nə mra: rā:vər Mq cóta na mná ramhar, ... *ri'vr'ə MØperm.

leathan, e.g. ... nə brə:g'ə l'æhən Mq ... na bróige leathan.

3.55 Plural; MÓR, GLIC, DUBH, BACACH, GARBH classes

An inflected plural is sometimes separated from the noun it qualifies, e.g. (attributive *measúla*)

Daoine geanúla, graúla, a deir sé, iad, measúla. 889P.

MÓR and GLIC classes

These adjectives are regular, adding -ə in the plural.

ard: talhi: a:rdə re: 11C talaí arda réidh;

tor: g' ihə bul' i: n' i: torə S ag i the builíní tora.
mín: er l' ækrəxi: 'm' i: n' ə | 11C5414 ar leacrachai míne.

DUBH subclass

These adjectives have plural **-uwə** perhaps **-u:** and ***-u:ə**.¹

dubh: mir' i: n' i: mo:rə 'duwə 31P muiríní móra dubha; na tráithníní dú ~ dú'a 869P5, i.e. \Rightarrow **du:** ~ ***du:ə**, cp. *sm' e:rə du.yə 46.650 sméara dubha*, *klouti: du:'ə 46.890 clabhtai dubha*; the form **du:** from speaker **869P** occurs in:

b' rə:təxi: | du: ə xir' er' ... 869P bratachai dubha a chuir ar ...,
 perhaps implying sg **duw** > pl ***du:(ə)**.

Also *trā:n' hi:n' i: duwə nə mīng' ə 11C tráithníní dubha na moinge*.

tiubh: ailt bheaga tiúgha 869P2, i.e. \Rightarrow ***t' u:ə**.

Non-inflection:

kə:ki: t' uw Mq cácaí tiubh (in query, Mq liked uninflected *tiubh* only).

Cf. the similar GARBH class further below.

BACACH class

These adjectives have regular plural **-acha**, e.g.

nə bakə vrokəxə na bacaigh bhrocacha;
k' i:n' wə:rə v' i:l't' əxə cinn mhóra mhillteacha.

Exception: an anomalous example of nominal type plural occurs in *Sasanach* (the noun *Sasanach* is of course prevalent in the plural):

ro nə pə:p' e:r' səsənəxi: t' i: ... 66N
an raibh na páipéir Sasanachai Tigh ... ?

GARBH subclass (of the DEARG class)

These adjectives have obsolescent plural **-əwə**, perhaps also **-u:ə**. They are generally not inflected in the plural. An apparently obsolescent plural **-u:ə** is indicated for **869P2–5**:

deochannaí garúa teo; móra garbha (garúa); áiteachai garúa,

but these may in fact represent **-əwə** or **-uwə** (cf. DUBH subclass above). One inflected plural example was noted from a recording:

mar na ro 'æ'n' ax kloxə 'ga'rəwə [or ga'ru'ə] | klai'ə | 899D6574
mar nar raibh a'inn ach clocha garbha clai.

Contrast *sna hoícheantaí garbh ga'ru' go mór ... 899D6882*.

Compare also the alternation of **əwə** with **u:ə** in a derivative of *marbh*:

maru:x ~ marəwəx ~ maru:əx marbhach.

Cp. regular *meirbh: le:hənti: m' er' əv' ə Mq laethantaí meirbhe*.

3.56 DALL class

These adjectives have (optional) change of vocoid length (long vowels = V:, and diphthongs = VV) in the plural. The short vowel (= V) before intervocalic consonant is the conservative variant.

¹ Folklore transcribers often transcribe final and intervocalic *ú* for *w*, e.g. *crúú* for *kra:w*. This means that spellings such as *dú'a 869P5* are ambiguous, being interpretable as **-uwə** or, phonetically very similar, ***-u:ə**.

	Singular	Plural		Example
	V: / VV	V: / VV	V	
<i>cam</i>	kɑ:m	kɑ:mə		mɑ'd'i: kɑ:mə Mq <i>maidí cama</i> .
<i>corr</i>	kaur		korə	in p'e:rʃi: korə (run) 11C , !04B <i>péirsí corra</i> .
<i>dall</i>	dɑ:l		dalə	f'ir' ʎalə Mq <i>fir dhalla</i> .
<i>donn</i>	daun	daunə	dunə	nə kapəl' ʎaunə Mq <i>na capaill dhonna</i> . Cp. bratəxi: dun ə v'e 11Ctn <i>bratachaí donna a bheith ...</i>
<i>fionn</i>	f'i:n	f'i:nə		kal'i:n'i: f'i:nə Mq <i>cailíní fionna</i> .
<i>gearr</i>	g'ɑ:r		g'æ:rə	(nə) t'e:dəxi: g'æ:rə 21Pt (na) <i>téadachaí gearra</i> (x2, only examples).
<i>grinn</i>	gr'i:n'		gr'i:n'ə	su:l'i: gr'i:n'ə Mq <i>súilí grinne</i> .
<i>mall</i>	ma:l	ma:lə		ʎa: hrak(')dər va:lə Mq <i>dhá thraictar mhalla</i> .
<i>teann</i>	t'ɑ:n		t'anə	nə ro:pi: t'ænə Mq <i>na rópaí teanna</i> .
<i>tinn</i>	t'i:n'		t'in'ə	di:n'i: t'in'ə 35E <i>daoíní tinne</i> , m'e:rəxi: t'in'ə Mperm <i>méarachai tinne</i> ; so also most likely in <i>súile tinne</i> 869P5 . See examples below.
<i>trom</i>	tru:m		trumə	
	V(:)		V	Example
<i>cung</i> (<i>cúng</i> FGB)	ku(:)ŋg		kūŋgə	- <i>Measdú cés fearr bearachaí cunga</i> kūŋgə ná an bhearach a bheith roinnt <i>fairsinn?</i> 11C .
<i>lom</i>	lu(:)m		lumə	ki:r'ə lumə Mq <i>caoirigh loma</i> .

Use of the singular form in the plural is perhaps most common:

di:n' i: kaur Mq *daoíní corr*; f'ir' ʎa:l Mq *fir dhall*;
ʃk'e:ltə g'ɑ:r Mq (x2) *scéalta gearr*; mra: ma:l Mq *mná mall*;
nə ro:pi: t'ɑ:n Mq *na rópaí teann*; daoine tinn.

trom: V'i: bə:ð hrumə gol' ʃiər **899D6221** *bhí báid throma ag goil siar*.

There may be an example of list effect across conversational turns in:

- ... tru:m **11C** ... *tá sé an-trom*.
-m'ɑ:ltrəxi: tru:m je **21Pg** *Mealltrachaí trom dhe?*
-ʃa, m'ɑ:ltəxi: tru:m, ... m'ɑ:ltəxi: trum ɑ:n **11C4717-9**
Sea, mealltachaí trom. Bhí cuide dhe sna baidhlears a bhí inti, agus tá mealltachaí troma ann,

where **11C** in his initial token echoes the younger speaker's uninflected form but goes on in the next sentence to give a more conservative usage. But speaker **11C** has a long vowel (implying an uninflected variant) independently in:

níl rátaí trom air trū:m er' agus níl cíós trom trū:m ná tada air **ARN3378**.

3.57 Polysyllabic types; UASAL, BAINEANN, BREÁ classes

croíthiúil: f'ir' 'vr'ɑ: x | 'o:gə 'xri:hu:lə **01C6365** *fir bhreá ch-*, [speaker repair]
óga chroíthiúla.

éadrom: bɑ:d' | e:dərəmə **881J** *báid éadroma*.

fiáin: ʃe:nəxi: f'i:ɑ:n'ə nə 'fa:rəg'ə **11Ctn** *éanachaí fiáine na farraige*.

leathan: duiséinne dhe stumpaí, clocha, beaga leathana, | b'ogə l'æhənə | a
chaitheamh síos ar, thúin an phota. **06C**. Also l'æhənə | **21J**, **32J**.

tirim: nā māli: t'ēr'əm'ə fākkih am 21Pt na mālaí tirime fágthaithe a'm.

As singular, example:

dearg: éisc bheaga dhearg na farraige (run)11C.

UASAL class

These have (optional) syncope in the plural. Adjectives which have been noted with both syncopated and unsyncopated alternants are underlined.

Syncope:

deacair: ga'su:r' d'æ'krə Mq gasúir deacra. Cp. diocair below.

íseal: brō:g i:ʃl'ə 23J bróga ísle; f'ir' i:ʃl'ə Mq fir ísle; klohəxi: i:ʃl'ə Mq clothachaí [< claf] ísle.

láidir: f'ir' lə:d'r'ə Mq fir láidre.

mílís: cp. ar nós na n-ÚBHla mílse !894C9.

ramhar: f'ir' ravrə Mq fir ramhra; b'ehi: rā'vrə Sq beithí ramhra.

saibhir: di:n'ə sevr'ə 15W daoine saibhre; mra: saivr'ə Mq mná saibhre.

socair: ga'su:r' sokrə Mq gasúir socra.

uasal: ə ʏi:n'i: uəʃl'ə 11C a [voc] dhaoíní uaisle.

domhain: daivn'ə (daivn'ə), e.g. pail' yaivn'ə Mq poill dhoimhne; (pail' yaivn'ə Mperm).

sleamhain: ʃl'avn'ə, e.g. bō:r'hi: ʃl'avn'ə Mq bóithrí sleaimhne.

Nonsyncope:

álainn: fati: / b'ehi: alə'n'ə S fataí / beithí álainne.

dílís: a chúrsanaí dílise, !894C9.

diocair: samsóchaí diocra. Cp. deacair above.

íseal: áiteachaí íseala (sic) fliucha 869P5, klohəxi: i:ʃələ Mq clothachaí [< claf] íseala, also 32J.

láidir: f'ir' lə:d'r'ə Mq fir láidire.

mílís: rudi: m'il'əʃə, M rudaí mílise.

saibhir: ag na fir shaibhire hevr'ə dhóib héin 11C; di:n'i: sev'ər'ə S daoíní saibhire.

sleamhain: sliogáin shleamhaine Clad161.

Examples of non-inflection:

álainn: ʃk'e:lti: alə'n' 11C scéaltaí álainn.

íseal: klohəxi: i:ʃəl Mq clothachaí íseal.

láidir: əgəs kæpl'ə mähə lə:d'r' f'ehi: i: hæ'rənt' ... 892Mg

agus caiple maithe láidir le haghaidh í a tharrait

ramhar: nā f'ir' r'ā'vrə Mq na fir ramhar.

BAINEANN class

baineann: nā budō:gi: bin'ənə Mq na bodógaí baineanna.

fireann: nā li:ənti: f'ēr'ənə Mq na laontaí fireanna.

Non-inflection is most frequent, e.g. *nā li:ənti: f'ēr'ən Mq na laontaí fireann.*

BREÁ class

breá, e.g. breá in plural 869P2, f'ir' vr'ə: Mq fir bhreá.

buí, e.g. nā ka'pl'ə bi: Mq na caiple buí.

te, e.g. le:hənti: t'e Mq laethantaí te (for teo, see 3.49).

3.58 Others

There is an example of diminutive *-ín* inflected for the plural:

nə bid' e:l i:n' i: b'ogə b'i:d'əxi:n' ə jin' M
na buidéilíní beaga bídeacháine sin.

Phrasal *polladh péisteach* may decline as one unit, e.g.

fati: polə p'e:ft' əx S fataí polladh péisteach, or
fati: polə p'e:ft' əxə M fataí polladh péisteacha.

Plural adjective is optional with the dual.

Inflection: **ya' vro:g' vro:kəxə Mq dhá bhróig bhrocacha;**
ya' vro:g' ha'ləxə Mq dhá bhróig shalacha.

Non-inflection: **ya' lā:v' æ:ft' əx Mq dhá láimh aisteach;**
ya' wə: vra'dəx Mq dhá bhó bhradach;
ya' v'æ'n wa'kəx Mq dhá bhean bhacach.

Plural adjective is common following singular nouns qualified by other numerals:

tr'i: wit' ə 'wāhə 'ba'ləx ə xir' ā:n | 896P
trí bhaoite mhaithe ballach a chuir ann;
tr'i: wid' e:l wə:rə trí bhuidéal mhóra.

The following example, from a young speaker, is inconsistent from the point of view of number and lenition (cf. 9.99):

ya: hræk' dər wə:r m'i:l' əxə 60M dhá thraictar mhór millteacha.

Plural inflection includes adjectives following singular (or genitive plural) nouns qualified by personal numerals (examples with *fear*):

an triúr fear óga (sic) 866ESemr76;
... 'b'ert' 'æ:r 'wā'hə | 889P ... beirt fhear mhaithe.

Plural adjective also may occur with collective nouns (common for some speakers):

ən v'ert' v'ogə 47P an bheirt bheaga;
nə / ə dr'ɑ:m o:gə P na / an dream óga;
træf v'ogə 66N trais bheaga;
cp. bheinn ag afarc ar a ceannaghaidh(the) geala breá k'æni: g'a'lə br'ɑ:
... ag afarc ar do cheannaghaidh(the) geala breá x'æni: g'a'lə br'ɑ:
 (Ascú)11C.

A rare example of plural inflection in a prefixed adjective occurs in:

bhí daoíní an-ghnaúla 'æ'γri:u:lə má bhí an obair héin ann, 05M.

I take this to be an attributive adjective, with absent *ann*, expected following the adjective (*bhí daoíní an-ghnaúla ann*); perhaps elided in dissimilation with the final *ann*, or the final *ann* may loosely qualify the subjects of both clauses.

3.59 Comparative

The comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives are inflectionally identical, e.g. *deas > níos deise, is deise*. The 'comparative' will be used here as a cover term for both degrees (furthermore, 'true comparative' = nonsuperlative). The comparative of the adjective is as a rule equal to the genitive feminine, e.g.

óg > óige; leisciúil > leisciúla.

Adjectives in final unstressed vowels generally remain unchanged, e.g.

anə annamh (comparative as positive);

falhb *falamh* (comparative as positive);

tanaí > *níos tanaí*; *dícéillí* > *níos dícéillí*.

The SLACHTMHAR class apparently has comparative *slachtmhara* ~ *slachtmhaire*.

Adjectives in stressed long vowel preceding final **-x** *-ch* take **-(h)i**: **-(ch)í** or **-t'ə** *-te*, e.g.

bi:x *buíoch* > **bi:hi** *buíchí*, **bi:x't'ə** *buíchte*.

Adjectives in stressed final long vowel or diphthong take **-x't'ə** *-chte* or **-xə** *-cha*, less often **-x'/hə** *-che*, also **-i**: *-í*, e.g.

beo > *beoichte*, *beocha*, *beoiche*.

In some instances, speakers born since the 1960s add **-ə** without palatalisation and sometimes have non-inflection (i.e. as the positive degree). Non-inflection becomes common in those born since the mid 1970s.

The adjective *fíor* seems to have no comparative for many speakers; Mq would only permit the comparative of *fírinneach* > **f'i:r'ən'i** *fírinní*. In the following slip of the tongue there is metathesis of *s(c)*- in **f'e:l** *scéal* and *f-* in **f'i:r'i** (interpretable as **f'i:r'i** *fírí*); this **f'i:r'i** can be taken to be an instance of the comparative of *fíor* (influenced by *fírinní*):

əs f'iar e jin' | n'i:l' f'e:l ə b'i n'i: f'i:r'i: nɑ: e ʃən' | P

is fíor é sin. Níl scéal ar bith níos fírí ná é sin.

The borrowing 'green' has an (elicited) comparative: **grin'ə** Mq *gruíne*.

Finite verbs are used in the true comparative construction *níos* + comparative. There is also a true comparative use with the nonrelative copula (without *níos*), a subtype of which occurs in the interrogative with *cé*. There is furthermore a less common true comparative use with the relative copula. In the superlative only the relative copula is used. E.g.¹

<i>níos</i> + comparative	<i>tá sé níos láidire ná thú</i>
<i>is</i> (nonrel) + comparative	<i>is láidire é ná thusa</i>
	<i>cés láidire é ná thusa?</i>
<i>is</i> (rel) + comparative	<i>fear is láidire ná thú</i> ²
<i>is</i> (rel) + superlative	<i>is tú an fear is láidire</i>

The comparative adjective can qualify a following phrase or clause (rather than qualifying the head of the relative copula clause directly), e.g.

Dúirt an buachaill ... go mbadh é ba leithne billeogaí dá mb'fhéidir a fháil.

866ESc66.4;

'ní bheidh duine ar bith sa teach is mó a mbeidh fáilte aige romhat ná do leasmháthair ... agus gan duine ar bith sa domhan is mó gráin ort ná í.'

866ESc135.22;

dheamhan fear ... is fearr fíos a ghrutha ná é **897St**;

bhí sé ... ar an gcapall is mú a bhí un tosaigh **869Pt**

¹ In these examples the adjective *láidir* is used for the purpose of illustration; it is not meant that this specific adjective is found in all four constructions in my material. Past tense can be indicated by *ní ba* / *ba* / *cé ba láidire*, etc. Numerals can qualify comparative adjectives, e.g. *seacht moichí* in a traditional run in tales, meaning *seacht n-uaire níos moichí*, cf. 3.68.

² Also *Rud is lú ná an gníomh a bhí déanta ag Cod faoi láthair bheadh caint air*. LL136. Use of {*is* (rel) + comparative} is obsolescent in Iorras Aithneach, as it is CGT §124 (footnote), being replaced by use of *níos* (*ní ba*).

'he was on the horse that was furthest ahead'.

An alternative to comparative inflection is found in the adverbial use of **t'íl'ə** *tuilleadh* with the positive degree of the adjective. Specifically, in the examples noted, the function is one of comparison (rather than contrast); both comparison and contrast are found with the inflected comparative. For example, *níos measa* 'worse' can both compare with *dona* 'bad' and contrast with *maith* 'good', but *tuilleadh dona* compares primarily with *dona* 'bad, ill'. E.g.

... **gə wə: m'e t'íl'ə dunə**, ... **nu gə wə: m'e t'íl'ə dunə**, M
(*nó*) *go bhfaighe mé tuilleadh dona* (the speaker is already *dona* 'ill');
e: jɪ:nə t'íl'ə daun' əb' æ: S é a dhéanamh tuilleadh domhain ab ea?

Compare the use of *tuilleadh agus* with nouns:

t'íl'ə gəs m'i: 22J *tuilleadh agus mí* 'more than a month';
... **wíl' m'e n'jow l'e t'íl'əs bl'ian'** (Acb)04B
... *bhfuil mé anseo le tuilleadh is bliain*.

Note the apparently mixed syntax in:

'bun.i:ʃəl gə mah əd d'e:ta: t'íl' a:rd ə wə:nt' əs ə mun Mq (*tá sé*)
buníseal go maith a'd, d'fhéadthá tuilleadh ard a bhaint as an mbun,

(produced by Máire as an example of *buníseal*) where *tuilleadh airde a bhaint as* or *a chur tuilleadh ard* would be expected.

There is also a comparative use of *cuid* (indefinite pronoun), recorded with *níos mó* and *is mó* (also *is lú* FGB *cuid* 3(b)):

'*Tá cuid níos mó ná do dhóthain le déanamh agat,*' 866ESc70.30;
'*déanfaidh tú cuid níos mó dánacht inniu,*' *a deir sí, 'ná a rinne tú inné'*
866ESc114.24 (also Sc112.39);
deabhal fear in Éirinn a fuair cuid is mó gála ná aimsir ná mé, mar bhí mé
amuith ariamh ó bhí sé ' rath orm. 892Mg.

Comparative *níos mó ná* can qualify an adjective, e.g.

'*tá mé an-bhuíoch díot, níos mó ná buíoch díot.*' 866ESc81.7.

As mentioned, speakers born since the mid 1970s show signs of loss of comparative morphology, some of which are illustrated in the following comparative classes. Speaker 79P, for instance, shows hesitation in conversation while searching for the comparative of *glan*, eventually producing analytic nontraditional *mó glan*:

... *is, ... is glan a bhí ann, mú glan,* 79P.

Cp. comparative *níos mó deópaí* [< dopey] ... 66N 'more dopey'.

3.60 BÁN, GEAL classes

BÁN class

These adjectives have nonpalatal -n and -l in the base; when palatalised *n* > **n'**, **n'**; *l* > **l'**, **l'**.

bán: **bá:n'ə** *báine* generally, but **bá:n'ə** 66N (this speaker has common **n'** > **n'**), also **bá:n'ə** 43M in 2005.

buan: positive **bu:n** ~ **buən**; comparative **buən'ə** S, Sq *buaine*, **bu:n'ə** ~ **buən'ə** 43Mq; positive **bu:n**, comparative **bu:n'ə** Mq, 66Nq.

cúthal **ku:l**: **ku:l'ə** *cúthaile*, also **ku:l'ə** 01P.

mion: **m'in'ə** 01P *mine*.

sean: generally **fin'ə** *sine*, but *sine ... sinne* **869P3**, *əs fin'ə* (Smbb)**04B** *is sine*.
umhal: **u:l'ə** Mq *umhaile*.

GEAL class

These adjectives have vowel change.

ceart **k'art**: **k'irt'ə** *cirte*; *əs k'ert'ə* **27C1** *is ceirte*, *ər k'ert'ə* **31M** *ar ceirte*;

k'urti: M *ciurtaí*; **n'is k'ært** **31M** *níos ceart*.

dubh **du(w) di(w) di(w) du**: the historical consonantal-final by-form is the base for comparative **div'ə** *duibhe*.

gar **gar**: **n'is gor'ə** *níos goire*.

geal **g'al**: **g'il'ə** *gile* generally, but **n'is g'æ'l'ə** **56B** *níos geaile*.

glas **glas**: **glifə** M *glaise*.

lag **lag**: **lig'ə** **05M** *laige*.

sean **fan**: generally **fin'ə**, but *əs fin'ə* (Smbb)**04B** *is sine*.

Cp. *bog*: **beg'ə** *bæg'ə* Mq, **beg'ə** **01P**, **bīg'ə** 46.120 *boige*;

olc: **ælk'ə** *elk'ə* Mq.

tor (FGB *tur*): **ter'ə** M *toire*.

3.61 DEARG class

These adjectives contain a historical epenthetic vowel ($-C^{+son}_C$).

dearg: **d'er'əg'ə** *deirge* generally, but **n'is d'ærəgə** **54C** *níos dearga*.

gorm: **gor'am'ə** *goirme*.

GARBH subclass

These adjectives contain a historical epenthetic vowel ($-C^{+son}_{bh}$). The subclass is being depleted with loss of the specific comparative form.

garbh, **gor'əv'ə** *goirbhe* generally, but progressive **n'is garəvə** **66N** *níos garbha*

also as positive **n'is garu**: *níos garbh*; the vowel is sometimes raised

gir'əv'ə, cp. **gir'əv'ədəs** *goirbheadas*, etc.

searbh, **n'i: faru**: 46 (s.v. *searbh*) *níos searbh*.

Table 3.5 shows the lexical progression in the loss of inflection in this class.¹

Table 3.5 GARBH class, comparative

	Conservative	Intermediate	Progressive
<i>garbh</i>	gor'əv'ə general, Mq, 31Mq	garəvə 66N , ??? gir'əv'ə 66Nq	garu : including 66Nq
<i>searbh</i>	fer'əv'ə Mq3	færəvə Mq2	fær'u Mq1, færə'f 31Mq , 46 s.v., no known comparative 66Nq
<i>marbh</i>	mar'əv'ə Mq1 (mir'əv'ə MØperm)		mar'u Mq3, 31Mq
<i>balbh</i>			bə'l'u general, 31Mq , no known comparative 66Nq

This table implies that the more conservative form is most prevalent in the frequent adjective *garbh*; the less frequent adjectives showing replacement by the

¹ 'Mq' followed by a number indicates the order in which Máire produced alternants of a given adjective in the query session.

positive degree. An instance of miscomprehension involving the traditional interrogative comparative of *garbh* occurred in a conversation between a full native speaker, nicknamed PJ, from Ceantar na nOileán (east of Iorras Aithneach) and speaker **69S** two or three years his elder, from Maínis:

- Cés goirbhe anseo ná an áit thoir?* **69S**
 -*Hu?* PJ
 -*Cés goirbhe anseo ná an áit thoir?* **69S**
 -*Hu, tá an áit seo níos gar-*. PJ
 - ... *níos garbh ...* **69S**

The last two speaker-turns may contain instances of speaker accommodation: *níos gar-* PJ, where the speaker is perhaps reluctant to use *níos garbh*, a form clearly distinct from *cés goirbhe*; and *níos garbh* **69S**, where the speaker is perhaps accepting or permitting the innovative non-inflection.

3.62 DALL class

These adjectives have an (optional or historical) loss of vocoid length in the comparative.

Adj	V: / VV	>	V	V: / VV
<i>cam</i>	kɑ:m	<i>caime</i>		kɑ:m'ə Mq
<i>dall</i>	dɑ:l	<i>doille</i>	deɫ'ə Mq	
<i>donn</i>	daun	<i>doinne</i>		daun'ə Sq, daun'ə 66N , daivn'ə [sic] Mq, Sq
<i>fionn</i>	f'i:n	<i>finne</i>		f'i:n'ə Mq ¹
<i>gann</i>	gɑ:n	<i>goinne</i>	gõN'ě 46.297b	gɑ:n'ə 66Nq
<i>mall</i>	mɑ:l	<i>moille</i>	miɫ'ə Mq, 47Pq , meɫ'ə	
<i>teann</i>	t'ɑ:n	<i>teinne</i>	t'ɪn'ə Mq, t'ɪn'ə 47Pq	t'ɑ:n'ə Mq; t'ɑ:n'ə 47Pq
<i>tinn</i>	t'i:n'	<i>tinne</i>	t'ɪn'ə M	
<i>trom</i>	tru:m	<i>troime</i>	trim'ə generally; trumə 66N	
<i>crom</i>	kru(:)m	<i>croime</i>	krɪm'ə Mq	
<i>lom</i>	lu(:)m	<i>loime</i>	lim'ə Mq	
<i>cung</i>	ku(:)ŋg	<i>cuinge</i>	kiŋg'ə Mq (similarly, 46.881)	

gann: there is an instance of non-inflection from a younger speaker in conversation: ... *gann, bhí sé níos gann ná n'is gɑ:n na tá sé anois abair* **66N** (in slow speech, therefore sandhi elision and depalatalisation from *níos gainne ná* are unlikely). In response to query, this speaker produced **n'is gɑ:n'ə** **66Nq** and did not permit **níos gann* **66NØperm**.

3.63 UASAL class

These adjectives show (optional) syncope, in certain instances accompanied by vowel change. Adjectives noted both with and without syncope are underlined>. There is evidence of juncture in forms of *diocair*, *sleamhain*, and *toibeann*. Note the double palatalisation in the unsyncopeated comparative of *ramhar* (from the historical syncopeated form).

¹ Mq unsure. Speaker **20C** claims one would not use *fionn* in the comparative but rather *níos báine* **20Cq**.

Syncope

<u>álainn</u>	ɑ:l̪ə 11C5309, Mperm <i>áille</i> , ɑ:l̪ə Mq <i>áilne</i> .
<u>deacair</u>	d̪ʲæk̪rə <i>deacra</i> , also <u>diocair</u> : d̪ʲuk̪rə <i>diocra</i> ; d̪ʲuk̪-r̪ə 84Pq.
<u>fairsinn</u>	for̪ʃn̪ə M <i>fairsne</i> .
<u>láidir</u>	lɑ:d̪r̪ə P <i>láidre</i> .
<u>leathan</u>	l̪ʲin̪ hə <i>leithne</i> generally; n̪ʲis l̪ʲin̪ə 51N (x2, implies h-loss).
<u>milis</u>	m̪ʲi:l̪ʃə <i>milse</i> .
<u>ramhar</u>	r̪iv̪r̪ə St, r̪iv̪r̪ə 55C, r̪i:v̪r̪ə 01C6147, r̪i:v̪r̪ə, <i>raimhre</i> .
<u>saibhir</u>	saiv̪r̪ə S <i>saibhre</i> .
<u>sleamhain</u>	ʃl̪ʲæ:v̪n̪ə Mq <i>sleaimhne</i> , ʃl̪ʲaun̪ə Mq, ʃl̪ʲæ:v̪n̪ə Mq (= /v-n̪ʲ/); ʃl̪ʲæ:v̪ni: Sq, ʃl̪ʲev̪n̪ə 66N.
<u>socair</u>	sok̪r̪ə S <i>socra</i> .
<u>toibeann</u>	tebn̪ə Mq <i>toibne</i> , with juncture in -bn̪- (for unmarked -bn̪ʲ-).
Cp. <i>domhain</i> : daiv̪n̪ə SM, 20MI <i>doimhne</i> ; daun̪ 31P > əs daiv̪n̪ə 31P; also daun̪ə.	

Nonsyncope

<u>álainn</u>	ɑ:l̪ə S <i>álainne</i> .
<u>diocair</u>	d̪ʲuk̪ə S 60M <i>diocaire</i> .
<u>fairsinn</u>	cp. <i>an seomra is fairsingighe a bhí sa teach</i> 852SbLL102, indicating <i>fairsinní</i> .
<u>gairid</u>	also <i>goirid</i> : <i>Ní dheachaidh aon chriú máirméalach ar bhord aon tsoithigh ariamh is goiride a bhí dhá cur chun seoil ná an triúr</i> . LL123.
<u>láidir</u>	lɑ:d̪ʲər̪ə [x2] 852S; bə lɑ:d̪ʲər̪ə er̪ ... (Lam)04B <i>ba láidire ar ...</i> ; lɑ:d̪ʲər̪ə Mq, M, 84Pq.
<u>ramhar</u>	r̪iv̪ʲər̪ə 25M, 59B, 66N, 84Pq <i>raimhire</i> ; r̪i:v̪r̪ə ... r̪i:v̪ʲər̪ə 14M.
<u>sleamhain</u>	ʃl̪ʲæ:v̪n̪ə 84Pq <i>sleamhaine</i> .

3.64 Classes in -ch, -úil, -mhar**BACACH class: -ach > -í**

salach salí: Mq, also sail̪ʲí: noted in: ,n̪ʲí: 'səil̪ʲí, or ,n̪ʲis 'sali, 46.894 *sailchí* or *saláí*; cp. *níos salaighe* 869P2.

The oldest speaker noted without inflection is 52P (in a complex adjective):
... mé ba mhí-ásach 52P.

COIMHTHÍOCH class: -íoch > -í

bánlíoach: bənl̪ʲí: [sic] Mq *bánlí*.

coimhthíoch: níos coithígh ná sin 894C2.

fadbhreathnaíoch: 'fa:d̪,v̪r̪ə'n̪hi: Mq *fadbhreathnaí*.

faillíoch: fa:l̪ʲí: Mq *faillí*.

SEASÚCH class: -úch > -í

seasmhach: ʃæ:swəx ʃæ:swu:x > ʃæ:swi: Mq *seasmhaí*.

FLIUCH class

fliuch: fl̪ʲehə, fl̪ʲex̪ə, fl̪ʲehi:, fl̪ʲihə, (fl̪ʲixə).

n̪ʲis 'fl̪ʲihə (fl̪ʲixə pausa): also ... ,n̪ʲis 'fl̪ʲeh̪̊ 46.866 *níos fliche*,
fliucha,

əs fl'ehi: *S is flichí*,
 n'is fl'ihə (heard in Carna from speaker, born c. 1940), *níos fliche*
 n'is fl'ex'ə 71D *níos fliche*.
moch: mōhi: mihī: muxə.
much > *níos mucha* [x2] Mq.

LEISCIÚIL class: -úil > -úla

leisciúil > L'ɛʃk'u:lə *leisciúla*.

grádiaúil gr'a:d'iau:l' > gr'a:d'iau:lə *grádiaúla*.

Note: *barrúil* > regular *níos barrúla* 27Mdq; cp. *níos barrúilí* 21Ptq (produced by the speaker following discussion of *fear ar bith gá bharúilí* !21Pt, an abstract which can be derived from **barúileach* as attested in *baraileach* FFG, *barúlach*). Cf. comparative -í (3.66).

CIALLMHAR class: -mhar > -mhara, -mhaire

ciallmhar: k'ialvəɾə Mq *ciallmhar*.

fionnuar: f'iniuəɾə Mq *fionnuara*.

líonmhar: n'li:f L'linvəɾ'ə 894Cs *níos líonmhaire*.

luachmhar: n'is luəxvəɾ'ə 04B *níos luachmhaire*.

slachtmhar: n'is bə sləxtu:ɾ'ə 899D6022 *ní ba slachtmhaire*; bə sləxtəɾ'ə nā 894Cs *ba slachtmhar(a) ná*.

3.65 BREÁ class (-V:)

breá: br'ə:xə, br'ə:xt'ə, (br'ə:hə).

852S *ba breághtha, bhreácha* 852S1, 4, etc.

866E *breácha* occurs many times and is the only form in Semr.

SID.46 ,n'is 'b'ra:xə, or ,n'is b'ra:xt'ə, 46.879.

870B ... *is breácha sna seacht ríochta* 870B1.155, 156.

875T *ba bhreácha ná* 875T1.

894C *breáichte*: *ba breáichte ná ...* 894C2 (x3); br'ə:xt'ə, luəxt'ə 894Ct.

04B əs br'ə:xt'ə na ... (Smds) *is breáichte ná ...* ;

ən v'æ'n əs br'ə:xə (Smds) *an bhean is breácha*;

(ən v'æ'n) bə vr'ə:xə ga wa'kə fɛ (Smds);

(*an bhean*) *ba bhreácha dhá bhfaca sé*;

cp. n'is br'ə:hə (MP) *níos breátha*.

16M *breáichte*.

beo: b'ə:xə, b'ə:xt'ə.

16M b'ə:xt'ə *beoichte*.

buí: bi:xə, (bi:x'ə), bi:xt'ə.

SID.46 n'is b'u:ixə (or -x'ə) 46.879 *níos buíocha, buíche*.

CladI *níos buidheacha* 97, i.e. bi:xə.

16M bi:xt'ə *buíchte*.

buíoch: bi:xt'ə, bi:hi:.

16M bi:xt'ə *buíchte*.

19P bi:hi: *buíchí*.

lách: ləxtʰə, ləiː.

18Bm ləxtʰə láichte.

19P ləiː láí.

crua: (kruəjə), kruəi, kruəxtʰə, (kruə).

892M kruəjə cruaidhe (recording slightly unclear).

04B cé cruai kruəi an clár ná barra do mhéar? **04B21**

16M kruəxtʰə cruaithe.

25M ní raibh fear ar bith ba cruá ná ba barainní ná é (S. Ó Murchú 1989: 140–4 §1).

78B Níis kruə.

luath: luəhə, luəxʰə, luəhiː, luəxə, luəxtʰə.

04B bə luəhi nɑː ... 1 ba luaithí ná ... ; bə luəhi ... (Lam) ba luaithí ... ;
gə mə ʃaːxt luəh eː ... (Smbb) go mba seacht luaithe é

15Pt Níis luəhiː.

12S has Níis luəxʰə. Speaker **16M** has luəhə luəxə luəxtʰə. Speakers **31P**, **35E** have luəhə. Speaker **16M**'s daughters, **43M** and **56B**, have Níis luəhiː ('quicker' **43M**), also Níis luəiː **43M**; níos luaiche, luaithe, luaithí, luacha, luaichte. Example of variation in:

-b'ei tu nor' Níis luəhə ... M Beidh tú anoir níos luaithe ...

-hə **66N** Hu?

- ... nor' Níis luəxə M ... anoir níos luacha.

Perhaps the comparative is identical to the positive in: ba lua' í ná ... **866E**Semr108 (or perhaps this is an example of loss of intervocalic *th*, i.e. < luai(th)e í, or, with coalescence of -í í, < luai(th)í í or luai í).

liath: l'íəxtʰə M liaichte.

réidh: reixə, reixtʰə.

reixtʰə **09S**, M, **26Pq** réichte; reixə S réacha.

Cp. V'í: n siil fəxtʰə Níis reː, Níis reixtʰə n tɑːm ʃin' **09S**

bhí an saol ag fáil níos réidh, níos réichte an t-am sin,

said without hesitance but where the preferable form seems to have been produced second.

rua: ruəxtʰə Mq ruaichte.

tanaí: taniː M; taniəxi ? Mq; tanəxi Mq.

te: t'əxə, t'ehə, t'əxtʰə.

SID.46 ,n'is t'əxə 46.868 níos teocha.

16M t'əxtʰə M teoichte.

66N v'í ʃe Níis, t'ehə ʰN'e; **66N** bhí sé níos, teithe inné, with hesitation after Níis, presumably as the speaker sought a comparative form.

tiubh: t'uːxə, t'uvə, (t'ifə).

04B Níis t'uːxə **04B1** níos tiúcha.

06C Níis t'uvə n ləː ... **06C** níos tiubha an lá ... ; S: t'uvə tiubha.

16Mq, **16Mperm**: t'uvə tiubha; t'ifə Mq tiufa (as verbal adjective).

Table 3.6 presents a summary of forms and speakers' use.

Table 3.6 Comparative adjectives in *-ch-*, e.g. *luath* > *níos luaithe*, *luacha*, *luaichte*, *luaithí*, *luaiche*

Adj	(1) hə	(2) xə	(3) xtʰə	(4) i:	(5) xʰə, jə	Speakers
<i>beo</i>		bʰo:xə	bʰo:xtʰə			(3) M.
<i>breá</i>	(brʰa:hə)	brʰa:xə	brʰa:xtʰə			(1) (MP)04B; (2) 852S1, 4, 866E, 869P2–5, 46.879, 870B1, 875T, 889P, 04B (3) 46.879, 894C2 (x3), 04B, M.
<i>buí</i>	bi:hə	bi:xə	bi:xtʰə		bi:xʰə	(1) 869P2–5 (abstract comparative), Clad197; (2) 46.879; (3) M; (5) 46.879.
<i>buíoch</i>			bi:xtʰə	bi:hi:		(3) M; (4) P.
<i>crua</i>			kruəxtʰə	kruəi	kruəjə	(3) M; (4) 869P2–5, 04B1; (5) 892M. (Cp. <i>crua</i> 25M.)
<i>lách</i>			lɑ:xtʰə	lɑ:i:		(3) 18Bm; (4) P.
<i>luath</i>	luəhə	luəxə	luəxtʰə	luəhi:	luəxʰə	(1) 869P2–5 (x2), 04B, M, 31P, 35E; (2) M, 43M; (3) 894C, M, 43M; (4) 04B1, 43M; (5) S. (Cp. <i>lua</i> 866E.)
<i>liath</i>			lʰiəxtʰə			(3) M.
<i>réidh</i>		re:xə	re:xtʰə			(2) S; (3) 09S, M, 26Pq.
<i>rua</i>			ruəxtʰə			(3) Mq.
<i>te</i>	tʰehə	tʰo:xə	tʰo:xtʰə			(1) 66N; (2) 869P2–5 (x2), 46.868; (3) M.
					(6) -ə	
<i>tiubh</i>	tʰifə	tʰu:xə			tʰuvə	(1) Mq; (2) 869P2–5, 894C, 04B1; (6) 06C, S, Mq, Mperm.

3.66 Anomalous -i: -í

There are some instances of -i: for more usual -ə.

ceart: Sé an clog is ... [hesitation while searching for a form] *ciurtaí tá M.*

Máire's usual form is *cirte*.

fairsinn: **forʃN ə M** *fairsne*; but *fairsingighe* **852SbLL102**, indicating *fairsinní*.

feoghlamta: cp. *níos fólumtaí leithí* [i.e. *le haghaidh*] *troid* **852S4** (cf. by-form *feoghlaímí(the)*).

righin: **rain ə ~ rain í** **66N** *righne ~ righní*; *righne* **66Nq**, *righní* **66Nperm**. Cp. *ciúine* **66Nq**, *míne* **66Nq**.

teann: *teainí* **66N** (from my notes, without phonetic transcription, but indicating **t æ n í**).

tirim: **tr'umə SM**, **tr'umi M**; cp. verbal adjective **tr'umi:(hə)** *triomaíthe*.

Cp. *fíor* > **f'ir í**: P *fírí* (3.59) perhaps influenced by more common *fíriní* < *fírinneach*.

Note also that Seán, speaking of the noun **ku:ntɾəli:**, said:

Sé is cúntálaí gá bhfaca tú 'riamh S,

although a positive adjective **contrálach* has not been recorded (rather *contráilte*).

Cp. noun *barúil* > adjective *barúlach* (e.g. *práinneach ... suimiúil ... barúlach S,* 'Chailín bharúlach, cath thusa an bhliain seo mar táir' **866E CABI** §109(a) v. 8) > *dhá bharúlaí* (in *fear a' bith gá bharúlaí* **100M CABI** §515 v. 5), *dhá bharúilí* (in *dheamhan sin fear dhá bharúilí gá: waru:l'í: ... nach gcóireoinn héin a leaba dhó* **121Pt**) which can be derived from **barúileach* (attested *baraileach*, *barúlach*), but which may also be associated (by some speakers) with the adjective *barrúil*. (In response to query, speaker **21Pt** produced *barrúil* > *níos barrúilí* **21Ptq**, based on *gá bharúilí* **121Pt** from a song, as noted above. The commonly homophonous *barúil* and *barrúil*, noun and adjective respectively, are taken to be the same word by Seán. He also takes the adjectival use to be typical of Na hOileáin and areas east of Iorras Aithneach. In Iorras Aithneach *géimíúil* is more common than *barrúil*.)

An unusual form in **-əxi:** (for regular comparative **-əx** > **-i:**) occurs with *riachtanach*, a recent Irish borrowing or adoption, in:

rudi: N'is riəxtənəxi: ə'n ... **43M** *rudaí níos riachtanachaí ann ...*

3.67 Irregular comparative

beag: **lu:** *lú*, also **b'eg ə** *beige* **Mperm**. In certain phrases both **luə** and **lu:** occur with the copula preceding *le*, e.g.

N'ir luə l'um ən' fuk nə: hu' SM *níor luar liom an sioc ná thú,*

N'i: lu: l'um ən' fuk nə: e' 49J *ní lú liom an sioc ná é.*

cóir: **ko:rhə**, used with *chomh* (3.68).

domhain **daun' > daivN ə, daivN ə, daun' ə.**

donn **daun > daun' ə, daun' ə, daivN ə.**

dona: *measa* >> *dona*. The usual adjective meaning 'bad' is *dona*. The comparative of *olc* 'vicious' is regular: *níos oilce* 'more vicious'. In the rarer meaning 'bad', the comparative of *olc* is *measa*. There may be a possible contrast between *measa* and *dona* in the comparative, the former meaning 'less good,

inferior' the latter 'worse, even worse'. In coordination with *fearr* the alternant comparative *dona* is common, for example:

nach rabh fhios cé acub fear ab fhearr ná ba dona Semr144, cf. also Semr-70;

mara mbeidh mé níos fearr nach mbeidh mé tada níos dona 894C;

... *k'e a:kəb əs a:r nɑ: s dunə* 15W ... *cé acub is fhearr ná is dona*;

... *ba dona ná babh fhearr* 45N.

So also in co-ordination with *measa*, e.g.

n'í:ʃəs am k'e: a'gi: s m'æ:sə nɑ: s dunə | M

níl fhios a'm cé agaibh is measa ná is dona.

But comparative *dona* occurs without *fearr* or *measa*, e.g.

'*ansin bíodh an donas ansin ag an gceathar is dona.*' [E. Ó Neachtain ÓC196];

'*Badh í an capall ba lú is ba dona ag breathnú sa bpáirc a tháinig amach*' 866ESc127.11;

-*Ní fhéadthadh bealach a bheith a'm níos dona ná bhí a'm*, 881J;

Sé an rud is, ba dona a bich, fios a bheith ag na daoine ar na rudaí seo. 892M1266;

bhí go — drochghotha air ach tháinig sé níos dona ná bhí súil acub leis. 892Mg;

k'e bə dun e nɑ: n' ʃn'æ:xtə S cé ba dona é ná an sneachta?

This use can sometimes lead, as with adjectives in final unstressed vowels in general, in *is dona* and *ba dona*, to formal ambiguity with the positive degree, e.g.

n'í v'ehəts æ:d nax mar əs dunə əs f'ɑ:r S

ní bheadh fhios a'd nach mar is dona is fearr;

'*ná hiniis é nó má insíonn is duit is dona.*' Sc157.40;

'*dá n-abraínn [recte] ba dom ba dona.*' 866ESc116.25.

fada: n'is fed'ə (Smbb)04B; *əs fid'ə* (Smré)04B, *əs fod'ə* 892M1777, *n'is fid'ə* 866Etn, 04Br, 17M, *n'ib id'ə* 881J, *n'is 'fūd'ə* 46.870 *níos foide*.

A form identical with the positive occurs in the collocation *b'fhada liom ná* with the same meaning as the comparative *b'fhaide liom*, e.g. (894C)

ba:də l'umsə nɑ: wə:kə m'e' r'iaɪv ... | gə v'ek'ən' i: h̥æw̃n̩ tək'i:hə

b'fhada liomsa ná a bhfaca mé ariamh ... go bhfeicinn Oíche Shamhna tagthaithe (also FFG20 s.v. *fada* 2).

frusta (< *furasta*): *n'is fʊsə* 46.886 *níos fusa*; '*nár bh fhusa duitse a dhul ag ithe ...*' 866ESc208.19. Now generally as in positive, i.e. *frustə*.

gearr: g'ir'ə M, 20A *girre*; *g'irə* 46.872, *g'orə* Mperm *giorra*.

gránna: grɑ:n'ə M *gráinne*. Younger speaker *níos gránna* 84Pq, cp. *An rud ba ghránna dá bhfaca sé ariamh*, LL115.

iomú: l'e:hi:, l'ia:hi:, l'ia:hi:, l'ia:xti:, líthí, liath-aghaidh.

Now rare, generally as indefinite adjective;

ní líthí bealach ... 869P5;

k'e: l'e:hi f'ær ə b'æ:n, x'ukəx ... (Asp)04B

cé léithí fear, bean a thíochthadh ...;

nach liathaí l'ia:hi: fear maith sínte ná ... (Abf)03C;

l'ia:xti: f'ær ma' (Smds)04B liachtaí fear maith;

Ná tig agus ná síl, mise a chaitheamh dhíot, agus a liachtaí ə l'ia:xti: mac rí breá a chuir mé un báis. !11C;

Cé liachtaí k'e: ʲiəxti: amhrán a rinne sé sin, agus dán a rinne sé! 892M-5398.

The form *liath-aghaidh*, perhaps indicating *ʲiəhai, was transcribed by Séamas Mac Aonghusa from speaker 894C9's mother (perhaps i: > ai in 'barróg', 1.377).

minic: m'in'ək'i: minicf.

tirim: tr'umə SM (tr'umi: M identical to verbal adjective, e.g. ta: ən la: ə'n'uw N'i:f tr'umi: na: n la: ə'n'e: Mq tá an lá inniubh níos triomaí ná an lá inné).

3.68 Comparative form in positive function

Some adjectives have (an originally) comparative form used (also) in the positive degree. In most instances the superlative seems to have been the original use.

ait: cp. *aití*, e.g. *ba't'i: ʲeʃ e a:l' M b'aití leis é a fháil*, equivalent to *b'ait leis ...* (further examples FFG20 s.v. *aití*).

ciontach is quite rare in the positive; *ciontaí* 'be cause of, blame' is common (identical with comparative of *ciontach*), e.g. *Sé is ciontaí liom*.

cóir when used with *chomh* becomes *korhə* *córa* (in fact, following *chomh* the positive degree *cóir* is impermissible before *dho*, i.e. **chomh cóir dho* MØperm), e.g.

*v'i ʲe xə korhə d'ifə hæxt ... P bhí sé chomh córa dise a theacht ... ;
bhí sé chomh córa korhə dhomsa é bheith a'm.*

dóch: *dóichi: dóichí* generally in positive degree function, very frequently in *is dóichí go ...*. Speaker 892M has regular *is dóch*. An example of *dóix'i:* (probably more conservative or formal) occurs in SID.46 s.v. *dóiche*:

əs 'dóix'i: ʲəm na:x 'b'a:, is dóichí liom nach b'ea.

Similarly *dóichidí*:

*Bheadh sé chomh dóichidí dhuitse do mhéir a ghearradh SM;
xə doid'i: ʲit' M chomh dóichidí dhuit.*

doilí: perhaps from an originally comparative form or influenced by the comparative, e.g.

*ən rud əs doli'i: ʲe din'ə ʲe: s'f'ar do: a:mənti: S
an rud is doilí le duine is é is fearr dó amantaí.*

moch: positive degree generally *moch*. The comparative with positive meaning, influenced by the following comparative form, occurs in a phrase which is common in a traditional run in tales, e.g.

*mās mōhi: d'air'ə ... ʲa:xt mōhi: d'air'ə ... 11Ct
mās moichí a d'éirigh ... seacht moichí a d'éirigh ...*

túisce: used as comparative with *níos* and *is*, but also in positive degree with *chomh*.

The element *-de* suffixed to a comparative form is now rare, e.g.

*Ní: ʲ'ard'ə iəd e M ní fearrde iad é;
'dá mba linn a chuideodh sé ... go mb'fhearrde muid é' 866ESc56.12;
'seo brat sróil a thiúrfadh leapachaí go sheach' gcatha na Cráifí (sic) is
níor lúide an brat sróil é.' 852SbTS125 (set citation in tale),
similarly, *ní / níor lúide an scáiréid é* TS124, TS127 [recte *scáraoid*].*

Cf. *dóichide, dóichidí* (8.228).

3.69 Abstract comparative

The abstract comparative is used following cataphoric a^L (formally identical to the 3m possessive pronoun). This a occurs alone or in combination with *dhe* as *dhá*. The patterns used are:

- a { *bean a fháil ar a luas ina háit* **869P2** (rarest type, cp. *Mar sin féin déantar baoití díobh ar a chruóg*. Clad51),
ina fheabhas d'fhear **866ESc108.10**,
go dtiúradh sé a bhád tirim leis lena fheabhas de bhádóir. SÓC1.84,
Maolra Dubh a bhí ar fhear acu; lena bhreácha d'fhear a tugadh sin air. SÓC2.283,
ní fhéadthainnse a bheith i mo shuí síos ... agus a ghoirdeacht [super-script y on oi] *ó d'imigh mo mhuintir héin*. **866ESemr128**,
a thúisce is a thiocthas sé;
dhá luaithe (dhe bhean) í ... ;
níl fear dhá luaithe nach ... ; *chuile éan dhá luaithe*;
dhá luaithe a bhíonn sí;
dhá luaithe (is) dhá siúilthidh sé ... (perhaps most common).

There is a similar use of the abstract noun qualifying a direct relative clause, where the abstract noun is preceded by a preposition and the article. For instance, *leis an méad* is equivalent to *lena mhéad* (abstract comparative) or *leis an méid* or *le méid* (*méid* is the unmarked by-form of this abstract noun), in a song:

Í ef ə m'ē:d əs ə v'ī: n | t̪ā'rt | gə mə xle:w | !!(Aár)**04B**

leis an méad is a bhí an tart dho mo chloíobh; similarly:

Bhí na tunóntaí ... in aghaidh na dtiarnaí mar gheall ar a' díoltas 7 a' daoirsín a bhí'dur ' íoc ar a gcuid talthúna **869P5.246**;
 cp. *Níor fhág sé lao i mbó, ... le méid is chraith sé an ríocht* (run)**852Sb-TS151**.

The particle *dhá* most often lenites. There are two examples of nonlenition noted from recordings (although the speaker changes syntax in mid-sentence in the second example):

gá méid gá mbeidh a'd acub is amhlaidh is mú, an brabach orthub. **13Jd**;
Bhí croisín ansin acub. 'Gus chaithidís a bhei' ag cuir fuinneamh ann. Agus, dhá méid bheadh, | gə m'ē:d' ex | dhá gcuiridís fuinneamh mara mbeadh eolas a'd, le í bhaint, mara gcoinneáthá tairníthe í, ní thairneodh, Goll mac Búirne é. **896P**.

Contrast lenited:

bhí siad ag ceapadh ariamh gá mhéid gá mbeadh an chloich, go b'amhlaidh is fhearr a bhuailthead sí an meáchan. **896P**.

Cf. examples in 3.71 s.v. *mór*, *go leor*. There is also one example of nonlenition in query with *dhá minice* (below). In response to query (from Máire), *dhá* can be followed directly by the copula (which, in turn, also lenites), with *mba* before consonants, and *-mb(a)* before vowels, *-bh* and *-mb* before *fhr-*. It appears that the examples of nonlenition of *m-* in *dhá m-* (i.e. *dhá méid* and *dhá minice*) may be attributable to assimilation of following eclipsed *mb-* of the verb *bí*, e.g. *gə m'ē:d' (l) gə m'ei* **13Jd** *dhá méid dhá mbeidh*, as well as to the influence of copula *dhá mb'* in this syntagm. In fact the copula use *dhá mb'*, e.g. *dhá mb'fhrusta*, may itself have been influenced by *dhá mb-* of the verb *bí*. For *dhá mhéid* ~ *dhá méid* one can also compare *lena mhéad* ~ *le méid*.

Source Mq; all lenited (except for nonlenited *dhá minice*):

<i>furasta</i>		
<i>dhá</i>	ga rustə(xt)	<i>dhá fhrusta(cht)</i>
<i>dhá + bh</i>	ga vrustəxt	<i>dhá bhfrustacht</i>
<i>dhá + mba</i>	ga mrustə ga: m'et fe	<i>dhá mb'fhrusta dhá mbeadh sé</i>
<i>aisteach</i>		
<i>dhá</i>	ga æ:ft'i:(l') ga m'et fe	<i>dhá aistí(l) dhá mbeadh sé</i>
<i>dhá + mba</i>	ga: mæ'æ:ft'i: ... ~ ga: mæ:ft'i: ...	<i>dhá mb(a) aistí ...</i>
<i>catach</i>		
<i>dhá</i>	ga xɑ:ti:l' ga ...	<i>dhá chataíl dhá ...</i>
<i>dhá + mba</i>	ga: mæ xɑ:ti:l' ga ...	<i>dhá mba chataíl dhá ...</i>
<i>breá</i>		
<i>dhá</i>	ga vr'ɑ:xt'ə ga ...	<i>dhá bhreáichte dhá ...</i>
<i>dhá + mba</i>	ga: mæ vr'ɑ:xt'ə ga ...	<i>dhá mba bhreáichte dhá ...</i>
<i>bacach</i>		
<i>dhá + mba</i>	ga: mæ wɑ:ki:l' ga m'et fe	<i>dhá mba bhacaíl dhá mbeadh sé</i>
<i>minic</i>		
<i>dhá nonlen</i>	ga m'in'ək'ə ga ŋohə fe ɑ:n əs ɑ:vla s ɑ:r ʏo: he:n'	<i>dhá minice dhá ngothaidh sé ann is amhlaidh is fhearr dhó héin.</i>

Forms other than simple *dhá*^L are very marginal or impermissible for other speakers. For example, neither *dhá mb'airde ...* nor **dhá hairde ...* were permitted by **20C** or **20My**. There is, however, an instance of *dhá* preceding the copula in a possible parallelism {*dhá + ba ... dhá ... ba*} attested from an independent source:

*Má rinne héin, 'á ba bhreácha 'á ro' an ceann eile ba seach' mbreácha [a bhí an ceann a bhí ag a' driotháir eile]. 852SbTS124.*¹

The same source otherwise has the more common noncopula use, e.g.

dhá fheabhas dhá bhfuil a' dá lá oibrí' agat 852SbTS140; similarly, TS141.

There is an example of coordination without repetition of *dhá* and without lenition of the coordinated abstract noun which is head of a genitive phrase in:

Bhuel, míle buíochas le Dia gá dhonacht agus boichtineacht na ndaoine, bhíodar, bhíodar, sásta, haipí. 05M.

The example seems to combine formally *dhá dhonacht agus a bhí boichtineacht na ndaoine* with *dhá dhonacht agus dhá bhoichtineacht agus a bhí na daoine* although from the context the meaning intended seems to be that of the latter construction.

3.70 Endings

Endings in this construction correspond to most comparative adjective and abstract noun forms. The most frequent forms are those corresponding to the comparative and those (generally corresponding to the abstract noun) in *-acht*.

¹ Square brackets used by the editor, Ó Duilearga (1962–4: 124).

Suffix	Abstract comparative, example
-Cə	wuxə <i>mocha</i>
-C'ə	v'er'əv'ə <i>mheirbhe</i> , æ:ft'i: <i>aistí</i>
-i:	xruəi <i>chruaí</i>
-hə	bhuíthe (< <i>buí</i>)
-C'hə	γer'əf'ə <i>ghoirfe</i> (< <i>garbh</i>)
-C'hi:	wōhi: <i>mhoichí</i>
-əxt, -t'əxt	hr'e:n'əxt <i>thréineacht</i> , re:t'əxt <i>réiteacht</i>
-u:ləxt, -u:ltəxt	γri:u:ləxt, γri:u:ltəxt <i>ghnaíul(t)acht</i>
-u:lt'əxt	xri:h:u:lt'əxt <i>chroíthiúilteacht</i>
-iəxt	γl'ik'iəxt <i>ghlicíocht</i>
-əs	v'os <i>bheos</i>
-ədəs	v'er'əv'ədəs <i>mheirbheadas</i>
-tənəs	xruətənəs <i>chruatanas</i>
-əntəs	v'er'əv'əntəs <i>mheirbheantas</i>
-təməs	xruətəməs <i>chruatamas</i>
-tən	xruətən <i>chruatan</i>
-xə	v'oxə <i>bheocha</i>
-xədəs	vr'a:xədəs <i>bhreáchadas</i>
-xt'ə	vr'a:xt'ə <i>bhreáichte</i>
-xt'əxt	vr'a:xt'əxt <i>bhreáichteacht</i>
-xt'əs	vr'a:xt'əs <i>bhreáichteas</i>
-i:l'	waki:l' <i>bhacaíl</i>

Note *-úlacht* replacing *-ach* in *aisteach* (but also *aistiúil* in query):

ga æ:ft'u:ləxt ga m'et fe Mperm *dhá aistiúlacht dhá mbeadh sé*.

Adjectives in *-úil* take *-úla* (as comparative), and *-úlacht* (etc., similar to noun). In Máire's (Mq) forms and alternants there are several suffixes in final *-s*. This may be due to the effect of *is* (*agus*) which is frequent following the abstract comparative in the syntagm *dhá luaithe is dhá ...*. A phrase such as *dhá bheoichte is dhá ...* is then homophonous with *dhá bheoichteas dhá ...* leaving the way open for *dhá bheoichteas agus dhá ...*, and *dhá bheos dhá ...*, and *dhá bheochadas dhá ...*.

Polysyllabic adjectives in final vowel can be formally equal to the positive degree, e.g.

falamh: **ga: a'lhə ga:** ... Mq *dhá fhalamh dhá ...*;

críonna: *-Á chríonna an sionnach héin, a deir sé, nach breá gho [= go]*

mbeirtar m'ortər uair eicint air. **894C**.

Forms equal to the positive degree occur with other adjectives also:

dúr: **hig' fe ga: γur ga ro fe' ... 04B** *thuig sé dhá dhúr dhá raibh sé, ...*;

gairid: *dhá ghairid dhá ...*; other by-form below (3.71);

glic: *agus, gá, ghlic gá raibheadar seo bhí Páraic é héin glic*. **18J8572**;

meirbh: **ga v'er'əv' ga m'et fe** [x2] M, Mperm *dhá mheirbh dhá mbeadh sé*; but also **ga v'er'əv'ə ... dhá mheirbhe ...**.

Three of the four examples end in a final palatal. There is an instance of an anomalously uninflected adjective following a regularly uninflected one in co-ordination:

achrannach: *dá mhírialta achrannach an cladach is é a bhuaic é*. Clad87.

3.71 Examples

aisteach (also *aistiúil* Mq): *aistí, aistíl, aistiúlacht*

ga æ:ʃtʰi: / æ:ʃtʰi:l ga m'et ʃe Mq *dhá aistí / aistíl dhá mbeadh sé.*

ga æ:ʃtʰu:læxt ga m'et ʃe Mperm *dhá aistiúlacht dhá mbeadh sé.*

beag: laghad, lú

Generally *gá laghad ...*, e.g. M.

From Máire's son: *ga lu: ga n'i:kə tu' | 52J dhá lú dhá n-íochtaidh tú* (sentence deliberately unfinished, *is amhlaidh is fhearr é* being understood).

Compare the selfcorrection in: *Gá lú gá, gá mhéa-, (g)á laghad gá mbeidís b'amhlaidh ab fhearr a choinic mé stuf tontub. 889Pt.*

buí: buíthe

gá bhuíthe bhíonns a' blá 869P5.

ciúin: ciúine

gá chiúine gá mbead se 35E.

crua: cruachte, cruai

ga xruæxt'ə ga: ... 20Cq dhá chruaichte dhá ... ;

ga xruəi ga: ... 20Myq dhá chruai dhá

fada: ga: id'æxt, od'æxt, ed'æxt, ad'ə, ad

ga: id'æxt ga: ... S84 dhá fhoideacht dhá ... , gid'æxt M dhá fhoideacht.

Speaker **20A** has *i* in the comparative *n'is fid'ə 20A* (x2) *níos foide* but *e* in the abstract comparative:

a: ed'æxt a: wəkə tu' i | 20A dhá fhoideacht dhá bhfágtha tú í.

ga a:d'ə ga n'æxə tu' Pt dhá fhaide dhá ndeachaigh tú.

Dhá fhad an lá ... S.

faltanach fa:ltənəx:

ga: a:ltənəs / a:ltəni: / a:ltənəxt ... 20C

dhá fhaltanas / fhaltanaí / fhaltanacht

gairid: ga: ɣaird'æxt, ɣa'r'əd'

ga ɣaird'æxt ga: ... Mq, agus a ghoirdeacht ó d'imi ... (with superscript 'y' over the

-oi- indicating -ai-) Semr128, *is a ghairdeacht ɣaird'æxt a bheidís ag éalú uainn*

(Asd)899N. Máire's own form is *ga ɣa'r'əd' ga m'ehə ... Mq dhá ghairid dhá mbeitheá*

garbh: ga: ɣor'əv'ə, ɣor'əv'æxt, ɣor'əv'ədəs, ɣor'əf'ə

əsə xil' āt' ga: ɣer'əf'ə gəs ga: ɣūnəxt | ga: ɣuər'ədər | 11C4822

isa chuile áit dhá ghoirfe agus dhá dhonacht dhá bhfuairadar.

géar: ga: je:r'ə

Ní raibh súil gá ghéire, i ndan iad aithneachtáil thair a chéile 889Ptn.

grinn gr'i:n': ga: ɣr'in'ə

Ní aithneodh súil gá ghrinne, ceachtar dhen bheirt bhan thair a chéile. 889Ptn.

deas: ga: jefəxt

ga jefəx gær'ə S dhá dheiseacht dh'fhear é.

liath: ga: l'iaxt'ə ... 20Cq dhá liaichte Note *dhá liaí 20MyØperm.*

luaith: luas, luaithe, luaichte, luaichtas

bean a fháil ar a luas ina háit 869P2.

maith: feabhas, maitheas

ga: aus dhá fheabhas (also transcribed *dhá fhús*, 1.88);

ga: wahəs dhá mhaitheas occurs before vowels in my material:

ga: wahəs ɛ 27C dhá mhaitheas é,

when asked to pronounce this slowly, Máire said *ga: wahəs | (ɛ) Mq.*

moch: ga: wōhi: / wuxə

ax ga wōhi: ga m'ei tusə də hi: 11C2359

ach dhá mhoichí dhá mbeidh tusa i do shuí,

ga: wuxə ga:r' air'ə ʃe M dhá mhocha dhár éirigh sé.

mór: **ga: v'e:d, v'e:d'** (3.69), cf. *go leor* below

Bhí sé níos mó ... ná cut a' bith dhá mhéad dhá bhfeictheá. ya: v'e: da: v'ek'a: 881J.

tiubh: **ga: x'iv'əxt / x'uwə / x'uv**

ga: x'iv'əxt Mq *dhá thibheacht*, **ga: x'uwə 21Ptq** *dhá thiubha*,

ga: x'uv 27Mdq *dhá thiubh*.

tréan: **ga: hr'e:n'ə**

ga: 'hr'e:n'ə ga: m'eha:sə do:ə 'f'æ:mən' er' ə taurno: gəm āv̥lə b'ar ə v'ex

stuf ə 'f'ixt əs ə taurno:g' 11C *dhá thréine dhá mbeitheása ag dó feamainne ar an tornóig go mb'amhlaidh ab fhearr a bheadh stof ag tíocht as an tornóig.*

uaigheach: **ga: uəgn'i:**

ʃe xul' āt' ga: uəgn'i: d'ek'a: ... e 01C6901

sé chuile áit dhá uaigní a d'fheictheá ... é.

uasal: **uaisle**

-Tá muise, a bhean chóir, a deir sé, an leaba sin sách maith a'msa, a deir sé, ná ag aon nduine dhá uaisle dhá bhfuil in Éirinn inniubh, nā eg' e: nūn'ə ga: 'uəʃl'ə ga: wīl' ə 'N'e:r'ən' əN'w a deir sé, do leaba sách maith acub. 11C.

go leor: **ga: v'e:d, m'e:d'** (3.69), cf. *mór* above

dhá mhéad doirseachaí dhá ndéarthá léithi M,

Sé a leas, dhá mhéad báistí dhá bhfuighidh sí, 20A (seaweed fertiliser for potatoes).

3.72 Related forms

The abstract comparative intersects or contains the morphology of both the comparative and abstract noun. In most lexemes both forms, those of the comparative adjective and the abstract noun, are possible in the abstract comparative. In many instances, however, the systems do not correspond exactly. In Máire's data there are abstract comparatives not found in either of the other sets (e.g. *gnáúltacht*, *measadas*) and vice versa (comparatives not used as abstract comparatives, e.g. *teos*, *teas*). The type of patterning which occurs is illustrated in Table 3.7 where Máire's (M, Mq) three systems are compared.

Table 3.7 Comparative, abstract comparative and abstract noun; M, Mq

Adjective	Comparative →	Abstract comparative ←	Abstract noun
<i>garbh</i>	gor'əv'ə →	gor'əv'ə ← gor'əv'əxt ← gor'əv'ədəs ←	gor'əv'ə gor'əv'əxt gor'əv'ədəs
<i>glic</i>	gl'ik'ə →	gl'ik'ə ← gl'ik'ixt ←	gl'ik'ixt
<i>meirbh</i>	m'er'əv'ə →	m'er'əv'ə ← m'er'əv'ədəs ← m'er'əv'əntəs ←	m'er'əv'ədəs m'er'əv'əntəs m'er'əf'an
<i>aisteach</i>	aʃt'i: →	aʃt'i: ← aʃt'i:l' ←	aʃt'i:l'
<i>croíthiúil</i>	kri:hu:lə →	kri:hu:lə ← kri:hu:ləxt ←	kri:hu:ləxt
<i>gnáthiúil</i>	gri:u:lə →	gri:u:lə ← gri:u:ləxt ← gri:u:l't'əxt ← gri:u:l'təxt	gri:u:ləxt gri:u:l't'əxt MØperm?

Adjective	Comparative	→	Abstract comparative	←	Abstract noun
<i>féaráilte</i>	f'e:ra:lf'ə	→	f'e:ra:lf'ə f'e:ra:lf'əxt	←	f'e:ra:lf'əxt
<i>beo</i>	b'ə:xə b'ə:xt'ə	→ →	b'ə:xə b'ə:xt'ə b'ə:xt'əs	←	b'ə:xt'əs
<i>breá</i>	br'a:xə br'a:xt'ə	→ →	br'a:xə br'a:xt'ə br'a:xədəs	← ← ←	br'a:xə br'a:xt'ə br'a:xədəs
<i>crua</i>	kruəi kruəxə	→ →	kruəi kruəxə kruətən kruətənəs kruətəməs kruəxt'əs	← ← ← ←	kruətən kruətənəs kruətəməs kruəxt'əs
<i>luath</i>	luəhə luəxt'ə	→ →	luəhə luəxt'ə luəxt'əs	← ←	luəxt'ə luəxt'əs
<i>rua</i>	ruəi	→	ruəi		
<i>te</i>	t'ə:xə t'ə:xt'ə	→ →	t'ə:xə t'ə:xt'ə t'ə:xt'əxt	←	t'ə:xt'əxt t'ə:s t'əs
Irregular					
<i>dona</i>	(dunə)		dunəxt dunəs	← ←	dunəxt dunəs
	m'asə		m'asədəs ¹		
<i>maith</i>	f'a:r		mahəs f'aus	← ←	ma , gen mahəsə f'aus

Further examples of Máire's (Mq) forms are given in Table 3.11, p. 642 (in her abstract nominal formation) and some of the contexts are given in the list of examples which follows the table. It is clear from Table 3.11 that the paradigm presented above for *crua*, for example, could be augmented if all alternants had been queried in both abstract noun and adjective functions.

Numerals

There are three main categories of numerals: cardinal, ordinal and personal.

3.73 Cardinal numbers

The cardinal numerals '1, 2' and '4' (and their combinations in composite numerals) have forms in absolute use (in counting with numerals only, with *nó* immediately before *dhe*, before *a chlog*, and in progressive use also adjectivally, e.g.

¹ Mq found this form slightly doubtful.

fiche hocht duine for older (*h*)ocht *nduine fhichead*) which are distinct from those in adjectival use (qualifying a noun, e.g. *chúig theach*). ‘4’ and ‘5’ are regularly lenited in adjectival use. Nouns qualified directly by adjectival numerals are most often in the singular. For exceptions (some of which are highly frequent nouns, including the indefinite pronoun *ceann*), see 4.39 ff. However, *scór* takes plural nouns more often (3.78).

3.74 Numerals ‘1–20’

	Absolute	Adjectival (examples with <i>ceann</i> , <i>cinn</i> ; <i>bliain</i> , <i>blianta</i>)
1	(h)i:n	k’ a:n ə’w a:n’ or e:n x’ a:n ə’w a:n’ <i>ceann amháin</i> or <i>aon cheann amháin</i>
2	də: (gō: ~ dū:)	ɣ a: v l’ i ə n’ (~ a: ~ x a:) <i>dhá bhliain</i> also d a: (~ d a:) also g a:
3	tr’ i:	tr’ i: k’ i: n’
4	k’ a h ə r’ (x’ a h ə r’)	x’ e r’ ə k’ i: n’
5	k u: g’ (k u:)	x u: g’ k’ i: n’ >>> k u: g’ k’ i: n’
6	f e:	f e: k’ i: n’
7	f a x t	f a x (t) g’ i: n’
8	(h) o x t	o x (t) g’ i: n’
9	n i:	n i: g’ i: n’
10	d’ e also ‘L’ æ s k o: r	d’ e g’ i: n’ also ‘L’ æ s k o: r b l’ i ə n t ə
11	(h) i: n’ e: g also ‘h i: ‘ n’ e: g	e: n’ x’ a: n’ d’ e: g
12	‘d o: j e: g also ‘d o: ‘ j e: g	ɣ a: x’ a: n’ d’ e: g also d a: ... , etc.,
13	‘t r’ i: d’ e: g	t r’ i: k’ i: n’ d’ e: g
14	‘k’ a h ə r d’ e: g	x’ e r’ ə k’ i: n’ d’ e: g
↓		
18	‘(h) o x d’ e: g	(h) o x g’ i: n’ d’ e: g
19	‘n i: d’ e: g	n i: g’ i: n’ d’ e: g
20	f’ i (x’) ~ f’ i x’ ə also s k o: r also ɣ a: ‘L’ æ s k o: r	f’ i x’ ə b l’ i ə n’ also s k o: r b l’ i ə n t ə

3.75 h in (h)aon and (h)ocht

The only obligatory context for *h* before *aon* and *ocht* seems to be when the numeral particle *a^H* is phonetically present; when, for example, these numerals follow the noun they qualify and *a^H*, e.g. **bus ə h i: n** *bus a haon*, **bus ə h o x t** *bus a hocht*. The numeral particle *a^H* is also present in the phrase *abair a haon leis sin*. In counting with bare numerals, *a^H* is generally omitted: ‘1–10’ is generally *haon*, *dó*, *trí* ... *seacht*, *hocht* or *ocht*, *naoi*, *deich*. Contrast absolute **h i: n** *haon* with absolute **o x t** *ocht* in SID.46.357. But even in this context I recall hearing *aon*, *dó*, *trí* Similarly, *h-* is regular following higher numerals in absolute usage, e.g. *fiche haon*, *fiche hocht*. Also in more progressive **f’ i x’ ə h o x t d i n’ ə** *fiche hocht duine*. In telling the time *an haon* (*a chlog*) and *an haon ndéag* (*a chlog*) are general. In cards ‘the ace of hearts’, for example, is both *an aon a hairt* and *an haon a hairt*. Ordinal *aonú* has been recorded without *h*, i.e. **e: n u:**, **i: n u:**. Cf. **e: n** prefix *aon-* (3.88) and *aon* as indefinite pronoun (8.233) and adjective (8.241).

In adjectival use, **e:n aon** is regularly distinct from absolute **(h)i:n** (*h*)*aon* but in the case of ‘8’, *h* is optional, both in telling the time and in general adjectival use. For example:

‘8’ with article in ‘8 o’ clock’: **v’i: f’e: n toxt / n hoxt / n oxt ə xlog M, ... n toxt / n hoxt S** *bhí sé an t-ocht / an hocht / an ocht a chlog*. Cp. some younger speakers’ **‘L’æ:uər’ e:f ə toxt 80M** *leathuair thar éis an t-ocht*, **‘l’e:f ə toxt 82B** *thar éis an t-ocht*.

Age: **‘N’i rə m’ε n oxt ml’iənə he:n’ 07P** *ní raibh mé an ocht mbliana héin*.

‘18’ *Ocht slata déag ... na ocht slata dé(ag) 892M*1487; often *na hocht ... déag; nar raibh sé ach hocht mbliana déag dh’aois 11C*, *thair ocht mbliana déag dh’aois 11C*; **gə ro f’i: hox d’ε:g ... P** *go raibh sí hocht déag ...*.

‘8’^ú **hoxtu: 46.358a**; with article **ən toxtu: ~ ən hoxtu:; eɾ’ ə hoxtu: lə: Pt** *ar an hochtú lá*.

Calendar years, e.g. ‘1850’ *ocht déag caoga 11C*3224; ‘1847 or 46 or 8’ *ocht déag ceath(ai)r(e)acha is a seacht, nó ceath(ai)r(e)acha is a sé nó ocht 11C*2827. Calendar years are generally in English (11.16).

‘8’ as a personal numeral is both **oxtər** and **hoxtər** (*h*)*ochtar*, with the article **ən toxtər an t-ochtar**.

3.76 Forms of numerals ‘2–19’

‘2’

Absolute **dō: dó**, lenited to **yo: dhó** following **nó**, e.g. *ceann nó dhó*. In alternative phrases, **d/yo: nū: tr’i: d(h)ó nó trí** is most common but the vowel in *d(h)ó* is also phonemically nasalised to **ō:** and optionally raised to **ū:**, e.g.

f’i: ‘x’ā:ŋ gō: nū: tr’i: gə ‘ha:xtən’i: 11C4122

faoi cheann dhó nó trí dhe sheachtainí (with initial **g** perhaps for **ɣ** through sandhi following **ŋ** or in assimilation with preposition **gə dhe**, cp. **gə: dhá**);

dū: nō: ‘tr’i: 869Pt *dó nó trí*.

Cp. compound (adjectival) use of **dó** in **‘dō:lā:v’ ‘dō:lā:v’ M** *dóláimh*.

The unmarked adjectival form is **ya:**, e.g. **ya: v’i:ən’ dhá bhliain**; some of the younger generation (e.g. **64M, 70S, 76N, 80P**) pronounce **xa: dhá**. In North-East Iorras Aithneach **a:** is common and it is a minor variant elsewhere in Iorras Aithneach. For example, speakers **01P** from Doire Iorrais, **15Pt** from Cill Chiaráin, **05M** from An Aird Thoir, and **07P** from Maoras have:

ta: a: ‘x’ina:l ... | a: funt fu:krə | ... də ‘a: ‘v’er’ ... | ‘a: ‘v’i: | ... ə na: v’i: ... ‘I’æt ‘ya: ‘v’i:l’o:g | 01P

tá dhá chineál ... dhá phunt siúcra ... do dhá mhéir ... dhá mhí ... in dhá mhí [i.e. in ‘á mhí] ... *leat dhá bhilleog*;

tá á bhudóg a’m [x2] **15Ptq**, *le á chéad bliain* **15Pt**;

tá tú i ndan dhá cheathrú is dá fhichead ... a: ‘x’æ:rhū: əs a: ix’əd ... 05M;

a: ‘x’e:d ~ ya: ‘x’e:d 07P *dhá chéad*.

The form **da:** occurs in set (historically coronal) collocations: following the article *an*, *na* and *aon*, *chéad* and *agus / is* in numerals; as well as in *cat is dá / dhá dhrioball*, and *caol dá chois* LL103. E.g.

ən da: ‘x’ə:n an dá cheann, d’ε s da: ix’əd 20Mlt *deich is dá fhichead*

Recall less common ... əs a: iχəd 05M ... is dá fhichead. Note the centralised vowel in:

ya: u:n' d'e:g ... , ən da: [perhaps da'] u:n' d'e:g 17M
dhá uan déag ..., an dá uan déag.

Some progressive speakers may retain ya: (xa:) here for traditional da:, e.g.

ə ya: yoi 79St an dhá ghól; feɣ xa' frin'ɔ ... 64Mt sé an dhá fruind ... ;
eg' ə(,) xa: xa:r 80P ag an dhá charr.

The lenited form is used following the prefix an-^L:

'æŋ'ya: i:hə M an-dhá oíche.

In quotation ga: was used in (discussing use of mo bhéal ~ mo dhá bhéal 'my mouth' ~ 'both parts of my mouth'):

mə ya: v'e:l ... f'a:r ə saun'ɔ:lən fe l'e ga: M
'mo dhá bhéal' ... fearr a sabhaindeálann [< sound] sé le 'dhá'.

For further examples of '2' and the mutational base in ga:, particularly with possessive pronouns, e.g. ə ga: kof a dhá cois, see 'Initial Mutations' (9.96 ff.).

The indefinite pronoun ceann does not generally occur with dhá, unless qualified. One therefore counts pronominally as ceann, péire, trí cinn, cheithre cinn, etc., but ceann mór, dhá cheann mhóra, trí cinn mhóra, etc. Similarly, dhá cheann déag, dhá cheann is fich'. Generally, péire mór has the meaning 'a big pair'. Sometimes péire is used with things that do not necessarily come in pairs but where only two items figure in the particular context, e.g.

bhí péire claimhí acub 889Ptn (two combatants are common),
péire croisíní 889P (two boatmen),
agus péire bád tarnuithe [i.e. tairníthe] isteach sa tsráid. B19.53,
an péire easóg ansin 864MDT50.

The noun cupla can refer to '2' or have more imprecise function of an indefinite adjective. It generally takes the singular but plural occurs rarely:

'kupələ 'ma:d'i: 46.128 cupla maidí.

'4'

Absolute generally ceathair. But cheathair noted in:

b'fhéidir go raibh mé ó! cheathair ná cúig dhe bhlianta. 06C.

Lenition of cheathair here was possibly carried over from the corresponding adjectival form, cheithre, and possibly from the corresponding adjectival form, chúig, of the following cúig.

'5'

Absolute cúig, e.g.

b'fhéidir cúig ku:g' nó sé dhe thonnaí 899D6411.

For some speakers, cúig is realised as ku: before gə dhe, in ceathair nó cúig dhe, e.g.

ga wĩ:ŋ' ,g'ær nũ ku: gə wũ:m'edi: 'tri:ələ | 11C
dhá bhfuighinn ceathair nó cúig dhe mhóiméadaí traíála.

Also ku:g here, e.g.

tr'i: nu' k'æhər nu ku:g gə v'i:l'ə 18J7006
trí nó ceathair nó cúig dhe mhílte.

Also ku:g' >> ku: for some speakers before nó, i.e.

ar feadh cúig nó sé ku:g' nũ fe: dhe bhlianta 11C;
ku: nu' fe: gə ... cúig nó sé dhe

Adjectivally, generally **xu:g'** *chúig* but also **ku:g'** *cúig*, e.g.
chúig phunt 11C; tománadh cúig ku:g' bhosca dhéag 899D6545.

‘8’

See 3.75 above.

déag

Primary stress falls on *déag* in telling the time, indicating shillings, and following *agus / is a*. Cf. 3.80.

Compare the use of *punt* (and *troigh*) in the form *punta* before *dhéag*, e.g. *aon phunta dhéag*, discussed in ‘Plural Noun’ (4.42), with the following example:

gə hr'i: 'wa:n,fr'i:nsə, ə je:g, (Smbb)04B dhe thrí bhanphrionsa dhéag,
 where ə is not a hesitation filler but is used as if it were an inherent part of *dhéag*.
 Teens and thirties are expressed using the plural of *déag* in the following syntagms (examples from query with Máire (Mq) unless otherwise indicated):

30s = <i>sna déaga is fiche</i>	Teens = <i>sna déaga + Noun</i>	Teens = <i>sna déaga dhe + Noun</i>
snə d'e:gə s f'ix' M <i>sna déaga is fich'</i>	snə d'e:gə bl'iantə blianta <i>sna déaga punt 12S</i> *? nə d'e:gə pi:n' puint nə d'e:gə dife:n' i: dui séinní	snə d'e:gə gə jk'il' əxi scilleachaí snə d'e:gə gə fi:n' phuint snə d'e:gə gə yi:fe:n' i: dhuiséinní snə d'e:gə yu:fe:n' i: 27Cl dhuiséinní

3.77 Numerals ‘21–100,000,000,000’

	Absolute	Adjectival
21	f'ix' ə him	k' a:n əs f'i(x') ceann is fiche
22	f'ix' ə dər	skər əgəs k' a:n scór agus ceann
23	f'ix' ə tr'i:	yə: x' a:n əs f'i(x') dhá cheann is fiche
24	f'ix' ə k' ahər'	dər f'ix' əd dó fhichead
25	f'ix' ə ku:g'	tr'i: k'i:n' ix' əd trí cinn fhichead
26	f'ix' ə fe:	tr'i: f'ix' əd trí fhichead
30	tr'i: 'l' ə,skər'	x' er' ə k'i:n' ix' əd cheithre cinn fhichead
31	tr'i:xə	k' ahər' f'ix' əd ceathair fhichead
35		xu:g' k'i:n' ix' əd chúig cinn fhichead
37		ku:g' f'ix' əd cúig fhichead
40	yə: ix' əd	fe: k'i:n' ix' əd sé cinn fhichead
	yə: skər	fe: f'ix' əd sé fhichead
	also x' er' ə 'l' ə,skər'	d' e g'i:n' ix' əd deich gcinn fhichead
		d' e f'ix' əd deich fhichead
		tríocha
		e:n' x' a:n' d'e:g əs f'i(x')
		aon cheann déag is fiche
		tríocha cúig pota 31Dt
		seacht nduiseinne nife'n' ə dhéag agus
		fiche f'ih ann ARN7914
		yə: ix' əd lə: S dhá fhichead lá
		yə: skər punt dhá scór punt
		cheithre leathscóir

	Absolute	Adjectival
	dæhəd	<i>daichead</i>
	k'ærəxə, k'æhər(')əxə,	<i>ceathracha</i>
40+	k'æhər sə ...	<i>ceathr(acha) is a ...</i>
41		k'ɑ:n əs dɑ: iX'əd (... əs ɑ: ...)
		<i>ceann is dá fhichead</i>
	dæhəd ə hi:n	<i>daichead a haon</i>
44		x'er ə v'i:l'ə gəs dɑ: iX'əd 20A
		<i>cheithre mhíle agus dá fhichead</i>
49		ni: niʃæn' ə s dɑ: iX'əd
		<i>naoi nduiséinne is dá fhichead</i>
50	l'ex'e:d	l'ex'e:d bl'iən' leithchéad bliain
		d'e b'i:sə gəs dɑ: iX'əd æŋgi:
		<i>deich bpíosas agus dá fhichead eangaf</i>
	also xu:g' l'æ:sko:r'	<i>chúig leathscóir</i>
	ki:gə, ku:g'u:	<i>caoga, cúigiú</i>
55		<i>chúig bhliana is leithchéad SÓC2.279</i>
58		<i>ocht mbliana déag is dá fhichead</i>
60	tr'i: f'ix'əd'	tr'i: f'ix'əd' m'i:l'ə trí fichid míle
	tr'i: sko:r' trí scóir	tr'i: sko:r' vl'iantə trí scóir bhlianta
	ʃe:skə, ʃæskə seasca¹	ʃe:skə punt 23M séasca punt
70	d'e gəʃ tr'i: f'ix'əd'	d'e slatə s tr'i: fix'əd'
		<i>deich slata is trí fichid</i>
	tr'i: sko:r' gə l'e	<i>trí scóir go leith</i>
	ʃa:xtwə 20S,	<i>seacht(mh)ó</i>
	ʃa:xtu: 05M, 70M, 72C	
80	x'er ə f'ix'əd'	<i>cheithre fichid bliain</i>
	x'er ə sko:r'	<i>cheithre scóir bhlianta</i>
	oxto: 23J, oxtu: 899N	<i>ochtó</i>
90		<i>deich mbliana le cois na cheithre scóir</i>
	ni:xə	<i>naocha</i>
95		ni:xə s ə ku:g' bl'iən' g i:l' 11C
		<i>naocha is a cúig bliain dh'aois.</i>
100	k'e:d	<i>céad bliain</i>
	xu:g' sko:r'	xu:g' sko:r' vl'iantə chúig scóir bhlianta
120	k'e:d f'ix'ə	k'e:d bl'iən' əs f'ix' céad bliain is fiche
	ʃe: sko:r'	ʃe: sko:r' vl'iantə sé scóir bhlianta
150	k'e:d gə l'e	<i>céad go leith</i>
160	k'e:d əgəs ʃæskə	<i>céad agus seasca bliain 27Md</i>
250	ʏɑ: x'e:d gə l'e	<i>dhá chéad go leith slat</i>
1,000	m'i:l'ə	<i>míle</i>
1,020	m'i:l' ogəs f'i(x')	m'i:l' ogəs f'i f'ær 866E
		<i>míle agus fiche fear</i>
1,200	ʏɑ: x'e:d' d'e:g	<i>dhá chéad déag bliain 06C</i>
1,300	tr'i: x'e:d d'e:g	<i>trí chéad déag neors [< nurse] S</i>
1,500	xu:g' x'/k' e:d d'e:g	xu:g' k'e:d d'e:g 'bl'iən' 869P

¹ Also **ʃæ:sku:** heard in **ʃæ:sku:** **tr'i: seasca trí** from Tom Anthony Coyne (born c. 1940s), a native of An tOileán Iarthach, now living in Glinsce.

	Absolute	Adjectival
		xu:g' k'e:d 'd'e:g 'punt 03C <i>chúig céad déag bliain / punt</i>
5,000	xu:g' v'i:l'ə	<i>chúig mhíle tonna</i>
16,000	ʃe: v'i:l'ə je:g	<i>sé mhíle dhéag</i>
20,000	f'ix'ə m'i:l'ə	<i>fiche míle</i>
40,000	ʎa: ix'əd m'i:l'ə	<i>dhá fhichead míle ronnach</i>
500,000	'L'e,v'il'u:n	<i>leithmhilliún</i>
700,000	ʃax(t) g'e:d m'i:l'ə	<i>seacht gcéad míle duine 866Et</i>
17,000,000,000		<i>seacht gcéad déag míle milliún¹</i>
100,000,000,000		<i>céad míle milliún fáilte 866ESc79</i>

3.78 Forms of numerals greater than '19'

fiche

Forms without final ə, i.e. **f'ix'**, **f'i**, **f'u** (before vowels also **f'ih**), are used when *fiche* occurs finally in the numeral, e.g.

kruk əs f'u gə l'e:m' (Smré)04B *cnoc is fiche dhe léim,*
m'i:l' ogəs 'f'i | f'ær 866E *míle agus fiche fear,*
ni: d'e:g f'ix' 20C *naoi déag fiche '1920'.*

Similarly, in counting to '20':

... ni: d'e:g | 'f'ix' | 19B ... *ocht déag, naoi déag, fiche* (speaker non-IA).

Exceptions:

k'e:d f'ix'ə céad fiche;
ni: d'e:g f'ix'ə 20My *naoi déag fiche '1920'.*

Adjectival use with *ceann* in *fiche ceann* [x2] ... *Dhá fhichid ceann* Clad175 is noteworthy for more usual nominal use *fiche* (*acub*).

Recall the example of progressive use of absolute numeral adjectivally in:

f'ix'ə hoxt din'ə *fiche hocht duine.*

For *fichead*, e.g. *deich nduiséinne fhichead 16P*, and *fichid*, etc., see 3.80, 4.5, 4.27, 4.39, 4.42, 4.74.

Others

ceann: pronominal *ceann* can be retained in higher numerals used adjectivally with another noun:

ʎa: x'a:n əs f'i t'e: o:lt a'm (*Tá dhá cheann is fich' tae ólta a'm.*

leathscór: *leathscór bád 899D*, *leathscór puntaí airgid LL30*, *dhá leathscór*, *leathscór blianta*, *trí leathscóir*, *chúig leathscór FFG*.

scór takes sg and pl: *scór punt(a)*, *scór blianta / fear / fir* (perm) / *mná / cliabh M*, *trí scóir bhlianta*, *bunáite an scór blianta 05M*, *scór mílte 889P*, **ʎa: sko:r m'i:l'ə P** *dhá scór mílte*, **sko:r trohə 60M** *scór troithe*, *dhá scór duiéinní 16P*, *trí scóir duiéinní 23J*, *sé scóir dhuiséinne 15Pn*. Singular noun is found with singular article in: *dhá scór duiéinní ... an dá scór duiéinne 27Cl*. In composite 'scores', *scór* comes at the beginning in contrast with *fiche(ad)* which comes at the end of the numeral, e.g. *scór is ceann* in contrast with *ceann is fich'*.

¹ In: *go mba seacht gcéad déag míle milliún fearr a bheas sinn 866ESc171*.

dhá fhichead: ya: ix'əd f'a: dhá fhichead féa; Dhá fhichead píosa eangach ronnach Clad10; note ya:ix'əd 46.357.

trí fichid giní agus trí fichid pínn 864MDT35.

deich agus trí fichid: d'e v'a: guf tr'i: f'ix'əd' deich bhfeá agus trí fichid.

cheithre fichid teach Clad2.

leithchéad: l'ex'e:d f'a: leithchéad féa, leithchéad duine 899D6215, ar an am a raibh leithchéad acub ag seoladh anuas as Cloch na Rón 18J7003.

céad: with singular, e.g. céad míle / bó / bliain, ... is céad céann níos féarr. Note plural (perhaps editorial) in go mbeadh cúpla céad daoine ann ABg339. Alternatives X nó Y dhe, e.g.

cúig déag nú sé déag, dhe chéadta bliain. 06C.

míle: bheadh sé mhíle dhéag b'fhéidir nú fiche — dhá fhichead míle ronnach a'd 896P; bhí seacht gcéad míle duine ann 866ESc186.32; bhí na mílte fáilte aige roimhe 875PDT17.

*go leith: heard in trí scóir go leith, céad go leith, dhá chéad go leith, trí chéad go leith. It may be used with any multiple of céad. The example of trí scóir go leith would imply possible *scór go leith '30', *dhá scór go leith '50', etc. Cf. 14 leith.*

le cois: dhá bhliain le cois an dá scóir '42'; deich mbliana le cois na cheithre scóir '90'; bliain / blianta le cois an chéid '101 / 100+'.

3.79 Nontraditional

The following forms are of more recent currency in the dialect.¹

tríocha: tríocha seacht duine 25Tt.

daichead: dæhəd (ə hi:n) 23J daichead (a haon) (context: person's age).

ceathracha: commonly k'ærəxə, k'æhərəxə, k'æhər'əxə, including in dates of years, e.g. k'ærəxə sə do: 23Jt ceathracha is a dó '42'. Also ni: d'e:g k'ærs ə k'æhər' 20A naoi déag ceathr(acha) is a ceathair; k'æhər sə tr'i: / hox̩t 26Pct ceathar(acha) is a trí / hocht; this last-cited speaker has plural k'æhərəxi: 26Pct ceatharachai.

caoga, cúigiú: the variant cúigiú 'fifty' is nonstandard and analogical and can be compared with the by-forms faxtu: seacht(mh)ó and oxtu: ochtó (cp. fæ'sku: seasca, p. 574, n. 1). The variants in -u: are homophonous with the corresponding ordinals. E.g. ni: d'e:g ku:g'u: cæ:hər' 25Tt naoi déag cúigiú ceathair '1954'.

seasca: note the form fæ:st(ə) (perhaps a slip of the tongue), influenced by seacht(mh)ó:

seacht míle ... seasca agus a sé déag faxt m'i:l'ə ... fæ:st ogəs ə fe: d'e:g 04Bl.

seachtmhó: faxtwo: s ə ku:g' 16P seachtmhó is a cúig.

ochtó: oxtu: do: 899N ochtó dó.

Nominalised plurals have been heard of *fiche*, *tríocha*, *ceathracha*, *caoga*, *seasca*, *ochtó*, *naocha*, e.g.

snə k'æhərəxi: ... snə fæ'skədi: 26Pc sna ceatharachai ... sna seascađai;

sna fichidí S; caogadachai 60M, seascađachai 60M;

sna hoichteđai hox̩t' o:di: 32J, na naoidéagái ni:d'egi: 32J '(18)90s'.

¹ Similarly, Ó Siadhail (1982: especially 99, 101) distinguishes between 'what can be loosely called the traditional system' and 'the school system'.

3.80 Other use

Use with *dhe*

The numeral is commonly used with *ceann*, *cinn* followed by *dhe* and the object being counted, e.g.

dhá cheann déag dhe chlocha beaga; sé cinn déag dhe bheithí bhainne.

Cp. *dhá cheann is fich' tae* (3.78). Sometimes the preposition *dhe* precedes the special plural of *ceann*, i.e. *ceanna*, when alternative numerals are coordinated (4.41), e.g.

trí nú ceathair dhe cheanna troitheannaí 69S.

This syntax is also found without *ceann(a)*, *cinn* with the absolute lower numeral preceding *fichead* followed by *dhe*, e.g.

tímpéall's, ceathair ná cúig, fichead dhe throithe 06C '24 or 25 feet';

cúig nó sé fichead dhe gheallta 18J7207 '25 or 26 races'.

In appositional use with *dhe* the numeral can be repeated with both nouns:

bhí na trí bhasard go thrí hr'i: chut gá iche M87 (original note has *an trí*).

Money and cards

Counting shillings containing *fiche* 'twenty' and names of card games based on twenty have the absolute lower numeral preceding *fichead*, e.g.

'22 (shillings)' *do: f'ix'əd dó fichead*,

'23 (shillings)' *tr'i: f'ix'əd trí fichead*,

'30 (shillings)' *de f'ihəd deich fichead*;

'25' (card game) *ku:g' f'ix'əd cúig fichead*.

In teens there is a stress contrast between, for instance, 'one pound twelve (shillings)' and 'one pound and twelve (pence)':

£1-12 /- *punt 'do: 'je:g* vs. £1.12 *punt 'do: je:g*.

Cp. *er' fæ:x d'e:g ogəs punt 899N ar seacht déag agus punt; je: fint' 'd'e S sé phunt deich*. Examples of shillings below the teens are:

tr'i: gə je: p'i:n' ə 05M trí agus sé pinne 'three and sixpence';

fæ:xt ogəs je: p'i:n' ə 866E seacht agus sé pinne 'seven and sixpence'.

With 'crown': *'kru:n' əs 'punt 889P coróin is punt*.

Time: article *an*; *a chlog* 'o'clock'

The article is used before hour units, e.g.

tá sé an sé a chlog; b'fhéidir é an trí a chlog nuair bheidís ... ARN7021;

(as cited above:) *v'i: je: n toxt / hox't / oxt ə xlog M, ... n toxt / hox't S*

bhí sé an t-ocht / hocht / ocht a chlog.

Historical numeral particle *a^H* is, however, reflected in the absence of initial mutations (lenition, eclipsis (usually, cf. 9.140), *t* before *s*) in contexts where those mutations are otherwise expected following the article. One can thus write *a* or *an* for *ə*, e.g.

(leathuair) théis an ə ceathair / cúig, ag an ə ceathair, leathuair théis a ə sé;
but *ceathrú dhon gən seacht*.

Both '11 (o'clock)' and '12 (o'clock)' take final stress, e.g.

ən 'hi: 'N'e:g an haon ndéag, ən 'do: 'je:g an dó dhéag;

and equal secondary stress preceding *a chlog*, e.g.

ən ,do: ,je:g ə 'xlog an dó dhéag a chlog.

Dates of years and use of *is*

1847 or 46 or 8 *ocht déag ceath(ai)r(e)acha is a seacht, nó ceath(ai)r(e)acha is a sé nó ocht* **11C**2827.

1850 *ocht déag caoga* **11C**3224.

1907 *naoi déag seacht* **11C**1662.

1914 or 15 *naoi déag ceathair déag nó cúig déag* **11C**.

1920 *ni: d'e:g f'ix' 20C naoi déag fiche*.

1922 *naoi déag fiche is a dó* **11C**3161.

1937 *naoi déag tríocha is a seacht* **11C**1710.

'42 *k'ærəxə sə dɔ: 23Jt ceathracha is a dó*.

'48 *k'ærəxə s hoxɪ 23Jt ceathracha is (a) hocht*.

1943 *naoi déag ceathaireacha is a trí* **11C**3128.

1944 *ni: d'e:g k'ærs ə k'æ:hər' 20A ... ceathracha is a ceathair*.

1954 *ni: d'e:g ku:g'u: cæ:hər' 25Tt naoi déag cúigiú ceathair ([c] = /k'/)*.

'62 ... '63 *fæskəs dɔ: ... fæskəs tr'i: 29PCt seasca is (a) dó / trí*.

'87 or '88 *oxto: fəxt nu: oxto: ə hoxɪ 23Jt ochtó seacht nó ochtó a hocht*.

From these examples it is clear that *is* regularly occurs for many speakers preceding the numerals '1–9' (attested in third position, with the option of dropping the century indicator in initial position) but that for other speakers *is* is absent. This optional use of *is* applies to higher numerals in nontraditional use in general, e.g.

	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
1907	<i>naoi déag</i>	<i>seacht</i>	
1937	<i>naoi déag</i>	<i>tríocha</i>	<i>is a seacht</i>
'42		<i>ceathracha</i>	<i>is a dó</i>
1954	<i>naoi déag</i>	<i>cúigiú</i>	<i>ceathair</i>
'87		<i>ochtó</i>	<i>seacht</i>
'88		<i>ochtó</i>	<i>a hocht</i>
95	<i>naocha is a cúig bliain dh'aois</i> 11C		
41	<i>daichead a haon</i> 23J (person's age)		
35	<i>tríocha cúig pota</i> 31Dt		

For use of the numeral particle *a*^H, see 8.2.

3.81 Ordinal numerals

- 1 əŋ' x'e:d
- 2 ən darə ~ dɑ:rnə ~ darnə, also ən dɔ:u: ~ dɔ:hu:
- 3 ən' tr'i:u: ~ tr'i:wu: ~ tr'i:wə ~ tr'i:hu:
- 4 əŋ' k'arhu:
- 5 əŋ ku:g'u:
- 6 ən' fɛ:u: ~ fɛ:wu: ~ fɛ:wə
- 7 ən' fəxtu:
- 8 ən toxtu: ~ hoxtu:
- 9 ən ni:u:
- 10 ən' d'ehu:
- 11 əŋ' x'e:d ... d'e:g
ən' f'ɛ:nu: ... d'e:g, also ə tɛ:nu: ... , ə t(ɪ):nu: ...

- 12 *ən darə ~ dɑ:rnə ... d'ɛ:g*, also *ən do:(h)u: ... d'ɛ:g*
 13 *ən tr'i:u: ~ tr'i:wu: ~ tr'i:wə ~ tr'i:hu: ... d'ɛ:g*
 14 *əŋ k'arhu: ... d'ɛ:g*
 ↓
 20 *ən f'ix'u:*
 21 *ən t'e:nu: ... f'ix'əd*, also *ə te:nu: ... , ə t('):nu: ...*
 22 *ən darə ~ dɑ:rnə ~ darnə ... f'ix'əd*, also *ən do:(h)u: ... f'ix'əd*
 ↓
 100 *əŋ k'e:du:*

1 Conjunctive *aonú* is used with *déag* (11th) and *fichead* (21st), similar to *dóú*.

2 *darə, dɑ:rnə, darnə*.

darə **889P**, **11C**, **12S**, **21Pg**, also *dara huair* **875T1**.

dɑ:rnə 46.358a, **889P**, **899D** (regularly, i.e. ARN6016, 6606, 6609), **11C**, **12S**, **18J**.

dɑ:rə ~ dɑ:rnə **04B**tn, e.g. *mə ɣa'rə ma'k ... mə hr'i:u' ma'k mo dhara mac ... mo thrú mac*, *ən dɑ:rə hihə an dara hoíche*, *ən dɑ:rnə kor an darna cor*. Speaker **04B**'s son, **35E**, also has *darnə*.

Also *də:u:*, *də:hu:*.

də:u: *dóú* principally with *déag*, also with *fichead*, e.g. *an dóú lá déag*; *an dóú (h)óiche déag* Mq; but also with dates in general, e.g. *an dóú lá dho Bheáltaine* S. Cf. '12' below.

də:hu: heard from a woman from An Aird Mhóir (born c. 1938): *an dóú də:hu' lá fichead*.

3 *-u:*, *-wu:*, *-wə*, *-hu:*.

tr'i:u: **31M**, e.g. *tr'i:u' ...*.

tr'i:hu: **10B**, *tríothú lá* **852S2**, *tríthiú* **866ESc306-1.4**.

tr'i:wu: *tr'i:wu' huər'* **01C6838** *trú huair*.

tr'i:vu: *ə tr'i:vu huər'* [x2] **15W** *an trú huair*;
 er' hr'i:vu' kid nə kl'ehə **01C6076** *ar thrú cuid na cleithe*.

tr'i:vu: ~ *tr'i:və:* *ə tr'i:vu huər'* **11C**, *tr'i:və kor* **11C**tn *an trú cor*.

tr'i:u: ~ *tr'i:wə:* *ə t'r'i:u' f'ar* (*ə t'r'i:wə f'ar*) 46.358a *an trú fear*; *trú* **869P2**.

tr'i:wu: ~ *tr'i:hu:* : **894C** in *tríowú* **894C6**, *tríthiú* **894C9**.

tr'i:u: ~ *tr'i:wu:* : *an trú cúirse* **18J7191**, *an tríobhú bád* **18J7098**.

tr'i:u: ~ *tr'i:wu:* ~ *tr'i:wə:* speaker **04B**tn: *mə hr'i:u' ma'k mo thrú mac*, *tr'i:wu'*, *ən tr'i:və la:* *an trú lá*, *tr'i:wə mak trú mac*.

6 *-u:*, *-wu:*.

fe:u: SID.46 in *fe:u*. 46.358a.

fe:wu: M, e.g. *fe:wu: la: d'ɛ:g* M *an séú lá déag*.

fe:wə *ən fe:və la: d'ɛ:g gə ...* **11C** *an séú lá déag dhe ...*.

8 *-u:*.

hoxtu: 46.358a;

with article *ən toxtu:* ~ *ən hoxtu:*; *er' ə hoxtu: la:* Pt *ar an hochtú lá*.

9 *-u:*.

ni:u: SID.46 in *ni:u*. 46.358a.

11 *əŋ x'e:d x'a:n' d'ɛ:g* *an chéad cheann déag*;

ən t'e:nu: la: d'ɛ:g *an t-aonú lá déag*

12 *darə ... d'ɛ:g*, *də:u: ... d'ɛ:g*, e.g. *dóú lá déag ~ dara lá déag* Sq.

3.82 Fractions and multiples

Fractions are expressed using the ordinals with *cuid*. ‘Half’ is *leath*, ‘and a half’ is *gə l’ e go leith*; ‘third’ is generally *tríú cuid* (older *trian* is retained in set phrases, sometimes significantly phonetically altered, and more or less vaguely understood, 1.24, 4.43); ‘fourth’ is *ceathrú* and *ceathrú cuid*. Qualification with the 3m possessive, both directly and proleptically, is common. Examples:

ní:l’ ə x’ærhu: kid’ d’ e:g am P níl a cheathrú cuid déag a’m;

ní:r ix’ədər ə l’æ:, nər x’ e:du: kid’ (Suda)04B

níor itheadar a leath ná a chéadú cuid.

Multiples can be expressed by qualifying nouns denoting quantity with cardinal numerals. The 3m possessive is common, except with *uair*, e.g.

las soilse ... níos breátha naoi n-uaire ná a bhí riamh cheana ann Sc71.35;

go raibh tú ag, ag cuir a dhá oiread, dhen sprae seo amach, leis an, scuab, ná chuirtheá leis an misín. ... mar tá an misín breá glan ... agus gothaidh, dhá ghalún dhó, a dhá fhad, ... agus ghothadh, ... galún leis an scuab. 20A.

The intermittent or recurrent nature of an event can be expressed by the ordinal preceded either by the preposition *i* or by *(ga)chaon*, e.g.

ní éiríonn sé sin as an mbrocaigh ach uair sa seachtú bliain ... as an mbrocach, chaon seachtú bliain. 869Pt.

Dual intermittency is expressed by *gacha le* or *(ga)chaon dar(n)a*, e.g.

‘gaxə l’ e l’a: gacha le lá; chaon darna lá.

Mass nouns qualified by a numeral take the meaning ‘batch of, instalment of’, e.g.

Chuir Neain dhá airgead ’ugam M ‘Nan sent me money twice’.

Cp. *(Tá) dhá cheann is fich’ tae ólta a’m* ‘I have had tea twenty one times (i.e. a lot)’.

3.83 Personal numerals

Personal numerals occur independently or qualifying nouns. There are no unique personal lexemes higher than ‘12’; in progressive usage there are none higher than ‘10’. Note the use of *aon-nduine déag* qualifying a noun in ‘11’ below.

1	din’ə (wə:n’)	<i>duine (amháin)</i>
2	b’ert’	<i>beirt</i>
3	tr’u:r	<i>triúr</i>
4	k’ahər	<i>ceathar</i>
5	ku:g’ər	<i>cúigear</i>
6	ʃeʃər	<i>seisear</i>
7	ʃaxtər , less commonly mər:həfər , mər:həfər	<i>seachtar, mórshesear</i>
8	(h)oxtər	<i>(h)ochtar</i>
9	ni:nwər ~ ni:nur , less commonly ni:wər	<i>naonbhar</i>
10	d’in’hu:r ~ d’en’hu:r	<i>deichniúr</i>

11	e:nin'ə je:g ~ e:nin'ə d'e:g	<i>aon-nduine d(h)éag</i>
12	ɣa: ɣin'ə je:g, less commonly 'ɣa're:g, ɣa:re:g	<i>dhá dhuine dhéag,</i> <i>dháréag</i>
13	tr'i: ɣin'ə je:g	<i>trí dhuine dhéag</i>
14	x'er'ə ɣin'ə je:g	<i>cheithre dhuine dhéag</i>
	↓	
20	f'ix'ə din'ə or skor: di:n'ə	<i>fiche duine, scór daoine</i>
21	din'ə s f'i(x')	<i>duine is fiche</i>
22	ɣa: ɣin'ə s f'i(x')	<i>dhá dhuine is fiche</i>
23	tr'i: ɣin'ə s f'i(x')	<i>trí dhuine is fiche</i>

The historical use of the genitive plural is best preserved in nouns which commonly occur governed by personal numerals. In many instances this historical genitive plural is identical with the nominative singular, hence the singular is sometimes found following personal numerals.

2 *beirt* is followed by nouns in the singular, plural, and genitive plural; the genitive plural being the historical usage:

sg (= gen pl)	<i>beirt fhear, beirt dreithiúr;</i>
sg	<i>beirt dreatháir; beirt cheoltóir SNG293;</i>
pl (= gen pl)	<i>beirt bhuachaillí, beirt chailíní;</i> <i>beirt neorsannaí [< nurse], beirt nions [< nuns];</i>
sg ... pl (= gen pl)	b'ert' u:ŋkəl' l'ef ... b'ert' u:ŋkəl'əxi: M <i>beirt uncail leis ... beirt uncaileachaí;</i>
gen pl	<i>beirt bhan óg 892M.</i>

3 Genitive plural (= sg): *triúr iníon* Sc149, *triúr dreithiúr* 35E. With article regularly *an triúr acub, an triúr gasúir, na triúr gasúir*; but there is apparent plural inflection in the innovative example:

nə tr'u:r' 'ga:sur' 54C *na triúir gasúir.*

Plural use is found with *ina* and personal numeral without dependent noun:

daoine ag triall ina mbeirteanna agus ina dtriúranna Clad208.

5, 6 Singular (synchronically): *clúigear nó seisear páiste aige* 866ESc260.33; plural *seisear Gaeilgeoirí* M.

7 **fæ:xtər ni:v' 23Ms** *seachtar naoimh; kol mór:həfər 32P* *col mórsheseir.*

8 **hoxtər, oxtər, ən toxtər** *an t-ochtər.*

9 **-wər, -ur¹**

naonbhar 866ESemr;

nĩ:nvər 46.358b, ni:nvər 46.1158, (Abr)04B, (Lam)04B, 31M.

nĩ:nur ... nĩ:nur ... nĩ:nwər 892M; ni:nur ni:nwər S, M'anam go ndéarthainn go b'é an naonbhar nĩ:nwər a' Sean-Ghaeilge siar ceart [sic] Sq.

ni:wər 21Pt regularly (also **19B**, Doire an Locháin).

10 **d'i-, d'e-**

d'in'hur M, 31M; d'in'ur 46.358b, 11C; d'en'hur 899P.

11 **nu gə dā:n'ək' ə te: nin'ə d'e:g dr'ehər suəs l'ef 11C**
nó go dtáinig an t-aon nduine déag dreatháir suas leis.

¹ I have sometimes transcribed **nĩ:nər** and **nĩ:nwur** from conversation but these are perhaps mistranscriptions. I have not found them in query.

- 12 *sin dháréag 'ya're:g dhá gcuid filí héin* !11C, | *gus ya're:g gəŋ | nə hæ:spə'f: !05M agus dháréag dhe na haspail.*

The unmarked, i.e. nonpersonal, cardinal numerals can also qualify persons, e.g.
agus gach aon bhean den dhá bhean seo 866ESc156.13 (note anomalous *dhá* here for *den dá*),
ag an triúr iníon agus ag an dá chliamhain agus a bheirt chliamhanachaí [sic] ann Sc158.9, 170.33,
... ach dhá sheanfhear bhí ... séard bhí iontub beirt sheanfhear d'fhan beo ... an bothán a raibh an dá sheanfhear ann. 869PZCP151–2,
dhá dhreatháir ... beirt dreatháir 892M,
- ... lorg cosa, a deir sí, an bheirt ghasúr, ... lorg cosa an dá ghasúr 11C2691–4,
trí phíobaire LL156, *go raibh trí fhathach le troid aige* LL170,
bhí trí fíodóir [sic] *i Maínis, ... bhí dhá ghréasaí ann, bhí trí ghréasaí píosa ann, ... na trí ghréasaí,* 32J,
fáxt n'ugkəf 00C seacht n-uncail.

Consistent nonpersonal *an dá dhuine uasal* contrasts with *beirt* qualified by other nouns in:

beirt fhear ... beirt chol ceatharacháí ... an dá dhuine uasal ... beirt chol ceatharacháí ... an dá dhuine uasal [x4] 866ESc186–8.

Personal numerals can be qualified by other numerals, e.g.

dhá shoit a'inn, dhá bheirt a'inn ag goil ar shon a chéile ARN1182
 'in two sets, two pairs of us taking it in turns'.

The nonpersonal numeral is used when describing persons of the same name:

sin trí Pháraic 'ac Dhonnacha. SÓC2.281 'that's three Patrick McDonaghs'.

There is an instance of *beirt* used in reference to animals:

Agus ní dhearna an charóg glas ach chuaigh sí anuas agus fuair greim lár a drama ar an easóg. ... Agus bhí an bheirt ag teacht anuas in éineacht ar an muirbheach 894Cs.

Perhaps the speaker was so engrossed in the narrative that he inadvertently 'personalised' both *caróg glas* and *easóg*. There is an example of nontraditional use from a younger speaker:

(tá) beirt acú go deas 80L 'both are nice',

referring to nonpersonal entities, for traditional (*an*) *péire* or *chaon cheann*.

Morphology of derivation

3.84 Compounds

Apart from a closed set of common adjectives which are used as productive prefixes, compounding can be taken to be obsolete. The classification of prefixes here is inevitably to some extent arbitrary, and compounding and prefixation must be compared for a complete understanding of either process.

Old compound words are formed from [Noun + Noun], [Noun + Adjective], [Adjective + Noun], and [Adjective + Adjective]. The majority of these compounds have primary stress on the initial element and secondary stress on the second. Some have single word stress, some have two primary stresses. Most compounds which were recorded with two primary stresses probably have the

regular stress template optionally (i.e. primary followed by secondary stress). Secondary stress followed by primary stress can in some instances be taken to be phonologically equivalent to two primary stresses. In other words, however, there seems to be one (primary) stress on the second element (for most speakers), e.g. *úrleathair*, *marbhleathair*, *sailchuach*. Similarly, *bunú dair* may be interpreted as *bun'u:dər'* or perhaps *'bun'u:dər'*.

Examples of these compounds, categorised according to composition and stress patterns, are listed below. Certain elements in compounds have become obscure, e.g. the initial elements in: *'klin,e:xənt'* 43Mp *claonfhéachaint*, (*ag fiach agus ag*) *fianscaradh* 866ESc89.4, *'fə:s,x'i:l'ə* *fáschíle*. Compare both historical elements in *elv'e:s oilbhéas*, now a simple word. There is vowel change in *cloch* > *clachmhóin* *'klax,wu:n'* generally, except *'klox,wu:n'* 889P.

Quality sandhi between consonants in compounds regularly follows the rules set out for quality assimilation across word boundary (2.25 ff.). Exceptionally, preceding consonants are palatalised by historically front vowels and, in one case, by a historically back vowel, in the words:

[Adj + N]	'_	<i>'beg'ē:n 'fō:wər'</i> 892M5557 <i>boigéan fómhair</i> ;
	'_	<i>'gloʃ'il' a:n</i> 27Mdq <i>glaisoiléan</i> ;
[N + N]	'_	<i>'bol'əg' æ:snəxi' ~ 'boləg' æ:snəxi'</i> M <i>bo(i)lgeasnachaí</i> ;
	'_	<i>'klar' iəkəl'</i> 889P <i>cláirfhiacail</i> .

Cp. *'bok' f'e:mr'əxt* 1894C *boicléimneacht*; lenited palatal of *feoil* in *kir' o:l'* *caoireoil*, *mar' o:l'* *mairteoil*, also *muiceoil* *mik' o:l'*. For instances of epenthetic vowels between members of compounds, see 1.366.

[Noun + Noun]

Note that some nouns may have variable combinatory forms, for example 2D nouns, e.g. *clua(i)s*, *gréin* below, also irregular *bean* > *ban-* (3.86).

Stress	'_	<i>'b'e:l' f'æk</i> 869P <i>béil-leac</i> ; <i>'bli;wa'gə</i> M <i>blao-mhagadh</i> ; <i>'bod,u:nʃəx</i> <i>bodóinseach</i> ; <i>'bra,t'r'uməx</i> M, FFG <i>braitriomach</i> ; <i>'k'ə:xolə</i> <i>ceochodladh</i> ; <i>cluaisbhodhar ~ cluasbhodhar</i> M; <i>'kr' i,h'ə:glə</i> 894C <i>critheagla</i> , also <i>critheágla mhór</i> 894C2; <i>'kri;wur</i> S <i>craobhmhúr</i> (explained by Seán as <i>mur kri:hu:l' e múr croithúil é</i> as if <i>croí+mhúr</i> which corresponds to <i>croidhe-mhúr</i> Clad1211); <i>mə f'ut'i:n' 'ik,lə:nt'ə</i> ... <i>mə f'ut'i:n' 'ik,hlə:nt'ə</i> 04Btn <i>mo phoitín íocshláinte</i> ; <i>'ros,xail'</i> 04Btn <i>roschoill</i> ; <i>oíche bhreá spéirghealaí</i> <i>'sp'e:r' jæli:</i> 11C; <i>'stæ'l' ʃ'æx</i> 04Btn <i>stailmheach</i> . ¹
'_	'_	<i>'k'ə:ŋxoxəl</i> 11C <i>ceannchochall</i> ; <i>l'e:nʃkr'is</i> <i>léanscrios</i> , e.g. <i>léanscrios ort!</i> M, <i>rin'ə ʃe l'e:nʃkr'is orhəb</i> Mq <i>rinne sé léanscrios orthub</i> . Cp. <i>ə fərdorəs an fárdoras</i> .
'_ , '_	'_ , '_	<i>'bok' f'e:mr'əxt</i> 1894C <i>boicléimneacht</i> ; <i>bol'ig' 'la:nə</i> 46.16 <i>boilgleanna</i> (cp. phonetic transcription written as one word in SIDIII pt 40, as two words pt 43), cp. <i>bol'əgl'æ:nə</i> M, <i>boilgcheangal</i> ; <i>'k'in't'ukər'</i> , e.g. <i>Narbh é an tAthair Tomás Fleainearaí a bhí i</i>

¹ Note *gréin*- (< *grian*) in ... *taltha gágáithe le gréin-scoiltithe* 894C9 [sic]. This resembles the [Noun + Adjective] compound *'gr' iənsko:l't'i'* M *grianscoiltithe*, and is perhaps an instance of dative inflection of the first element of a compound (3.25; cp. *ina dheisláimh* above); or there was possibly a phrase boundary or pausa following *gréin*, i.e. *gágáithe le gréin — scoiltithe*, or it may be a noun plural.

gCarna ... a bhí ina chiontsiocair leis 'x'ín'f'ukər f'ej an iascach fháil 11C; ǝn tǝl'xuəx | 10B An tSailchuach (boat name and song, FGB 'violet'). Cp. *camreilig 'kəm'ríl'ək' 894C*.

'_ , '_ 'bo:f'ehə 06C *bóleithe*, bo:f'ehə FFG, transcribed as two separate words in FFG *bó leithe*.

Cp. *crois-mhargadh* CAR (stress not indicated).

[Noun + Adjective]

Stress 'b'e:l,du:nt'ə gə ma: Mq *béaldúinte go maith* (of barrel); 'b'e:l-
'_ , 'ǝ:f'k'i:hə Mq *béalfháiscithe*; 'b'e:l,ɣaru: *béalgharbh*; 'b'e:l' ,l'əhən
béil-leathan; 'b'e:l,oskəlt'ə *béaloscailte*; 'b'e:(f')f'ox *béilfhliuch*; cp.
beithí bhéildeirg na farraige (run)869PBl6.117; 'br'e,ɣr'ə:mənəx
breithghreamannach, 'a:n'vr'e,ɣr'ə:mənəx M *an-bhreithghreamann-*
ach; 'k'ǝ:ɣru:m FFG *ceannchrom*; 'k'ǝ:n' ,l'əhən M *ceannleathan*;
'kräg,vrit'ə S *cnagbhruite*; 'kri:,jil'əf Mq *croídhílis*; 'dri:m' ,l'əhən
Mq *droimleathan*; 'dri:m' ,skolt'i: S *droimscoiltí*. Note *droimbhriste*
M?perm.

'_ , 'k'ǝ:ndə:nə *ceanndána*.

'_ , 'kra:v'luə !P *cnáimhluath*; 'dri:m' ,noxti: S *droimnochtaí*.

[Adjective + Noun]

Note apparent feminine dative *deis-* in by-form of *deasláimh* below.

Stress 'v'i' ɲ lə: 'bog,wə:f't'əx 04B *bhí an lá ag bogbháisteach*; 'bog,hodər
'_ , *bogshodar*; 'kǝ:m' ,v'ǝ:li: 35E *cambhealaí* (cp. *camchosáin* FFG s.v.
camchosán); 'ki:x,faul 897P *caochpholl*; 'kru:m,h'l'ín'ǝ:n M
cromshlinneán; 'daun,wu:n' donnmhóin; 'ga:ru' ,xosə:n 872P
garbhchosán; also place-name 'ga:ru' ,xə'rəg' *Garbhcharraig*.

Note the ordinal *céad-* in 'k'e:d,ū:wər S, 'k'e:d,ə:wər 22M
céadfhómhar; 'x'e:d,uər' 23B *chéaduaire* (8.205); also *chéadbharr* S.

[Adjective + (Verbal) Noun] in 'b'ə:f'ienə *beophianadh*.

[Adjective + Noun] *nua-aois* 'nu:,i:f, and derived noun *nua-aoiseach*
'nu:,i:fəx and [Adjective + Adjective] *nua-aoiseach* 'nu:,i:fəx.

'_ , 'tə:f'l'ox S *taisfhliuch*.

'_ , 'beg' ,ē:n 'fō:wər' *boigéan fómhair*,

'_ , 'sǝ:ǝ'xolə (run)11C *sáimhchodladh*.

'_ , ~ ' 'k'art,lər 04B_{tn} also 'k'art'lər *ceartlár*;

də 'jə:s,lə:v S *do dheasláimh*, er' 'jə:s,lə:v də 'f'ín'ǝǝ | !05M *ar*
dheaslámh do Linbh, also *ina dheisláimh l dheasláimh* 866ESc125.40,
131.21, derived 'd'ǝ:s,lə:wəx *deaslámhach*.

Also: *ag a' gcaochneántóig* 869P5; *cuireadh ar cheartmhullach a cinn í*
866ESc271.2; *cromshrón* FFG; *le neart troda agus dianchomhraise* Sc130.27;
dhiún blas ... le tóirt le n-ithe dhuit ... ach garú-rán coirce 869P2.

Note stress in: (brə:gə) u:r'l'əhər' / u:r'l'əhər' S87 (cp. u:r'l'ə:r' FFG20),
u:r'l'ar' FFG, 'u:r,l'əhər' 21Ptq (*bróga*) *úrleathair*;
'mo:r'l'əhər' Mq, 'ma:r'l'ahir' FFG s.v. *máirléir* (< *marbhleathair*).

[Adjective + Adjective]

Stress 'b'ó;waru: 889P *beomharbh*; 't'á:n'í'æ:hən SM *teannleathan*.

'_ , Cp. stress in gə 'tā:m'í'efk'u:l' 892M (i.e. analysable as *go táim leisciúil*), tāmí'efk'u:l' ~ tā:vl'efk'u:l' M (*go táim(h)leisgiúil*).

[Adjective + Verbal adjective] in: 'ruə,xat'ə M *rua-chaite*;

Stress '_ , and '_ ' with verbal adjective in 'ruə,yot'ə ~ 'ruə,yot'ə M *ruadhóite*.

Stress '_ , and '_ ' (the latter is analysable as '_ ') with verbal adjective in 'ur'hailt'ə 27Js *úrshailte*, runə wí: | runə ur'hailt'ə P *ronnaigh bhuí, ronnaigh úrshailte*.

Colour adjectives can qualify each other in more or less productive status, e.g.

sórt dath sórt donn air — dhearg mar d'fheictheá ... 32Jt,

i.e. *domndhearg*. See *bán-*, *breac-*, *buí-*, *dearg-*, *dorcha-*, *dubh-*, *fionn-*, *geal-*, *glas-*, etc., below (3.91 ff.).

3.85 Prefixes

Productivity of prefixes is given a very free interpretation here, many prefixes are only semi-productive, others (e.g. *fad-*) are only marginally productive. Only prefixes which are unarguably nonproductive are classified as such. As far as stress placement is concerned, there are three types of prefixes, although quite a few prefixes will have examples from all three templates making categorisation difficult.

Type I prefixes take predominantly no stress with main stress on the base. There are only two:

'_ in- and ro-.

Type II prefixes take predominantly primary stress with secondary stress on the base. They are:

'_ , *ath-*, *bán-*, *barr-*, *breac-*, *buí-*, *bun-*, *crua-*, *cúl-*, *dí-*, *do-*, *fad-*, *fíod-*, *fíonn-*, *fuair-*, *glas-*, *lag-*, *leas-*, *leath-*, *liath-*, *luath-*, *meath-*, *mí-*, *míon-*, *neamh-*, *óg-*, *ré-*, *scoth-*, *so-*, *tréan-*.

Type III prefixes take predominantly primary stress with equal (i.e. primary) stress (which may vary with secondary stress) on the base. They are:

'_ *an-*, *binn-*, *comh-*, *dearg-*, *fíor-*, *giar-*, *glan-*, *lán-*, *sár-*, *seacht-*, *síor-*.

Some prefixes have significant use in both templates, generally corresponding to semantic or lexical distinctions (Type II being generally the more lexicalised, Type III more metaphorical or intensive).

Types II (i.e. with primary stress on prefix, base often unstressed) and **III** are:

aon-, *ard-*, *caol-*, *corr-* (meaning 'edge' II, intensifier II and III), *deá-*, (*dorcha-*), *droch-*, *dubh-* ('black' II, as intensifier III), *geal-*, *géal-*, *gearr-*, *meán-*, *mór-*, *rí-* ('main' II, intensifier III), *sean-* ('old' II, intensifier III), *trom-* ('heavy' II, 'deep' III).

It is clear that Type III stress is often associated with intensifiers. In sequences of prefixes the final prefix governs the stress placement on the base noun, e.g.

'f'íər'jæ:rəg'yaltə *fíor-dheargdhallta*,

'f'íər'yil'æ:sihə *fíor-dholeasaíthe* (3h-i, 3.146).

For opposition of '_ ' vs. '_ , on *sean-tsean-*, see 4.141.

There are some lexicalised quality-conditioned variants:

deá-, deigh-; fad-, faid-; glas-, glois-; leath-, leith-;
cp. *dearg-, deirg-; geal-, gil-; óg-, óig-; leas-; obsolete an-.*

There are very few examples of inflection of a prefix or of the first element of a compound. The examples of possible feminine dative use of *gréin-* and *deis-* are: *le gréin-scoiltúthe* 894C9, *ina dheisláimh* 866E_{Sc}125.40 (< *grian* and *deas* respectively, noted above). Vocative *a dheirgbhastaird* is discussed below (3.103). Exceptional compounds with the genitive of the second noun in the nominative of the compound are: **bol'ig'** 'la:nə [sic] 46.16 *boilgleanna*, 'bun'u:dər' *bunúdair*, 'g'uruna:lə *giorra-anála*, *marbhleathair*; optional genitive of the second noun in nominative compound: *ceannchochall* ~ *ceannchochail*, cp. *ceannfort* ~ *ceannfoirt* (< *ceann* + *port*; 3.22), cf. 4.72. Three prefixes denoting 'ability', *in-* and *do-* and its polar opposite *so-*, take: [1] normal adjectives (least often), [2] noun genitives (also [2a] common case), [3] verbal noun genitives (also [3a] common case) and [4] verbal adjectives (VN gen and *vadj* are often formally identical, as can be noun gen and VN gen), e.g.

<i>(inaitheanta), sochomhairleach, sothuisceanach</i>	[1]
<i>intsiúil, inc(h)únta, do-oibre</i>	[2]
<i>(intseoltóireacht), soláimh</i>	[2a]
<i>inpheasála, dothruist</i>	[3]
<i>incinneadh</i>	[3a]
<i>inchurtha, dothóighthí, so-ólta</i>	[4]

It is noteworthy how many prefixes are interchangeable before *bliain* and other time terms in the malediction, e.g. *Nár raibh tú deá-bhliain ó inniu!* All five prefixes: *deá-, dearg-, geal-, géar-, gearr-*, occur in this collocation.

Prefixes *an-* and *corr-* may be used before numerals, e.g.

'æŋ'x'ər' i:hə M *an-cheithre oíche*, 'æŋ'xu:g' i:hə M *an-chúig oíche*,
'æŋ'ɣa: i:hə M *an-dhá oíche*, 'æn't'r'i: i:hə Mperm *an-trí oíche*;
'kaur'ɣa: i:hə M *corr-dhá oíche*.

Contrast, on the other hand, impermissible **rí-dhá oíche* MØperm.

The prefixes and stress types found with verbs (mostly verbal nouns and adjectives, cf. 5.23) are similar to those in nouns:

I *ro-* in **gə** ,rə'wər'ə tu' Mq *go ro-mhaire tú*.

II *ath-, rí-, rua-*: cp. *gil-* (similar to *geal-*) in 'g'il'oxə *gilfhiuchadh*; *ath-* in **ayro:g'** *athghróig*, **æL'æsə** *athleasaigh*.

III *seacht-*, e.g. 'fə:xt'm'ɑ:rhə *seachtmbearrtha*.

II and **III** *mór-* in 'mo:r'xu:nə, 'mo:r'xu:nə (also -xə:nə) *mórchónaigh*, 'mo:r'wari' Mq *mórmharaíthe*, 'mo:r'ɣo:t'ə S *mórdhóite*.

3.86 Nonproductive prefixes

ais- 'æf'air'i 04B1 *aiséirí*; 'æf'i:ək !!894C *aistóc*.

ban- The prefix based on *bean*. 'ban,xl'ivən' M *bachliamhain*, **də** 'wæŋ'xl'ivən' 21Pt *do banchliamhain*; **gə** hr'i: 'wa'n'fr'insə (Smbb)04B *dhe thrí bhanphrionsa*. Cp. the optional vowel-lengthening in: **banri:n** **bə:nri:n** *banríon*; *bantiarna* Semr, also spelt *báintiarna*, e.g. Semr40, implying **ban't'ivə:nə** ~ **bə:n't'ivə:nə**. Cp. **fin' i ən** 'v'æ'n'd'aul ... əs 'b'æ'n'd'aul i | 35E *sin í an bheandeabhal ... is*

- beandeabhal í* (in lore concerning types of devils).
- é- *éadrom* (< *trom*), *éagóir* >> *éacóir* (< *cóir*), *éitreorach* >> *éidreorach* (< *treoir*).
- oll- ' _ : with *olə-* in '*olə'wāhəsə* 897S *ollmhaitheasa*, also *go chuile ollmhaitheasa* Semr58; combined with *mór*: *rinne sé ... ollamhórmhaitheasa dá gcuid arm is éidigh* [= *éide*] 864MLL153.
' _ : *ol-f' e:ft'* (Smds)04B, S, 17M, *elf' e:ft'* 04B *ollphéist*; cp. *elv' es oilbhéas*. Cf. ' _ and ' _ in *ollmhaire(ach)* below.
- treas- ' _ : '*tr'æs:i:vər* 04B, '*tr'as:i:wər* 11C *treasfhaobhar*, also 866E;
ə't'r'asv'è:r, 46.451 *an treasmhéar* (probably best taken as '*tr'as,v'è:r* given that secondary stress in compounds is rarely shown in SID).
- ur- *aurlaurə urlabhra*, *aurla:v' urláimh*; cp. *urluach* Clad137 'premium price' S. Mac an Iomaire (2000: 93) but not known by Máire.

Cp. negative *an-*, e.g. *anwəs anbhás* (cf. *an-* 3.87); *fárdoras*; *foirdris*; *in-* in *inli: ionlao, iongúáil* (cp. *in-* 3.120);

forms of *ollmhaire(ach)*, etc.: '*ul'war'ə*, '*ulwa'r'ə*, '*olwa:r'ə*, '*ulwa:r'əx*, '*ulwarəx*, '*ur'wa:r'əx amwarəx* M, *er'wa:r'ə*, *er'wa:r'əx*, *el'wa:r'əx* S; also '*fuər'fk'e:l*, '*ur'fk'e:l*, '*ur'fk'e:l*, *ur'fk'e:l úrscéal*, cf. *fuar-* (3.113).

3.87 *an-*

Stress ' _ , ' _ , ' _ (Type III). Phonemically *an*; also *æn*, *a*, *æ*, *ã*, *æ̃* (vowel also half-long and long, consonant also palatal, velar, labial according to sandhi).

' _ : '*æn'uəgn'əx an-uaigneach*; '*æn'dunə an-dona*; '*æn'jem'u:l' 11C an-ghéimíúil*; '*ā'γri:u:l' 35E an-ghnaúil*; '*a'xə:l't'əx an-chailteach*; *agus deir siad gur scéal an-fhíor* '*ææn'iər a bhí ansin 11C*.

There is relatively equal stress on both elements generally. The nominal element, however, may be given primary stress for emphasis, contrast, etc., with secondary or no stress on the prefix.

' _ , ' _ : Often due to emphasis on the prefix or de-stressing of an 'old' or 'given' nominal element, the prefix takes primary stress with secondary or no stress on the nominal element (cp. examples in LFRM *an-* including *an-chuimse*).

rín'ě je: 'q:nx:mjě gər'i: 46 (s.v. *gáire*) *rinne sé an-chuimse gáirí* (taken here as most likely ' _ , given that secondary stress is rarely shown in SID).

n'i:l' fíad b'isi' fi' lə:hər' əx b'e fíad 'æ:nv'isi' ə ... M

níl siad biusaí [< busy] *faoi láthair ach beidh siad an-bhiusaí ó ...*

kuməsəx kəm, fín' gə rə je 'æ:n'æ:ŋkəm S

cumasach cam, sin go raibh sé an-an-cam.

nər' ə v'i: fə:n gə dunə | 'æ:ndunə M nuair a bhí Seán go dona, an-dona.

v'i: fə:n 'æ:ndunə M bhí Seán an-dona;

ta je fín' 'æ:ndunə M tá sé sin an-dona;

... nə 'nə'n,vrā 18J ... ina n-an-mhná.

v'i' m'e gə dunə ... wən' je fl'uid əs mə ɣlu:n' s ta mə ɣlu:n' 'æ:nt'i:n' o xon' M bhí mé go dona ... bhain sé flíuid as mo ghlúin is tá mo ghlúin an-tinn ó shoin.

... brín'dən 'a:n,torfəx ə'noxt M ... Bruindean [< Brendan] *an-tuirseach anocht.*

Note: *v'i je 'N'æ:n,u'mrər' ... nə 'N'æ:n,u'mrər'i: 17Mp*

bhí sé ina an-iomróir ... ina n-an-iomróirí.

For use with the article, e.g. *an t-an-oíche*, see 6.90.

There is a historically identical but now unproductive prefix (negative and intensive) *an-* 'an-':

a:nwɑ:s *anbhás*, **æ̃:nɔ:li** **06C** *aneolaí*, also **æ̃:n'ɔ:li** (heard from a highly literate male speaker, born c. 1935), **a:nwɑ'd'ən'** *anmhaidín*, **ā:nwæl'i:f** **11C** *anmhailís*, **an-v'e:d'** *anmhéid*, **ā:n'v'i:fk'əx** **11C** *anmhísceach*, **ɑ:ntrɑ:** S *antráth*. With variable palatality in **æn'spr'id'**, **æn'sp'ir'id'** *ainspirid*, **ansp'er'əd'** (Aebi) **03C** *anspirid*. Cp. **ænfəl** *ainseal* (< *an* + *seal* ?). Also 'an,- *an-* in 'an,aird'ə *anaírde*. Note 'æ̃:n'ɑ:ntrɑ:x **894C** *an-antráthach*. There is a slight slip of the tongue apparently through haplology in the following example where the speaker seems to have intended to say **an-anmhailíseach*:

dr'ɑ:m ə v'ɪ' ā'n'wæl' | ā'nwæl'i:fəx 'g'e:m'u:l' | 11C
dream a bhí (an-)anmhailíseach géimíuil.

3.88 aon-

Stress ' _ , ' _ , ' _ (Types II and III).

' _ : **fahəx ən' 'e:n'əx'i:n' | ən' 'e:n'v'aiL' ogəs ən' 'e:n'win'i:l'** (Smbb) **04B**
fathach an aonchinn, an aonmheill agus an aonmhuiníl.

' _ : **er' 'e:n,æ'n'əm'** **35E** *ar aonainm*; **ən' 'e:m,wɑ:d** **35E** *in aonbhád*; 'e:n,ín'i:n' **04B** *aoninín*; **ən' 'e:n' L'æ:bə l'ə'həb** M *in aonleaba leothub*; *Míle buíochas leis an Maighdean is lena hAonmhac!* **l'ē'nə 'hē:n,wā'k** **05M**, 'e:n,v'ik' *mir'ə* (Abtm) **11C** *A Aonmhic Muire*; **gu' 'e:n,vnɑ:** (Smbb) **04B** *guth aonmhná*; **er' 'e:n'v'e:f** (Smré) **04B** *ar aonmhéis*; 'ge:n,fl'eb' **04Bl** *dh'aonphleib*; **ən' 'e:n't'ax** *in aonteach*, 'N'e:n't'i: 'l'umsə **10B** *in aontigh liomsa*; **b'or ən' 'e:n,tu:l'** *bior in aon-tsúil*.

' _ : **e:nxɔf** *aonchois* (*aonchoise* FFG); **e:ndorəs** *aondoras*; **ge:n-L'e:m'** **23Ms** *dh'aonléim* 'suddenly'; **e:n't'ax** *aonteach*; **ən' e:ntorəs** *in aonturas*; *ar aonbhord* **er' 'e:nwaurd** generally, but **er' 'e:nword** **898P**, cp. **e:nwaurd** ... **e:nL'abə** (run)P *aonbhord* ... *aonleaba*; ... **er' e:nv'e:f** ... **er' e:nL'æ'bə** (run)P ... *ar aonmhéis* ... *ar aonleaba* (explained by P as 'any bed', etc.), contrast the transcription in RBÉ manuscripts which indicates separate words, e.g. *aon leaba* ... *aon chupán* **866ESemr40**, corresponding to **11C**'s usage ... **er' 'e:ən 'v'e:f** ... **ē:ŋ xupə'n** ... **er' 'e:n' L'æ'bə** Place-name **lox ən' e:n'il'ɑ:n'** **20M** *Loch an Aonoileán*.

' _ , ~ ' _ : **v'i f'i kurh ər' 'e:n't'e:d** **892M1095** *bhí sí (eangach) curtha ar aontéad*, **e:n't'e:d** *aontéad*, **poti: e:n't'e:d** **30Mst** *potai aontéid*.

Also *fios an aoinscéil an fhathaigh* **866ESc113.19**. Note also attributive *aoinfhir* in: *bhí sé ina throid aoinfhir idir iad féin 7 a' ceathar deireannach* ÓC196.

For an anomalous use with the article, see 6.94.

3.89 ard-

Stress ' _ , ' _ , ' _ , ' _ (Types II and III).

' _ : 'ɑ:rd'a'spək *ardeaspag*; 'ɑ:rd're:m' *ardréim*; 'ɑ:rd'hə'gərt Mq *ardshagart*; 'ɑ:rd'hæ'vr æn' Mq (*bhí*) *ardshamhradh a'inn*; 'ɑ:rd'skulɑ:r'ə *ardscoláire*; **ta**

tu 'a:rd'o:ləmtə P tá tú *ardfheoghlamta*; with borrowings in:
 fuar fí: 'a:rd'a:nərs M *fuair sí ard-anars* [< honours];
 ta fíad 'a:rd'f'i:da:l'ə M tá *siad ardfideáilte* [< feed] (of cats);
 'a:rd'ju:mər M *ardghíúmar*;
 v'i: 'a:rd'f'aim' æ'n' M *bhí ardeidhm* [< time] a'inn.

Homorganic nonlenition in *chaitheá fanacht le ardtaoille* 'a:rd'ti:l'ə *ansin, le lán mara* 894Cs. (The context is explanatory, addressed to a folklore collector; alternatively interpretable perhaps as two words *ard taoille*, cp. *ard lán* LFRM s.v. *ard* (*airde* is the general word for 'height'). Earlier in the conversation *ar dhiathrá* is explained as *isleacht taoille* 894Cs.)

'_ : 'a:rd,woləg *ardbholg*; 'a:rd,iəkəl' *ardfhiacail*; 'a:rd,iəkləx *ardfhiaclach*;
 'a:rd,i:nt'ən' (əx) *ardintinn(each)*; 'a:rd,i:nt'ən'u:l' *ardintinniúil*; cp. *li:x oig*
 'a:rd'lonəx 04B1 *laoch óg ardlonnach*; 'a:rd(ə),wi:r 869P *ardmhaor*; n
 'a:rd,tra' ~ n 'a:rd,hra: 21J *an Ardt(h)rá*. The secondary (rather than primary)
 stress on *duine* is due to phrasal rhythm in:

gín'in' | ən 'a:rd,ŷ in' 'uəsəl' e | 866E *dh'inín an ard-dhuine uasail é*.

'_ : 'a:rdhrə'n'hu:nə S *ardthráthnóna*; a:rdnū:səx a:rdnō:səx (run) 11C *ardnósach*,
 ga: a:rdnō:si: 11C *dhá ardnósaí*.

'_ ~ '_ , ~ '_ : 'a:rd'ri: hāvřěx 11C *ardrí Theamhrach, l'e til' ən 'a:rd'ri:*
 !!(Abul)881J *le toil an Ard-Rí, gə d'i: n tɑ:rdri: | 892Mtn go dtí an t-ardrí*.

'_ : 'a:rdhrən'hu:nə M *ardthráthnóna*.

Also *ard-dhochtúr* 866ESc235, *ardghíúistís* Sc194.39, *an t-árdmháistir* 852S2.
 Note the obsolescent coalescence in *árd-tíos* ÓC194 indicating *a:rt'is or
 *a:rt'is, for *ardchíos* (the same speaker also has *árdchíos* ÓC195), which is the
 current form 'a:rd,x'is.

3.90 ath-

Stress '_ , '_ (Type II).

'_ : 'æ:hobər' *athobair*; 'æ:l'æ:su: *athleasú*; 'æ:l'e:m' *athléim*. Also *athfhód*,
athmhuimhneach.

'_ , '_ : 'æ:həs æhəs *athfhás*; æhuər' *athuair*, 'n a:huər' 889P *an athuair*.

Exceptional optional coalescence (devoicing, nonlenition):

æ:ta:r' M, æ:da:r' ~ 'æ:ȳa:r' ~ 'æ:ȳa:r' SM *athd(h)áir*;

'æ:vl'ien' ~ 'æ:vl'ien' M, 'æ:fl'ien' 01P *athbhliain*, genitive nə 'hæ:fl'ienə 20A
na hathbhliana (both 01P and 20A are from Doire Iorrais);

athghróigeadh commonly 'a:ȳro:g'ə; generally obsolescent 'a:xro:g'ə (also
 'a:xro:g'ə 43Mp from Doire Iorrais).

Cp. place-name ən 'æ:l'hī:nə 32Jt *an Athlónadh*; as noun [a]r *an aithlónadh*
 CABI §291(a) v. 3.

Note *ag baint fhéir agus dhá athbhaint MØperm; *ath-teorn [< turn] MØperm.

3.91 bán-

Stress '_ , '_ (Type II).

'_ : 'bɑ:n,hailfə M *bánshoilse* (also FFG); 'bɑ:n'd'arəg *bándearg*; 'bɑ:n,ȳri:n'
 Mperm *bángthruín* (< green; although considered perhaps unlikely);
 'bɑ:n,f'ink' 84P *bánphinc* (< pink).

'_ : b̥aːn̪l̪' iəx b̥aːn̪l̪' iəx b̥ánl̪íoch.

3.92 **barr-**

Stress '_ , '_ (Type II).

'b̥aːr,ʃk'eːl SM *barrscéal*; l̪aːv̪ ə ,maːr'uəʃl̪' ə n̪ə kaːriəxt (run)11C *lámh i mbarruaisle na caraíocht*.

Also *bárrbhútais* 866E Semr (e.g. 56). Cp. *bárdoras* FFG32 (1.221); 'b̥aːr'xuːnl̪əx *barrchonla(ch)* or *barr chonla* FFG *b̥aːr'xuːnl̪ə*.

3.93 **binn-**

Stress '_ , '_ (Type III).

'_ : t̪a ʃe 'b̥iːn̪'v̪'ɑːrh̪ə (am) Mq *tá sé binnbhearrtha (a'm)*; r̪iːn̪ ə m̪'e m̪ə 'v̪iːn̪'d̪'eh̪əl M *rinne mé mo bhinndeicheall*; t̪a ʃiː er̪ ə 'b̥iːn̪'jeh̪əl M *tá sí ar a binndeicheall*; t̪a m̪ə 'v̪iːn̪'d̪'oh̪ən̪' am M *tá mo bhinn dóthain a'm*; d̪ol̪ t̪uː d̪ə 'v̪iːn̪'d̪'oh̪ən̪' M *d'ól tú do bhinn dóthain*; 'b̥iːn̪'j̪ɑːrh̪ə Mq *binnbhearrtha*; 'b̥iːn̪'j̪ɑːr̪əxt Mq *binniarracht*; n̪ax w̪il̪'əs æd g̪ə 'b̥iːn̪'w̪aː ... M *nach bhfuil fhios a'd go binnmhaith ...*; x̪uːr̪ m̪'e m̪ə 'v̪iːn̪'v̪'ind̪ə m̪aːx Mq *chuir mé mo bhinnmhionda amach*.

'_ : 'b̥iːn̪'v̪'eːg̪əd̪oːr̪' Mq *binnbhréagadóir*; 'b̥iːn̪'ɣ̪aːlt̪ə Mq *binnndhallta*; 'b̥iːn̪'æːtiː Mq *binnfhataí*; 'b̥iːn̪'j̪ɑːr̪əxt 23B *binniarracht*; er̪ m̪ə 'viːn̪'j̪ɑːr̪əxt 23B *ar mo bhinniarracht*; r̪iːn̪ ə ʃe ə 'v̪iːn̪'j̪ɑːr̪əxt Mq *rinne sé a bhinniarracht*; 'b̥iːn̪'ɫ̪'ɛʃk̪'uːl̪' Mq *binnleisciúil*; 'b̥iːn̪'ɫ̪oːf̪ə Mq *binnlofa*; 'b̥iːn̪'h̪aːw̪æːl̪'ə Mq *binnshábháilte*; 'b̥iːn̪'x̪uːr̪aːl̪'ə Mq *binnshiúráilte*; 'b̥iːn̪'h̪r̪uːmiː also 'b̥iːn̪'t̪r̪uːmiː also 'b̥iːn̪'h̪r̪uːmiː g̪ə m̪aː Mq *binnthriomaíthe go maith*. Used adverbially in:

d̪'i m̪'e g̪ə 'b̥iːn̪'v̪l̪aːst̪ ɛ Mq *d'ith mé go binnbhlasta é*.

Some combinations queried were not permitted by Máire: **binnnaimsir*, **binnnard*, **binnbhean* MØperm, or strongly doubted: *binnimarca* M???perm. This prefix is uncommon; it was heard in conversation from 23B only: er̪ m̪ə 'viːn̪'j̪ɑːr̪əxt 23B *ar mo bhinniarracht*. In response to query, her husband 12J did not recognise this usage, upon which 23B then became unsure of her actual usage. Similarly, speakers 20C and 20My do not permit *mo bhinniarracht*. On the other hand, Máire, when queried, did recognise this as a genuine prefix and produced some examples spontaneously (indicated with 'M' here) and others when prompted ('Mq' here). Cp. *binnbhlaiseadh* FFG (not known to Máire).

3.94 **breac-, broc-**

Stress '_ , (Type II).

breac-

'br̪'æːk̪,j̪æːl M *breacghéal*, 'br̪'æːk̪,j̪æːl̪əx M *breacghéalach*, 'br̪'æːk̪,h̪ol̪əs M *breacsholas*. Máire permits 'br̪'æːk̪,w̪aːʃt̪'əx M(?)perm *breacbháisteach* but not (with a borrowing in) **breacdhraíle*.

broc-

In some words both *broc-* and *breac-* occur with no semantic distinction, e.g.

'bruk,æ:mfər' <i>brocaimsir</i>	=	'br'æ:k,æ:mfər' M <i>breacaimsir</i> ; ¹
'bruk,lɒfə <i>broclofa</i>	=	'br'æ:k,lɒfə M <i>breaclofa</i> ;
'bruk,hr'uməx <i>brocthríomach</i>	=	'br'æ:k,hr'uməx M <i>breacthríomach</i> .

Other words were heard with *breac-* only (examples above), while others have *broc-* only:

'bruk,hələx <i>brocshalach</i>	[vs. impermissible * <i>breacshalach</i>] M;
'bruk,her'əm <i>brocthirim</i>	[vs. impermissible * <i>breacthirim</i>] M.

3.95 *buí-*

Stress '_, (Type II).

'bi:wɑ:n M *buíbhán*, 'bi:vr'æk 27Cl *buíbhreac*, 'bi:xræk'nəx M *buí-chraicneach*; 'bi:ɣuv M *buídhúbh*.

3.96 *bun-*

Stress '_, '_, '_, '_, (Type II).

'Medium'

'_, : 'bun,airk M *bunadharc*; 'bun,i:stə S *bunaosta*; 'bun,xɑ:ɾə S *bunchaite*; 'bun,xahə ma: tuki: æd ər' Mq (*tá*) *bunchaitheamh maith tugthaí a'd air*; 'bun,xlai M *bunchlaí*; 'bun,xokə S *bunchoca*; 'bin',d'ernəx >> 'bun,jernəx S *bund(h)eireanach*; 'bun,dorəxə gə ma: M, 'bun,ɣorəxə S *bund(h)orcha (go maith)*; 'bin',dr'ubəl M *bundrioball*, 'bun,eir M *bunfhéar*; 'bun,i:so:g FFG s.v. *bunfhéasóg*; 'bun',iəso:g M, 'bun',e:so:g S *bunfhéasóg*; 'bun',e:so:gəx M *bunfhéasógach*; 'bun,wu:tə S *bunmhóta*; 'bun,hɑ:wɑ:ɾə gə ma: M *bunshábháilte go maith*, also 'bun,sɑ:wɑ:ɾə Mperm; 'bun,x'ui: M *bunshiúl*; 'bin',tr'iməx and 'bin',tr'iməx SM *buntriomach*. Cp. *bhí an cóisteoir agus mé féin bunmhór le chéile* 852SbLL32.

With verbal noun: v'í je 'bun,rix' M *bhí sé ag bunrith*; ta tu ga 'wun,xahə gə ma: Mq *tá tú dhá bhunchaitheamh go maith*.

'_ : 'bun'ausi:(hə) Mq *bunfheabhsáithe*; 'bun'e:ɾɑ:ɾə gə ma: Mq *bunfhéaráilte go maith*.

'_ : v'í je 'bun'woxt M *bhí sé bunbhocht* also 'bun'woxt and 'bunə'woxt; v'í je 'bun're:xu:fəx M *bhí sé bunréchúiseach*.

'Base, bottom'

'_, : 'bun,ɑ:rd gə ma: Mq *bun-ard go maith* ('with high base'); 'bun,ɑ:rdi:hə gə ma:h æd Mq *bun-ardaíthe go maith a'd* (e.g. of *coca bun-ard*); 'bun,xokə *bunchoca*; 'bun,i:fəl gə mah æd d'e:ta: t'il' ɑ:rd ə wæ:nt' æs ə mun Mq (*tá sé*) *buníseal go maith a'd, d'fhéadthá tuilleadh ard a bhaint as an mbun*; 'bun',fk'e:l SM *bunscéal*.

'_ and '_, : *buntop* 'bun,ɾop S *buntsop*, with exceptional variant in u: 'bu:n,ɾop *buntop* S *buntsop*.

'_, '_, : with genitive of the base in (compound) *bunúdair*, e.g. 'bun'u:dər' 11C5066 *bunúdair, am bün'u:dər' ə, v'í: 'f'ef | 11C an bunúdair a bhí leis*.

¹ Similarly, Tomás Ó Máille (2002 [1936]: 37–8).

3.97 caol-

Stress '_, '_, '_, '_, ' (Types II and III).

'_, '_, ' : 'ki:l'hæ:ns M, ki:l'hæ:ns M *caolsheans*.

'_, ' : 'ki:l,dri:m' M *caoldroim*.

Cp. 'n caíol-tslaitín seo **894C**, i.e. *caol-tslaitín*. Máire's response to my query *An bhfuil tú i ndan 'caol-' a chuir roimhe thada eile?* B6C, was: *Shíltheá go mbeitheá i ndan is tá sé cínnte orm cuimhreachtaíl air* Mq. This perhaps indicates its productive status but low yield: **caolfhear*, **caolbhean*, **caolaimhreas* MØperm.

3.98 comh-

Stress '_, '_, '_, '_, ' (Type III). Forms kō:, kō:, kū:, ku:, kū, ku, *chomh-* ⇒ *xō:.

'_ : 'kū: ~ 'ku: ~ 'kō:x'ial dín'ə Mq, 'kō:x'ial dín'ə [proverb] **21C** *comhchiall duine* (also *ku:l x'ial dín'ə* S, **21Pt**, as if *cúl(-)chiall duine*); *ku:l'ev'əl' comhleibhil*, e.g. *v'i: f'e 'ku:l'ev'əl' l'e f'in' ə'n'if* Mq *bhí sé comhleibhil leis sin anois*; 'kū:l'ehəd **892M2009** (*an maide gearrtha amach ...*) *comhleithead*; 'ku:warə x'e:l'ə *comh-mhar-a-chéile*; also *chomh-mhar-a-chéile* **894C**; 'ku:v'æ:ng'əl's Mperm *comh-mheaingils*. In a traditional run: 'ku:æ'də 'ku:ji:r'əx **869P**, 'kō:æ'də 'kō:l'ehəd 'kō:ji:r'əx **11C** *comhfhada*, (*comhleithead*), *comhdhíreach*. In song and rhyme: *f'i: 'ku:hi:m' warə nə gre:w i* **!899N** *Sí comhshuim bharr na gcraobh t; beidh siad comhghar 'kū:yar dhúinn* **!894C**.

'_, ' : 'ku:æti: S *comhfhataí*; 'ku:l'æ:gən **35E** *comhleagan*; *go mbeidís comh-mhéid 'kū:v'e:d' **872P**.*

'_, ' : 'ku:aird'ə Mq *comh-airde*.

'_ and '_, ' : 'ku:anən 'ku:anən S *comhionann* (e.g. *Tá sé comhionann thart timpeall uiliug* **869PDT86**); 'ku:l'ehəd, 'ku:l'ehəd S *comhleithead*. Also *comhfhad*, e.g. 'kū:æ:d **14M**, 'ku:ad S, 'kō:æ:d i:hə s lə: lə:l' m'ihil' M *comhfhad oíche is lá, lá Fhéil Míchil*; *ta f'iad 'ku:æ:d* SM *tá siad comhfhad*; *kū:q:d i:həs 'lə: 46* (s.v. *comh-fhad*) *comhfhad oíche is lá, 'tá siad i gcomhfhad (gu:qd)*' (given that secondary stress is often not indicated in SID, this would imply a possible '_, reading in these two instances).

'_ and '_, ' : *comhaois*

'_ : as noun: *kū:if* **14M**, *ku:if* M, *ku:hi:f* **01J**, *kūhi:f* S, *kuhi:f* **06Mc**, M, perhaps *kohi:f* [?] S. Examples:

ta f'e xə m'i:u:nt'ə l'enə xūhi:f gə wik' S

tá sé chomh mímhúinte lena chomhaois dhe mhuic.

ku:if m'e he:n' s e he:n' M comhaois mé héin is é héin;

'_ : predicatively it is used much less often (e.g. with *bí*):

'ku:if M (*tá siad*) *comhaois*.

Also *mar chómh-ábhar a' tosaí ar bhád* **894C6**; *Bhí sí i gcú-aoirde* (ey [i.e. *aird'ə*]) *le bárr na slata seoil ... a bhí ar a' soitheach* **869P3**; *cómhcholainn* **!894C9**; *i gcópháirtíocht* **852S2** (FGB *comhpháirtíocht*); *comhphocaide* FFG19, 20 (the stress pattern described in FFG(20) for *comh-* does not fully agree with IA data nor with GCF §431). Note lenited *chomh-* in *chomh-mhar-a-chéile* **894C**.

3.99 corr-, chorr-

Stress '_, '_, (Types II and III). Forms: **kaur** >> **xaur** (9.115).

'_ : 'kaur'ā:t' ə ro sp'æ:l sən a:m 11C5066 *corrāit a raibh speal san am*;
'kaur'x' a:n S *corrcheann*; 'xaur,sig'ə'roʃ P *chorrsuigearoit* (< cigarette).
'_ : riv'ə ʃo xir'əd ʃe 'kaur,funt a'x ə'n'ij M *roimhe seo chuireadh sé corr-phunt ach anois!*; 'xaur,uər' P *chorruair*; 'xaur,lə' 71D *chorrlá*; 'xaur,i:hə 71D *chorroiche*.

Note also different semantics of 'kaur,xrə:vəx S *corrchnámhach*; 'kaur,v'e:r' S *corrnhéir*; 'kaur,fkr'e:xo:g Sq, 'kaur,fk'r'e:xo:g 46. *corrscréachóg*.

3.100 crua-

Stress '_, (Type II).

'kruə,v'e:rlə M *cruaBhéarla*; 'kruə,xant' *crua-chaint*; 'kruə,xrakn'əx Mq *crua-chraicneach*; 'kruə,xri:x Mq *crua-chróloch*; 'kruə,xu:fəx *crua-chúiseach*; 'kruə,ye:lg'ə M?perm *cruaGhaeilge*.

3.101 cúl-

Stress '_, '_, (Type II).

'_ : 'ku:l'x' u:mrə Mq *cúlsheomra*.
'_ : 'ku:l,wit'ə 35Eq *cúlhbaoite*, plural *cúlhbaoití* Clad57, 35E; 'ku:l,xant' *cúlchaint*; 'ku:l,him'əl'e:r Mq *cúlshimiléar*; 'ku:l'x' upə *cúlshiopa*; 'ku:l,t'e:d M *cúltéad* (unknown to 21J, 35E); 'ku:l,tra: S *cúltrá* (unknown to 21J, 35E); 'ku:l,tru 35E *cúltsruth*.
'_ , '_, : 'ku:l'dorəs 'kul,dorəs Mq *cúldoras*; 'ku:l / 'ku:l't'æ:x Mq, 'ku:l't'ax S *cúlteach*.

3.102 deá-

Stress '_, '_, '_, (Types II and III).

Forms: generally **d'α**, but **d'e** in a by-form of *deighchríoch*.

'_ : 'd'α'afərk S *deá-afarc*; ə 'N'α'v'æ:ləx 06C *i ndeá-bhealach*; nə ro tu 'd'α'vl'ian' / -'hə'xtən' o: N'uv M *nár raibh tú deá-bhliain / -sheachtain ó inniu!*; 'd'α'vr'æhni:əx M *deá-bhreathnaíoch*; 'd'α'vr'e S *deá-bhreith*; 'd'α'laurhə S *deá-labhartha*; 'd'α'h'u:mplə S *deáshompla*; 'd'α'h'u:n' M *deá-thóin*.

'_ : 'd'α'yla:ntə M *deá-ghlanta*, as verbal adjective in: ta fíad 'd'α'yla:nt æd M *tá siad deá-ghlanta a'd*.

'_ and '_, : 'd'α'wal' ~ 'd'α'wæl' *deá-bhail*; dugə d'ia 'd'α'fk'e:lə / 'd'α'fk'e:lə yut' M, Mq (*go*) *dtuga Dia deá-scéala dhuit!*

'_ : d'α:xant' *deá-chaint*.

Also *deá-rath* 7 *deá-fhiúntas* 869P2.

d'e in a by-form of *deighchríoch*, e.g.

nár raibh deighchríoch 'd'exr'iax ar chú a bhí ann 898P1;

also *'d'α'xr'iax deá-chríoch*.

Very often with negative ironic meaning, e.g. (said to person who was cursing)

N'i: 'd'α'okəl ə ta: æd | N'i: 'd'α'okəl ə v'əx æd M

Ní deáfhocal atá a'd, ní deáfhocal a bheadh a'd!

3.103 **dearg-**

Stress ' _ (Type III). Forms: **d'aræg** *dearg-*, **d'er'æg** *deirg-*.

The prevalent form is *dearg-*, found before all consonants and vowels and in all nominal cases. Palatalised *deirg-* is far less frequent and is found preceding palatal consonants and before (at least) one word with nonpalatal initial consonant in the vocative.

dearg-

' _ : **d'æræg**'v'ɛrlɔ:r'æxt S *deargbhéarlóireacht*; **d'æræg**'vr'ɛg M *deargbhréag*, e.g. *tá tú ag díonamh na ndeargbhréag* ARN2133; **d'æræg**'yaltə P *deargdhalta*; **d'æræg**'fa:ʃən M *deargfaisean*; **d'ærə(g)**'grɑ:n' **d'æræg**-'yran' *dearg-g(h)ráin*; **ta** ʃi: ənə **d'æræg**'f'ætə 52P *tá sí ina deargpheata*; **ta** m'e **d'æræg**'x'wra:l'ə M *tá mé deargshiúráilte*.

deirg-

' _ : **d'er'æg**'v'i:l'ə *deirgmhíle* in *go mba seacht ngáir mhíle deirgmhíle mheasa bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht*! S.

' _ (' _ in query): **d'er'æg**'v'if(ə) M *deirgbhits(e)*, ə **'jer'æg**'v'if a *dheirgbhits!*, **mak** nə **d'er'æg**'v'ifə M *mac na deirgbhitse*; **na** ro tu **d'er'æg**'v'l'ien' o: noxt M *Nár raibh tú deirgbhliain ó anocht!* (also **d'er'æg**'v'l'ien' and **d'æræg**'v'l'ien' **d'æræg**'v'l'ien' Mq *deargbhliain*); ə **'jer'æg**'jaul' M a *dheirgdheabhail!* Before the comparative in **d'er'æg**'v'āsə *deirgmheasa* in *Go mba seacht go mba hocht go mba naoi mhíle mhíle deirgmheasa bheidheas tú ó anocht!* S; **na** ro tu **d'er'æg**'hæ:xtən' o: N'uv M *nár raibh tú deirgsheachtain ó inniu!*; **mak** nə **d'er'æg**'f'tr'i:pi: S *mac na deirgstriópaí*.

In vocative before a broad consonant ə **'jer'æg**'wa:stərt' M a *dheirgbhastaird!*; nominative **der'æg**'wastərd Mperm *deirgbhastard* is permitted but has not been heard in the nominative in conversation.

Also, in literal meaning in traditional narrative: *Rug sé ar dheirgbhéal uachtair agus ar dheirgbhéal íochtair ar chat aca* LL19.

3.104 **dí-**

Stress ' _ (Type II).

The stress pattern in the noun **d'i:** 'k'e:l'ə *díth céille* (analysable as noun + noun (genitive)) contrasts with the stress pattern in the adjective **d'i:** 'k'e:l'i: *dícéillí*, e.g. *tá tú an-dícéillí*, also Semr156, (analysable as prefixed adjective with nonlenition influenced by the nominal form), although both have nonlenition.

' _ : **d'i:** 'v'o: M *díbheo*; **d'i:** 'xi' ort M *díchaoi ort*; **d'i:** 'x'an M *díchean*; **d'i:** 'xumə Mq *díchuma*; **d'i:** 'l'aw S *díleábh*; **d'i:** 'v'aur' M *dímheabhair*; **d'i:** 'v'aurəx 46 s.v. *dí-mheabhrach* (arguably analysable as ' _); **æ:** 'n'- **d'i:** 'v'aurəx S *an-dímheabhrach*, **ga** 'ji:m'auri' **ga** ro ʃi 04B! *dhá dhímeabhraí dhá raibh sí*, **d'i:** 'm'aurəx 35E *dímeabhrach*; **d'i:** 'v'ās *dímheas*; **d'i:** 'wu:nə Mq *dímhúnadh*; **d'i:** 'nə:r'əx S *dínáireach*.

' _ : **L'ik'i:hə** | ə **N'ixi:vr'ə** Mq *ligthíthe i ndíchuimhne*.

Note **i:** ~ **ie** in **d'ixu:f** M, FFG (also FFG20), **d'ixu:f** M *díchúis*.

Cp. *dífháisc* [ʔ] M. The Modern Irish neologism *dífhostáithe* is borrowed in:

dífhostáithe, tá neart dífhostáithe **d'i:** 'esti: | **ta** N'æ:rt **d'i:** 'esti: nach ... S.

Note **díghíúmar* MØperm. For forms related to *díthrá*, see *giar-* (3.117).

3.105 do-

Stress '_, (Type II), rare '_, ('_ in query).

Forms: **du/i**, rarely **də**. Morphology: *do-* + (verbal) adjective or genitive.

'_, : '**du,wæ:nt'ə** *do-bhainte*; '**du,xastə** S *do-chasta*; '**di,xr'et'i(hə)** 43M *dochreidhíthe*; '**di,jər'hə** S *doghearrtha*; '**an'di,l'æ:si:hə** M *an-doleasaíthe*; *an-do-oibre* '**an'du,aibr'ə** *thair Chill Chiaráin* 18J; '**di,fl'e:sə:lt'ə** *dophléasáilte*; '**du,hə:k'i** *dothóighthí*; '**di,t'in'ðə:lt'ə** *dotindeáilte*;

'_, : (rare) '**du,i'xr'umi:hə** M *dothriomaíthe*; '**də'hifk'ənəx** M *dothuisceanach*.

'_, '_, : **v'i' fə** '**du'hrust** ~ '**du'hrusti:hə** ~ '**du,hruft** Mq *bhí sé dothrust* ~ *dothrustaíthe* ~ *dothruist*. Máire is unsure of the form *dothruist*, cp. *intruist*.

Note the general contrast with the stress pattern of *dubh-* illustrated in:

'**du,wæ:nt'ə** Mq *do-bhainte* vs. '**du'wæ:nt'ə**, '**du'wæ:nt'ə** Mq *dubh-bhainte*.

3.106 dorch-

Stress '_, '_, (Type III (perhaps mainly) and Type II).

'_, : '**dorəxə'bi** *dorchabuí*.

'_, : '**dorəxə,d'ærəg** *dorchadearg*, heard in *crúmdhearg sin dorchadearg* S84.

The nonlenition here indicates that *dorch-* functions syntactically as an adverb, e.g. *dorch buí*. The semantic function and, to some extent, stress pattern are, however, equivalent to the prefixes *dubh-* and *trom-*. We might classify *dorch-* and *trom-* (3.145) 'deep' as quasi-prefixes. Cp. FGB *dorch*² 7, *trom*³ 20. One can also compare the intensifying use of the adjective *maol* in '**mi:l'd'ærəg** *maol dearg* 'really red' (cf. *maol* 3 FFG).

3.107 droch-

Stress '_, '_, '_, '_, '_, (Types II and III).

'_, : '**drox'vla:s ort** S *drochbhlas ort!*; **na ro tu** '**drox'v'ien'** / '**ha:xtən' o: n'i** M *nár raibh tú drochbhliain / -sheachtain ó inniu!*; '**drox'i:d'ə** M *drochíde*; '**drox'lə:** *drochlá*; '**drox'i:hə** *drochoíche*; '**drox'u:sə:d'əxi:** M *drochúsáid-eachaí*. Preceded by *an-*, e.g. '**an'drox'yo: kri:** Mq *an-drochdhó croí*.

'_, '_, : '**drox'v'if'n'əx** P, '**drox,vif'n'əx** *drochmhísneach*; '**drox'wal'**, '**drox,wal'** M, 52P *drochbhail*.

'_, '_, : '**drox'hnu:** SM, '**drox'hnu:** M, **droxnu:** FFG *drochshnua*, '**drox'hnu:l'** **droxnu:l'** M, cp. **droxnu:l'** FFG20 *drochshnúil*.

'_, '_, : '**dro'xra er'** ~ '**də'xra er'** SM, '**də'xra er'** S *drochrath air!* Cf. below.

'_, : ('**an**)'**drox,vr'æ:nhiax** M (*an-*)*drochbhreathnaíoch*; '**drox,x'ə:n** M *droch-cheann*; '**drox,v'āsu:l'** S *drochmheasúil*; '**drox,i:n i: n stor'əm'** S *drochshíon í an stoirm*, '**drox,in'ə** P *drochdhuine*. Also '**drox,xu:l'əx** 21Ptq *droch-chomhairleach* (when queried as to *dochomhairleach*).

'_, : '**droxu:l'** *drochshúil*; '**æ:n'droxu:l'** S *an-drochshúil*; '**droxji:n** M *drochdhíon*; with elision of *-mh-* in lexicalised: '**droxu:n't'ə** S, '**droxu:n't'ě** 46 (s.v. *láidir*) *drochmhúinte*; '**droxu:nə** *drochmhúnadh*.

'_, : **v'i: fə** '**drox'wuəlt'ə** M *bhí sé drochbhualte*; **æmfər' ə** '**dro'xi:l'** *aimsir an Drochshaoil*; '**drox'hæ:ns** *drochsheans*.

'_, '_, : **dro(x)'xr'iax ort!** 12J, '**dro'xr'iax ort** SM *droch-chríoch ort!* Cf. below.

Note the following contrastive pairs containing ' _ ' vs. ' _ () ' where primary stress on the second element indicates the more composite, less lexicalised semantics:

'drox'xri: <i>droch-chroí</i> 'bad heart'	vs.	'dro(x)xri: S <i>droch-chroí</i> 'enmity, jealousy';
'drox'hu:l' <i>drochshúil</i> 'bad eye / hope'	vs.	'droxu:l' <i>drochshúil</i> 'evil eye';
'drox'wu:nə <i>drochmhúnadh</i> 'bad teaching'	vs.	'droxu:nə <i>drochmhúnadh</i> 'malevolence'.

Nevertheless, primary stress is found on the second element in both:

'drox'hi:l <i>drochshaol</i> 'bad life'	vs.	'drox'i:l, dro'xi:l <i>Drochshaol</i> 'Famine'.
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Reduction and loss of initial element *droch-* occurs in some curses:

do'xra er' S drochrath air!
xrah er' ə ma:nə ma:rər vr'i fe M
drochrath ar an mbainne marar bhris sé!
xr'iax er' 23B, 65C droch-chríoch air!

3.108 *dubh-*

Forms: **du**, **duw**, **du:**, (do).

Intensifier

Stress ' _ ', ' _ () ' (Type III mostly).

' _ ' : 'du'vr' e:gəx S *dubh-bhréagach*; 'du'xa'tə *dubhchaite*; 'du'xræk' a:l'tə P *dubhchraiceáilte*; 'du'f'it ~ 'du'f'it a:l'tə Mq *dubhfit(-áilte)*; 'du'uər *dubhfhuar*; 'du'la:d'ər SM *dubhláidir*; 'du'tin' d'əra:l'tə Mq *dubh-tindearáilte*.

' _ () ' : 'du,wəxt S *dubh-bhocht*; 'du,vrə:g' S *dubh-bhróig*; 'du,a'lhə 27Mdq *dubhfhalamh*; 'du,la:d'ər M *dubhláidir*; 'du,wə:r S *dubhmhór*; 'du,hev'ər S *dubhshaibhir*; 'du,xahə ma: tuki: a'm ɣo Mq (tá) *dubhchaitheamh maith tugthaí am dhó*.

VN in: *tə: m'e' ga' ɣu,xahə gə:ni Mq tá mé dhá dhubhchaitheamh i gcónaí*.

'du,la: S *dubhlá* 'bad day (of weather)' is regular and its meaning corresponds to *dola:* FFG *do-lá* although the vowel of the prefix in the FFG transcription, i.e. **do**, is anomalous for both *dubh-* and *do-*, and the meaning is anomalous for *do-*.

' _ () ' : 'di'vr' i'f'tə M *dubh-bhriste*.

'Black, dark'

Stress ' _ ', ' _ () ' (Type II).

' _ () ', (_ ' , ' _ '): 'du,bi: 11C5205, 'du,wi: SM *dubh-b(h)uí*; 'di,jærəg Mq, 45N *dubhdhearg*; 'di,ɣorəm S *dubhghorm*; cp. 'di,v'a:l SM, 'di,v'a:l M *duibhmheall*, plural 'di,v'a:l' Mq *duibhmheill*, 'di,v'a:l'trəxi: Mperm *duibhmhealltrachai*; note 'du,ɣri:n' Mperm *dubhghraín* (< green) although unlikely and never heard by Máire. Also 'du,wāk ~ 'dū,wāk ~ 'dū,wāk 11C *Dubhmhac* (character in tale); *craiceann dubhghlas ar a' tslait* DT91.

' _ , **dubi:** FFG *dubhbuí*, **du:l' æ:k** 892M *Dúileac*.

' _ ', cp. 'du:l' et'ər' *Dúileitir*.

One can interpret perhaps either **du:w-**, **duw** or **du:** before a vowel in *ní go dúbhfhaltha táim* !894C9.

duw- before vowels, e.g. 'duw'a'mədə:n M *dubhamadán*; 'du'wuər M *dubhfhuar*; also in one of the variants of 'du,wín'hə 'du,wín'hə M *dubhuaithne*.

3.109 **fad-**

Stress '_, (Type II).

'fad,afrəkəx Mq *fadamharcach*; 'fad,vr'ænhíəx S *fadbhreathnaíoch*; 'fa:ð-
l'ekn'əx ~ 'fa:d,l'ekn'əx SM *fadleicneach*; ən f'íə v'og fít'əx fat'əx 'fa:d'-
l'e:mn'əx (Smbb)04B *an fia bheag fuiteach faiteach faidléimneach*; 'fa:d-
xlusəx S *fadchluasach*; 'fad,vra:mənəx 'fa:dra:mənəx M *fad-d(h)ramannach*;
'fa:d,vr'ibələx M *fad-dhrioballach*; 'fa:t'æggən' S *fadteangain*; rə'æ:t'æggən-
əx SM *ro-fhadteanganach*. Note *fadfhoighdeach*, *fadchosach* Mq?perm.

3.110 **fiod-, flich-, frich-**

Stress '_, , , _' (Type II).

fiod-

'_, : 'f'id,wə:ft'əx also 'f'idə,wə:ft'əx M *fiodbháisteach*; 'f'id,vra:məni: S, Mq
fiodbhramannaí; *fiodchafarnach* FFG; 'f'id,ya:r'i: M, 'f'idə,ya:r'i: 66N
fiodgháirí; 'f'id,wagə S *fíodmhagadh*; *fíodmhagúil* FFG; *fíodmhúirín* FFG.
Note 'f'id,hə'ləxər bə:ft'i' Mperm *fíodshalachar báistí*; 'f'id,hl'æ:bə:l'
Mperm *fíodshleabáil* (< slob) *bháistí*.

flich-, frich-

'_, , , _' : fl'i,hn'æxtə 889P, fl'i,hn'æxtə SM *flichshneachta*; fr'i hn'æxtə
[stress not noted] 10B *frichshneachta*.

Note (borrowing) **fíod-dhrasúil* MØperm (related to 'drizzle'). Cp. *fíod-* in
fíodmhagadh Semr148 (only example of *fíod-*, it may be accurate or a mistran-
scription for *fíod-*), note also *fíobháisteach* FFG20 not known to Mq, *frishneachta*
FFG20, *fíod-* LFRM.

3.111 **fionn-**

Stress '_, (Type II).

'f'in,wə:n *fionnbhán*; 'f'in,ruə *fionnrúa*. Cp. f'ínuər *fionnuar* and related forms.

3.112 **fíor-**

Stress '_, '_, (Type III).

'_ : 'f'íər'æ:ft'əx *fíoraisteach*; 'f'íər'jækər' *fíordheacair*.

With progressive *ag* in verbal noun type syntax:

ə 'f'íər'hə:fə:d' ə gə:ni Mq *ag fíorsheafóid i gcónaí*;

t'e: tə: 'f'íər,wəxə:r'əxt 21Pt *té atá ag fíormhochóireacht ... i gcónaí*.

'_, : 'f'íər,lə:r' S *fíorláir*; mə xud' fələ 'f'íər,uə:l'ə 11Ct *mo chuid fola fíoruaisle*.

Also (stress not marked in transcription): ní raibh fíorchuímse potaí ag aon bhád
43Jt.

3.113 fuar-

Stress '_, '_, ' (Type II).

'_ : 'fuə,ræt M *fuar-at*; 'fuə,rvr'ænhiax *fuarbhreathnaíoch*; 'fuə,rvrít'ə P, 25M *fuarbhruite*; 'fuə,rxa't'ə S *fuarchaite*; 'fuə,rxi:n'əxan S *fuarchaoineachán*; 'fuə,rxu:f S *fuarchúis*; 'fuə,rxu:fəx S *fuarchúiseach*; 'fuə,rəkəl M *fuarfhoc* (FGB *forfhocal*); 'fuə,rɫaxt FFG *fuarlacht*; 'fuə,rɫa:r' FFG *fuarláir*.

'_ : fuərn'iv' M *fuarnimh*; fuərl'ek' 894Cs, M *fuarleic*; fuərxræ'kn'əx M *fuarchraicneach*; fuərxu:f *fuarchúis*; fuərxu:fəx S *fuarchúiseach*.

'_ : lá garbh, fuargharbh go maith | 'fuə,r'ya:ru: gə 'mā:ā | 889P.

Also *fuarchaint*, *fuarleacracháí*, *fuarmheirfean* FFG, without stress indication. These perhaps stand for '_, given *fuarainm* and *fuarfhoc* FFG20, also without stress indication in FFG20, but with equal double stress ('_') in ICF §454.

3.114 geal-

Stress '_, '_, (Types II and III).

'_ : nā ro tu 'g'æ:l'v'ian' / -'haxtən' o: noxt M *nár raibh tú gealbhlaiin / -sheachtain ó anocht!*

'_ : v'iidər kor' 'g'æ:l'ỹřĩ:ũĩ' (Smds)04B *bhíodar cóir, gealghnaíuil*; 'g'æ:l'sp'ər'u:l' M *gealspéiruil*; 'g'æ:l'stir'əm' P *gealstoirm*, also FFG.

Cp. 'g'il'oxə *gilfhiuchadh*.

3.115 géar-

Stress '_, '_, (Types II and III).

'_ : 'g'ər'xal' l'e M *géarchall le*; 'g'ər'xi:vr'ə M *géarchuimhne*; də 'je:r'johəl Mq *do ghéardhícheall*; mə 'je:r'jumu' yut' M *mo ghéardhiomú dhuit*; mə 'je:r'yot'ə M *mo ghéardhóite* (e.g. *Sé mo ghéardhóite nach mbalaíonn tú leat as sin!* Mq); 'g'ər'ya: Mq *géarghá*; nā rə tu 'g'ər'haxtən' o: n'u' S *nár raibh tú géarsheachtain ó inniu!*; no [sic] ro tu 'g'ər'v'ian' o: n'i Mq *nár raibh tú géarbhlaiin ó inniu!*; gə 'g'ər'wa: Mq *go géarmhaith*; 'g'ər'hæ:ns gə ɲohə ... Mq *géarsheans go ngabhthaidh ... (= drochsheans)*; də 'je:r'h'li: v'æ:hə Mq *do ghéarshlí bheatha*, fe mə 'je:r'h'li: v'æ'h e M *sé mo ghéarshlí bheatha é*, fin' ə wíl' gə 'je:r'h'li: æd l'e də v'æ:hə hi:rhu: Mq *Sin a bhfuil dhe ghéarshlí a'd le do bheatha a shaothrú*.

'_ : ta 'g'ər,walh er' Mq *tá géarbhaladh air*; 'g'ər,waski' M *géarbhascthaí*; 'g'ər,v'ifjəxi: Mq *géarbhiiseacháí*; ta fe 'g'ər,vla'stə gə ma' Mq *tá sé géarbhlasta go maith*; 'g'ər,vr'ænhu: Mq *géarbhreathnú*; 'g'ər,vr'i: xa:n't'ə Mq *géarbhrí chainte*, ga 'je:r,vr'i: fin' Mq *dhá ghéarbhrí sin* (Mq was unsure which of these two constructions was an example of the genuine use of *géarbhrí*); 'g'ər,xoləx Mq *géarchollach*; 'g'ər,xu:f M *géarchúis*; mə 'je:r,xuntər M *mo ghéarchuntar*; ə 'ŋ'ər'ya: Mq *i ngéarghá*; 'g'ər,l'ænu:n't' Mq *géarleanúint*; 'g'ər,ukrəs er' Mq *géarocras air*; ta fe 'g'ər,x'u:l' ə gu:ni' Mq *tá sé ag géarshiúl i gcónaí*; də 'je:r,hnu: Mq *do ghéarshnua* (of bad complexion), ta 'g'ər,hnū: dun ort Mq *tá géarshnua dona ort*; v'i 'g'ər,h'u:l' a'm l'ef Mq *bhí géarshúil a'm leis* (both of watchful eye and expectancy).

Also *géarchrúbach* FFG; *fi' jær:smæxt nə mrudæ:n* !Mq *faoi ghéarsmacht na mbradán*; also *-amadán, -óinseach, -stríopach* Mq. Many seemingly well-formed combinations are not permitted by Mq: **géarchrochta, *géarchéim, *géar-fhocal, *géarfhiacloch, *géartheangach*. Cp. *giar-* (3.117).

3.116 *gearr-*

Stress '_, '_, '_, ' (Type II 'short' and Type III in intensive function).

'_, : 'g'ær:xu:ntənəsəx M *gearrchuntanasach*, also *gearrchuntanásach* FFG.

'_ : nə ro tu' g'ær:v' iən' / -v' i: / -hæ:xtən' o: n'uv M

Nár raibh tú gearrbhliain / -mhí / -sheachtain ó inniu!

'_ : 'g'ær:wodəx *gearrbhodach*; 'g'ær:xal' ə *gearrchaile*.

Cp. '_, '_, ' in *jær:i:nəx, jær'i:nəx, jær'ji:nəx* Mq (*an*) *ghearrghionach*.

3.117 *giar-, iar-, thiar-, diar-*

Stress '_, '_, '_, ' (Type III).

giar- (~ *iar-*):

mə 'jiær'xi:v' ə S *mo ghiarchuimhne*, mə 'jiær'iar'xi:v' ə S *mo ghiar-iarchuimhne* (other speakers, e.g. 872P, M, have *géarchuimhne* here); *giarmhullach an chruic* S, *ar ghiarmhullach an chruic* S. Also *er' jiær,wuləx ə d'aul'* S *ar ghiarmhullach an deabhail* explained as '*géarmhullach*' by Seán and Máire, i.e. *a ghoil suas ar an deabhal* Mq. Cp. *er' 'g'iar'wuləx ə d'aul'* Mq *ar giarmhullach an deabhail, téad sé i ngéarmhullach an deabhail* Mq. This is used commonly in the curse *t'aid fe 'g'iar'wuləx ə d'aul'* (*Teighre téadh sé* (etc.) *giarmhullach an deabhail*, perhaps reduced through sandhi from ... *go giarmhullach* ...).

giar- ~ thiar-:

giaríochtar ~ thiaríochtar S (contrast *thiaríochtar* MØperm, rather *giaríochtar*, e.g. *thíos i ngiaríochtar an gharraí* Mq and *fíoríochtar* Mq).

giar- ~ gia- ~ iar- ~ dhia- ~ diar- in *díthrá* (cp. *dí-*, 3.104):

giarthrá S, *an ghiathrá* S, *er' jærhɾa:* S *ar ghiarthrá*;

iarthrá S, *tá sé 'na iarthrá* S, *ən' 'iær,hɾa:* S *an iarthrá*; *er' iærɾa:* 11P *ar iar(thr)á*;

dhiathrá: *ag fanacht le dhiathrá jærhɾa:* 30Mst;

dia-thrá 894C2 may well indicate *d' iærhɾa:*; *er' ə jærhɾa:* M *ar dhiarthrá*,

nə jærhɾa: [-rhr- ?] M *ina dhiathrá*; also *d' iærhɾa:* 35E;

dhia- ... dia-: *síos go dtí dhiaidh-thrá ... lán mara ná diaidh-thrá* B19.51.

There is often coalescence or reduction in the *jiæ* sequence in this word, e.g.

nə 'iærhɾa:, 46.1051, *nə jærhɾa:* 46.1054–5.

iar- ~ thiar-:

gl'æn '(h)iar'xunəxt S, *gl'æn iar'xunəxt* 11C2828 *Gleann (Th)iar-Chonnacht*; *Tá an clái stopthaí ag thiaríochtar an gharraí* S; *iaríochtar* S, *iaríochtar an gharraí* S, *Tá siad thíos ar iaríochtar an chriathraigh* M, *ar iaríochtar ifreann* M. Compare *ar iaríochtar (ifreann)* and *ar ghiarmhullach (an deabhail)* with *ə yol' ə f' iæríəxt er' ə d'aul* (*féadthaidh tusa*) *a ghoil a fíoraíocht ar an deabhal!* reported by 45C to have been said by 11C functioning as 'go to hell'.

3.118 glan-

Stress '_, ' _ (Type III).

'_ : 'glan'wa:stərd Mq *glanbhastard*; v'i: je 'glan'v'ɑ:rhə S *bhí sé glanbhearrtha*; 'glan'v'ijə Mq *glanbhitse*; 'glæ'ŋ'x'i:nt'ə Mq *glanchinnte*; 'glan'xlɑ: nə f'i:r'ən'ə M *glanchlár na fírinne*; 'glan'xosə M *glanchosa*; 'glan'x'ial M *glanchiall*, er' ə 'ɣlan'x'e:l' M *ar a ghlanchéill*; 'glæ'ŋ'xoləx Mq *glanchollach*; 'glæ'ŋ'xræk'ɑ:l't'ə Mq *glanchraiceáilte*; je mə 'ɣlan'xi:v'r' ε M *sé mo ghlanchuimhne é*; gə 'glæ'N'd'i:r'əx Mq *go glandíreach*; 'glan'air'i: ənə xlog'ən M?perm *glanéiríthe ina chloigeann*; 'glan'e:ɾɑ:l't'ə ~ 'glan'f'e:ɾɑ:l't'ə Mq *glanf(h)éaráilte*; fod i: ŋ 'glan'i:r'ən'ə 18Bm85 *seod í an glanfhirinne*, ŋ 'ɣlan'i:r'ən'ə Mq *an ghlanfhirinne*; ə 'ɣlan'ia:ɾəxt Mq *a ghlaníarracht*; gə 'ɣlæn'L'e:m' 04B *dhe ghlanléim* (note nonlenition of l); gə 'glan'wa: Mq *go glanmhaith*; 'glan'v'aur' M *glanmheabhair*; ta s am gə 'glæn'x'urɑ:l't'ə nax wil' je d'i:ntə k'æ:rt æd Mq *tá fhios a'm go glanshiúráilte nach bhfuil sé déanta ceart a'd*; d'air'ə je gə 'ɣla:n'sprɪŋg' S *d'éirigh sé dhe ghlandspruing (< spring)*; 'glan'f'er'əm' ~ 'glan'her'əm' Mq *glant(h)irim*; huɣ je | 'glan'wa:ɾniɣ gə məhər' 66N *thug sé glanvámuing (< warning) dho m'athair*.

'_ : 'gʷlānʷwɑdʲ fo:l' !!(Aár)04B *glanbhád seoil*.

Beginning our discussion of *glan-* Mq commented:

n'i:l' əs am wil' mo:ɾɑ:n gla:nəni' ɑ:n ə'n'ij' Mq

Níl fhios a'm an bhfuil mórán 'glan-'annaí ann anois.

In fact we found quite a few. Cf. her comments at the end of the discussion on *mór-* (3.132).

3.119 glas-

Stress '_, ' _ (Type II).

'_ : 'glas:æmfər' S *glasaimsir*; 'glɑ:s,xu:n M *glaschuan*, plural *glaschuantai* DT93 'land-locked harbours'; ma'd'ə ma: 'glɑ:s,da:ri: 35E *maide maith glasdarai*; 'glas,ɣa:n'ə 03C *glasghaineamh*; 'glɑ:s,ɣa:ru: S *glasgharbh*; 'glɑ:s,snim' S, 'glɑ:snim' P *glas-snaidhm*.

'_ : gla'se:r M *glasfhéar*.

Also *glasiasc* 894C3, *glasliath* 869PDT90.

glois- before palatal *f* in *glofe:r* M (*glife:r* in my original transcription) *gloisfhéar* FFG, 'glof'il'ɑ:n 27Mdq, mainly in place-name *paul ə 'ɣlof'il'ɑ:n' 11C Poll an Ghloisoileáin*.

3.120 in-

Stress _' (Type I). Form usually *ən*; note reduced token before *x-* in *ə'xokdə inchocta*. Morphology: *in-* + verbal adjective or genitive.

inaitheanta: ən'æ:həntə, ən'æ:n'hə, ən'æ:nh'i:hə occur, e.g. n'i:l' je ən'æ:həntə S *níl sé inaitheanta*; n'i:l' tu ən'æ:n'hə 14M *níl tú inaithne*; ta je næ:n'hə gə mā: S *tá sé inaithne go maith*; ən'æ:n'hə 27Mdq; níl sé inaithníthe n'æ:nh'i:hə 21Ptq.

inbhearrtha, e.g. n'i:l' je n'v'ɑ:rhə S *níl sé inbhearrtha*.

incinneadh, etc., e.g. *incinniú ar ...* **866ESemr** (e.g. Semr96); *ə́n'k'i:nt'ə* *ə́n'k'i:nt'ə* S, *ə́n'k'i:nt'ə* **27J** *incinnnte*; *níl rud a bith, inchinniúint air, ... inchinniúint ar achuile aimsir* **21Jc**.

inchocthai(the): *ə́n'xoki:hə* **21Ptq**, *ə́xokdə* **27Mdq** *inchocta*.

inc(h)únta: *ə́n'ku:ntə ə́n'ku:ntə ə́n'xu:ntə* S, *ə́n'xu:ntə* Mq.

inchurtha: *e:ŋ ɣa'sk'iəx ə v'ex ə́n'xurhə l'ef* (Smbb)**04B** *aon ghaiscíoch a bheadh inchurtha leis*.

inf(h)eicthí(the): *ə́n'f'ek'i*: M, *ə́n'ek'i*: M85, *ə́n'ek'i:(hə)* Mq96; also *infeiceál* Mq and *infeiceáil* Mq.

ingearrtha: *Nuair a bhí an t-arbhar ingearrtha tháinig sé* **869PDT57**.

inionsaíthe: *ə́n'uns:i:hə ə́n'ins:i:hə ə́n'u:ns:i:hə* Mq.

inite: *ə́n'it'ə*, e.g. *n'it' f'e:fin' eg' rud | n'it' eg' rud ə b'ɪ | níl sé sin ag rud* [selfcorrection] *inite ag rud ar bith*.

inláimhsíthe: *ə́n'lā:vʃi:hə* M.

inráite: *ta f'e n'ra:t'ə* M *tá sé inráite*.

intseolta: *na' ro f'e ə́n't'oltə eg' | eg' ə gaultəx[t ?]* **04B** *nar raibh sé intseolta ag an gcabhlach(t ?)*.

intseoltóireacht: *ə́n't'oltə:r'əxt* (Acs)**04B**, *níl sí intseoltóireacht ag ...* !ZCP155, !894C9, !(Alp)**39D**.

intsiúil: *ə́n't'u:l'* M also FFG, *ə́n'f'u:l't'ə* Mq *ə́n't'u:l't'ə* Mperm *in(t)siúilte*.

in(t)snáimhte: *ə́n'sna:v't'ə ə́n'hna:v't'ə* Mq; also *insnáfa* in: *an riseach ... ó tharla go bhfuil sí insnáfa* Clad233 (also Clad47, *ion-snámhtha* Clad43, 220), MØperm.

intaobhai(the): *ə́n'ti:wi:* S (x4), *ə́n'ti:wi:hə* **20C**, **35E**.

Cp. *inghrásta*: *ə́n'ra:stə, ə́n'ra:stə* S, *ə́n'ra:stə* is taken by Seán as the basic form (cp. ~ *in'ɣra:sdə* LFRM).

With borrowings: *ə́n'vl'æ:ft'ə:l't'ə* Mperm *inbhleasteáilte* (< blast); *inpheasála* *ə́n'f'æ:salə* in *gol'ə n'f'o gə v'ek'ə mid' hu: gə v'ek'ə mid' ə wil' tu: ə́n'f'æ:salə* M *gabh i leith anseo go bhfeicthidh muid thú, go bhfeicthidh muid an bhfuil tú inpheasála* (< pass); *ə́n'fl'e:sal't'ə* Mq *inphléasáilte*; *ə́n't'in'da:l't'ə* Mq *intindeáilte* (< tend); older borrowing *ə́n'tru:ft' ə́n'tri:ft' intruist*. Note that queried **ə́n'frə'naunsal't'ə* M?perm **inphronabhnsáilte* (< pronounce) was given doubtful status and neither **ə́n'f'i:da:l't'ə* MØperm **infídeáilte* nor **intrustaithe* MØperm were permitted.

Note the phrasal reflexive passive constructions:

... *ə́n'fæ:stə l'ef* Mq *níl sé inseasta leis*, 'he cannot be put up with';

... *ə́n'xurhə suəs l'ef* Mq *níl sé inchurtha suas leis*, 'he cannot be put up with'.

Exceptions

Nonlenition in some instances (homorganic velar, 9.39; f, 9.21):

ə́n'k'i:nt'ə S *incinnnte*, *ə́n'ku:ntə* S *incúnta*, *ə́n'f'ek'i*: M *infeicthíthe*, *ingearrtha* **869PDT57** (unless *h* (superscript dot) is missing through printing error).

Nongenitive and nonlenition:

incinniú ar ... **866ESemr** (e.g. Semr96), cp. *inchinniúint*.

The form *ə́n'do:l'tə inólta* **18J8522** seems to be a slip of the tongue.

3.121 lag-

Stress '_, (Type II).

'la:g,vri:m' Mq *lagbhroim*; din'ə 'la:kosəx M *duine lagcosach*, 'la:g,xosəx M *lagchosach*; din'ə 'la:g,ɣra:mənəx m'e he:n' M *duine lagdhramannach mé héin*; 'la:g,ɣri:m' M *lagdhroim* (*lagdhroim* was spelt *laggruim* SM in my notes in 1984 indicating 'la:g,(g)ri:m'); 'la:g,i:nt'ən'əx S *lagintinneach*; dri:m' 'la:g-lu:bəx M *laglúbach*; 'la:g,faul S *lagpholl*; 'lag,fortəx *lagphortach*.

3.122 lán-

Stress '_, (Type III).

'la:n'x'i:nt'ə S *lánchinnte*; 'la:n'fura:l't'ə S *lánsiúrálte*; 'la:n't'ura:l't'ə d'er'kid' æku S *'lántsiúrálte' a deir cuid acú*. In a traditional run:
sohəx 'la:n'loxtəx 'la:n'sailfəx 05Md *soitheach lánlochtach lánsoilseach*.

3.123 leas-

Stress '_, (Type II).

'l'æ:s,æ:n'əm' S *leasainm*; 'l'æ:s,ahər' *leasathair*; 'l'æ:s,xla:n 32J *leaschlann*; 'l'æ:f,dr'eha:r' *leasdreathair*; 'l'æ:f,dr'ehu:r 23C *leasdreithiúr*; 'l'æ:f,r'ə:grə SM, 'l'æ:f,r'ə:grəxi: M *leasfhreagra(chaí)*, 'l'æ:s,r'ə:gri: M *leasfhreagraí*; 'l'æ:f,fr'ə:grəx M *leasfreagrach*; 'l'æ:s,wāk S *leasmhac*; 'l'æ:s,wā:hər' S *leasmháthair*. Also *leasiníon* Sc139, DT13; permitted: *leasdheaide*, *leasdeaidí*, *leasmhama* Mperm, in contrast with **leas-sheanathair*, **leasdheaidio* MØperm.

3.124 leath-

Stress '_, '_, '_, '_, (Type II).

Forms: generally *l'a* (before vowels also *l'ah*) *leath-* in a few words before palatal consonants *l'e* / *l'i* *leith-*.

Meanings: 'half-', 'medium(-sized)-' or 'fairly, reasonably' (in negative with abstract noun also 'not much', e.g. *ní raibh leathlocht air*), 'one of two'.

l'æ- *leath-*.

'_ : 'l'æ,huməda:n S *leathamadán*; 'l'æ,walt'əxi: S *leathbhailteachaí*; *leathbhruith*, e.g. *ní raibh leathbhruith* 'l'æ,vri:x' orub sin sa mbád 11C; 'l'æ,x'a:n *leathcheann*, 'l'æ,x'a:ŋ 'ku:plə *leathcheann cúpla* (e.g. 46.762), 'l'æ,x'i:n' S *leathchinn*; 'l'æ,xof *leathchois*; 'l'æ,ji:ntə 66N *leathdhéanta*; *leathdhíomhaoin* FFG; 'l'æ,hæ:snə S *leatheasna*; 'l'æ,a:ti: M, 'l'æ,æ:ti: S *leathfhataí*; 'l'æ,hokəl S *leathfhocal*; 'l'æ,ɣlu:n' *leathghlúin*; 'l'æ,hə:tə M *leath-hata*; 'l'æ,lə:v' *leathláimh*; 'l'æ,loxt *leathlocht*, e.g. *Ní raibh leathlocht a'inn air* FFG; 'l'æ,lugg M *leathlung*; 'l'æ,wagə S *leathmhagadh*; 'l'æ,wagu:l' SM *leathmhagúil*; 'l'æ,wæŋg' *leathmhaing*; 'l'æ,haurləx *leathorlach*; *leathphúcán* FFG; 'l'æ,funt *leathphunt*; 'l'æ,sko:r *leathscór*; 'l'æ,havərən *leathshabharan*; 'l'æ,stuək' *leathstuaic*; 'l'æ,stumpi: S *leathstumpaí*; 'l'æ,hə:r'n'i: M *leath-thairníthe*; 'l'æ,hosi: 66N *leath-thosaíthe*; 'l'æ,hunsə S, 'l'æ,hunsə *leathunsa*.

Stress not marked in my notes for: *b'e:d'ər' gər ha:r l'ef l'æ: hi:nt'ə fjar ... 20C gur fearr leis leathshínte siar ...*. Also: *leathcholapa* FFG 'half-grown heifer or bullock'; *leath-tharraingt* FFG.

'_ : 'L'æ'wa gə 'L'or, etc., *S leath-mhaith-go-leor*; *leathmhagairle* in the rhyme:

mā:rt'i:n' xorəmæk' ə torəmæx er' li:
 'L'æ:'wa:gərl'ə 'yʷw s 'L'æ:'wa:gərl'ə 'wi: S
Máirtín Chormaic ag tormach ar lao,
Leathmhagairle dhubh is leathmhagairle bhuí.

L'e- *leith-* (mostly lexicalised) ~ L'æ- *leath-*.

'_ : 'L'e,v'i'ən' SM *leithbhliain* (also *leithbhliain* 869P2); 'L'e,v'i:l'ə P *leithmhíle*; 'L'e,v'i:l'u:n 48J *leithmhilliún*; 'L'e,f'intə 11C, 20M, 'L'e,f'intə M *leithphionta* (also *leithphíonta* 869P2), 'L'æ:f'intə M *leathphionta*.

'_ : 'L'e,f'i:n' M, 'L'e,f'i:n' *leithphínn*.

L'i- ~ L'e- *leith-* (lexicalised) ~ L'æ- *leath-*.

'_ : 'L'i,x'e:d !21Pt, 'L'e,x'e:d S *leithchéad*, note 'L'æ,x'e:d 12Sperm *leathchéad*.

'_ : 'L'ij'k'e:l 04B, 18Pc, 21Pt, 'L'ej'k'e:l M, 66N *leithscéal*.

All examples of simple word stress are itemised here.

'_ : 'L'eff'i'ən' *leithbhliain*; 'L'ex'e:d *leithchéad*; 'L'af'as [common noun] 11C, 'L'af'as 'L'aw'as (difficult to distinguish from '_') both *leathmhás* and *Leath-Mhás*; 'L'ef'i:n' *leithphínn*; 'L'ej'k'e:l 'L'ij'k'e:l *leithscéal*; 'L'æti:w *leataobh*; 'L'ætræs'nə *leatrasna*; 'L'æ'trəm *leatrom*; 'L'æhuər' *leathuair*.

Labial coalescence: -*thbh-*, -*thmh-* (optionally) coalesce, i.e. > f, f', hw (~ v, v'):

'L'eff'i'ən' M, P *leithbhliain*; in *leathmhás(a)*, *leathmhás* and *Leath-Mhás*: 'L'af'as [common noun] 11C, 'L'af'as [common noun] FFG, 'L'a'w'as [place-name] M, etc., 'L'æ'w'asə [common noun] Mq. For *Leath-Mhás*, speaker 892M has 'L'æ'hwā:s ARN1180, 'L'æ'hwā:s ARN1559, genitive 'L'æ,hwā:f ARN3011; also 'L'æ,f'as 11C4738, 'L'æ,hwā:s 18J8994, genitive 'L'æ,hwā:f 11C4756.

Dental coalescence or nonlenition, -*tht-* (optionally), i.e. > t (~ hr):

'L'æti:w *leataobh*; 'L'æ,ti:l'ə 06C *leataoille*; 'L'æ,tinə 897P *leatonna*; 'L'ætræs'nə 'L'æ,træs'nə 'L'æ,h'ræs'nə *leatrasna*, *leath-thrasna*; 'L'æ,tro 01P *leatroigh*, also FFG. (Cp. 'L'æ'trəm *leatrom* which has probably only weak association with 'tru:m *trom*). In a tale: *fear briste* [perhaps *bhriste*] *na gcloch lena leatóin* 'L'æ,tu:n' 11C. Cp. *karag' L'æ' til'ə* 47Ps *Carraig Leath Tuile* (*leath-thuille* FFG (editor) s.v. *barr chonla*); *leatrá(bh)* [spelt *leath-trághadh*; *trághadh* = *trá* DT96] *agus leath-tuille* DT93, *i n-aice leath trágha* Clad1224, *idir leath-trágha* Clad143; *leath-thrá* BBeo.85.

Compounds without lenition contrast with genitive noun phrases in stress pattern only, e.g.

'L'æ'ti:l'ə *leataoille* vs. 'L'æ' 'ti:l'ə *leath taoille*;
 cp. 'L'æ' 'di:fe:n'ə 21Pt *leath duiéinne*.

Recall the use of *leath-* with the adverb in 'L'æ'wa gə 'L'or *S leath-mhaith-go-leor*; this has a humorous by-form 'L'æ'wagərli: gə 'L'or *S*, 'L'æ'magərli: gə 'L'or *S leath-m(h)agarlaí-go-leor*.

3.125 liath-

Stress '_, ('_') (Type II).

'_ : 'l'ia,wɑ:n *liathbhán*, also FFG; 'l'ia,yorəm S *liathghorm*.**3.126 lom-**

Stress '_, '_, ('_') (Type II). Forms: lu(:)m, lumə.

'_ : 'ta də xid' e:ðə 'lu:m,xɑ'tə (gə l'or) Mq *tá do chuid éadaigh lomchaite* (*go leor*); 'lu:m,xlɑ:r nə f'i:r'ənə *lomchlár na fírinne* (?); 'lu:m,skaurhə *lomscamhartha* FFG, more accurate spelling *lomscabhartha*.'_ : 'ta m'ε lu:m-x'i:nt'ə yə Mq *tá mé lomchinnte dhó*.'_ : 'lūmə'lā:n 866E *lomlán* (noun), also *loma-lán* SNG295, Cladī, *loma lán* Cladī.**3.127 luath-**

Stress '_, ('_') (Type II).

'_ : 'luə,xɑ:nt' Mq *luathchaint*; 'luə,xɑ:nt'əx S *luathchainteach*; 'luə,xɑ:s Mq *luathchás*; 'luə,xl'æ:s Mq *luathchleas*; 'luə,i:nt'ən' *luathintinn*; 'luə / 'lu:i:nt'ən'əx Mq *luathintinneach* also -i:nt'ən'əx, 'luə,i:nt'ən'u:l' Mq *luathintinniúl*; 'luə,lā:v'əx M *luathláimheach*, 'luə,lā:wəx S *luathlámhach*; 'luə,x'u:l Mq *luathshiúl*; note 'luə,yɑ:r'əx M?perm *luathgháireach*.**3.128 meán-**

Stress '_, '_, ('_') (Types II and III).

'_ : 'm'ɑ:n,i:stə *meánaosta*; 'm'ɑ:n,xɑ'tə Mq *meánchaite*; 'm'ɑ:n,x'i:nt'ə Mq *meánchinnte*; 'm'ɑ:n,xid' Mq *meánchuid*; 'm'ɑ:n,v'e:d' Mq *meánmhéid*; 'm'ɑ:n,v'i: S *meánmhí*; 'm'ɑ:n,frais Mq *meánphraghas*; 'm'ɑ:n,x'w:ɾɑ:l'tə ~ 'm'ɑ:n,t'w:ɾɑ:l'tə ~ 'm'ɑ:n,f'w:ɾɑ:l'tə Mq *meánshiúráilte* ~ *meán(t)siúráilte*.'_ : 'm'ɑ:n'x'i:nt'ə Mq *meánchinnte*; 'm'ɑ:n't'e:gəɾəx Mq *meántéagarach*.**3.129 meath- (mear-)**

Stress '_, ('_') (Type II).

meath- in: 'm'æ,xolə S *meathchodladh*; 'm'æ,yɑ:r' S *meathdháir*; 'm'æ,yɑ:r'ə M *meathgháire*; 'm'æ,yɑ:r'i: M, 'm'æ,gɑ:r'i: M *meathg(h)áir*; 'm'æ,f'iən S *meathphian*; 'm'æ,raurtə 894Cs *meathrabharta*; 'm'æ,hɑ:l'ə S *meathsháile*; 'm'æ,hi:l'ə S *meath-thaoille*; 'm'æ,hi:n' M *meath-thinn*; 'm'æ,hi:n'əs M *meath-thinneas*; *meath-thrá* FFG.*meath-* ~ *mear-* in: 'm'æ,r'æ:n'hə S *mearaithne*, 'm'æ,hæ:n'hə M *meathaithne*, cp. *mear-eolas* FFG.**3.130 mí-**

Stress '_, '_, '_, ('_') (Type II).

When *mí-* is used with words which have negative connotations, it can be interpreted as tautological or as adding to or emphasising this negativity, e.g. *mí-ámhailleach*, *míchoimhthíoch*, *míchontráilte*.'_ : 'm'i:ain'əs M *mí-aighneas*, also FFG; 'm'i:vr'æ:nhiəx S *míbhreathnaíoch*; v'i: f'e 'æ:n'v'i:xohiəx Mq *bhí sé an-mhíchoimhthíoch*; 'ta tu

- 'æ:n'v'i:xu:ntɾa:l'ə Mq tá tú *an-mhíchontráilte*, also FFG; 'm'i:xihul' S *míchaoithiúil*; 'm'i:xuŋgəɾəx S *míchóngarach*; 'm'i:xu:ntənəsəx S *míchuntanasach*; 'm'i:ju:mər M *míghíúmar*; er' 'v'i:wāhə l'um S *ar mhímhaíthe liom*; 'm'i:v'aurəx S *mímheabhrach*; 'm'i:v'æ:su:l' S *mímheasúil*; 'm'i:nə:du:rə mínádúrtha; 'm'i:aibl'əgo:d'əx S *mí-oibleagóideach*; 'm'i:hlant'ə S *míshláinte*; 'm'i:hlant'u:l' S *míshláintiúil*; 'm'i:hua:l'k'əs 869P *míshúáilceas*; 'm'i:ha:pə 35E *míthapa*.
- '_ , '_ ('_): 'm'i:fk'āvni:hə 04B, 'm'i:fk'ævni' 04B, but also 'm'i:fg'avnihə 'm'i:fg'amnihə FFG *mísceam(h)naíthe*; 'm'i:hī:mn'əx 892M2425, 'm'i:hi:v'əx *míshuimhneach*, also FFG, əgəs xə 'm'i:hi:v'əx əgəs 'v'i:fe | 11C *agus chomh míshuimhreach agus bhí sé!*
- '_ , '_ : 'm'i:aid'əx M, 'm'i:aid'əx 11C3074 *mífhoighdeach*, ta tu 'm'i:aid'əx ə'n'if M *tá tú mífhoighdeach anois*.
- '_ : 'm'i:wu:d'i:n' Mperm *mímhúidín*.
- '_ : 'm'i:ā: mí-ád; 'm'i:āsəx mí-ásach; 'm'i:ā:hul' 17Mp *mí-ádhtúil*; 'm'i:nu:s(əx) mínós(ach); 'm'i:ru:n mírún; 'm'i:ru:nəx 06C *mírúnach*; 'm'i:stuəm' místuaim; 'm'i:stu:mə generally but 'm'i:sdu:mhə 46 s.v. *místuamdha*; with coalescence in 'm'i:əla:n' *mífholláin*; 'm'i:əla:n'ə *mífholláine*, cp. *mífhullántas* FFG. With general loss of intervocalic w in 'm'i:u:nt'ə (but 'm'i:wū:nt'ə 872P, similarly 15W) *mímhúinte*; 'm'i:u:nə *mímhúnadh*.
- '_ : 'n'ax 'm'i:yr'i:n' ə'k'i:nt' 04Bl *neach míghrinn eicint*.
- Also: *míbharaíl(each)* FFG, *le neart míbharúl' duit* LL72; *mílátharach* in *an-mhílátharach* Semr112; *míraith* 866ESc217.39; *místáideach* FFG; *míthuirisc* 866ESc212.1.
- Note the impermissible combinations with borrowings: **mílocal*, **mí-smeairtéilte*, **mísheans* MØperm < 'lucky, smart, chance'. There are some older compounds, no longer transparent: 'm'i:x'ed M *míchéad*; 'm'i:x'et S *míchéat*; 'm'i:x'etəx S *míchéatach*.

3.131 *mion-*

Stress '_ , ('_') (Type II).

- '_ : 'm'in'spru:ən 11C *mionsprúán*. Also *mionsprúán* FFG.
- '_ , '_ : 'm'un,wə:ft'əx SM, 'm'inə,wə:ft'əx M *mionbháisteach*; 'm'in,xasəxt *mionchasacht*; 'm'in,x'ol S *mioncheol*; 'm'in,ukrəx S *mionocrach*; 'm'in,f'i:si: M *mionphíosáí*; 'm'un,rix' 21Pt *mionrith*, 'm'in,hidər S *mion-shodar*.
- In query regarding *farcadh* and Irish words for 'dry-rot', speaker 21Ptq offered 'm'in,ləwə ag *mionlobhadh*, perhaps as an indirect calque.
- With lenition of *d-* and *t-* in 'm'in,yin'ə Mperm **miondhuine*; 'm'in,horhi: Mq *mionthorthaí*. Note *'m'in',jifr'iəxt MØperm *miondhifríocht*; *'m'in,yu:rl'ən' SØperm **miondhuirling*, contrast GCF §431. Before a front vowel: 'm'in,e:nəxi: Mq *mionéanachaí*, although the word itself is not used by Máire or in her active vocabulary.
- With optional epenthetic *ɸ* in 'm'in,ɸri:x M, 'm'in,ri:x S *mionfhraoch*.

The first element in 'm'í:ŋ,ŷi:hə is presumably *mín-* (depalatalised to *míon-* and velarised before *ŷ-*); it might, however, given *míonbháisteach*, be a lengthened by-form of *míon-*. (It was recorded in *bheadh mín-* [*míon-* ?] *ghaoithe* 'm'í:ŋ,ŷi:hə *anoir ann* 18J.)

3.132 *mór-*

Stress '_, '_, ' _ (Types II and III).

'_ : fi: 'wɔ:r'æ:vɾ'əs Mq *faoi mhóraitmhreas*; 'mɔ:r'x'i:n't'ə Mq *mórchinnté*; 'a:n'wɔ:r'xɔs'u:l' l'ij Mq *an-mhórchosúil leis*; də 'wɔ:r'johəl Mq *do mhórdheicheadh*; 'də 'wɔ:r'johəl Mq *do mhórdhóthain*, ə 'wɔ:r'johəl '11C *a mhórdhóthain*; 'mɔ:r'jə:f'k'ixi Mq *mórghaiscíochaí*; də 'wɔ:r'jə:rəxt Mq *do mhóiriarracht*; tə də 'wɔ:r'hə: æd Mq *tá do mhóirsháith a'd*; 'mɔ:r'x'urə:l't'ə Mq *móirshúirde*; v'i: n wɔ: 'mɔ:r'hin' Mq *bhí an bhó móirthin*; v'i: n wɔ: 'mɔ:r'hin'əs li: Mq *bhí an bhó i móirthinneas lae*; and probably ' _ in *mórchuthach* FFG.

Note the preverbal use in (Mq):

wa:rə fe ogəs 'wɔ:r'wa:rə fe m'e mharagh sé agus mhórmharagh sé mé;
tə m'e 'mɔ:r'waru / -wari' eg'ə tá mé mórmharbh l -mharaithe aige.

'_ : 'mɔ:r'jif Mq *móraois*; 'mɔ:r'vlastə mórbhlata; 'mɔ:r'xɔs'u:l'əxt Mq *mórchosúlacht*; də 'wɔ:r'xid' Mq *do mhórchuid*; 'mɔ:r'xu:f Mq *mórchúis*; 'mɔ:r'jumu: mórdhiomú, e.g. *faoi mhórdhiomú na bliana* Semr40; 'mɔ:r'jot'ə S *mórdhóite*; 'mɔ:r'uklax Mq *mórfhoclach*; 'mɔ:r'jə:f'k'ə Mq *mórghaisce*; 'mɔ:r'jə:f'k'u:l' Mq *mórghaisciúil*; 'mɔ:r'l'efk'ə Mq *mórleisce*; 'mɔ:r'l'efk'u:l' Mq *mórleisciúil*; 'mɔ:r'wā: Mq *mórmhaith*; rin'ə fe l'jiəd 'a:n'wɔ:r'wa:ru Mq *rinne siad an-mhórmharú*; 'mɔ:r'v'æ:su:l' a:n he:n' Mq *mórmheasúil ann héin*; 'mɔ:r'unar'əx Mq *móronóireach*; 'mɔ:r'rim'eidəx Mq *mór-riméadach*; 'mɔ:r'hə: Mq *mórshách*; 'mɔ:r'hluəf'i' 11Ct *móirshluaití*.

'_ : mɔ:r'hə:fər SM, mɔ:r'hə:fər 32P *móirshéar*; er' wɔ:r'hir' '11C *ar mhóirthír*, əs ə mɔ:r'hir' 11C *as an móirthír*, also *ar an móirthír* 23Ms.

Cp. ' _ , ' _ : gə 'mɔ:r'wɔ:r ~ gə 'mɔ:r'mɔ:r ~ gə 'mɔ:r'wɔ:r ~ gə 'mɔ:r'mɔ:r go *mór mhór ~ go mór mór*.

Also: *scaoileadh le sruth is le móirfharraige* Sc54, *móirheas* Mq, *móronóir* Mq. For exceptional eclipsis in *móirndóthain*, see 9.133.

Note (with different semantics and diachrony): 'mɔ:r'jə:r'lə M *móirgharla* also *múirgharla* FFG (FGB *múirghalar*); 'mɔ:r'l'əhər' 27Mdq, 'mɔ:r'l'əhər' Mq, 'mɔ:r'l'əhir' FFG s.v. *máirléir* (< *marbhleathair*). The word 'mɔ:r'x'u:l' Mq *móirshiúil* appears to be a borrowing of the Modern Irish neologism.

Other possibilities are not permitted by Mq: **mórbhéal*, **mórchluasa*, **móirchosach* MØperm. Finishing our discussion of *mór-*, Máire commented:

tə n'æ:rt mɔ:r'əni' a:n mu:f | gə l'æ:nə' suəs e Mq
tá neart 'mór-'annaí ann muis dhá leaná suas é, and
tə mɔ:r' a:n l'ə xul'ə ho:rt nə jiə'jin' Mq
tá 'mór-' ann le chuile shórt ina dhiaidh sin,
“‘mór-’ goes with everything after all”.

3.133 neamh-

Stress '_, '_, ' (Type II). Forms: *n'æw* /_V: (V), *n'ah* /_V, *n'æm* /_Labial nasal, *n'æ* /_C, *n'e* /_C; *n'ā:w* in *neamhní*; *n'aj* in '*n'a,ji:nə* *neamh-ionadh* FFG, also understood as *neamhdhéanamh*.

'_: '*n'æw:rd'ələx* S *neamhairdeallach*; '*n'æw:rd'u:l'* S *neamhairdiúil*; *marə v'i' fə ə'r'iəv* '*n'æv,orəməx gən x'e:l'* 04B1 *mar bhí sé ariamh neamh-urramach gan chéill*;

'*n'a,horəməx* *neamhurramach* FFG;

'*n'æ:x'intəx* Mq *neamhchiontach*; '*n'æ:x'inti*: Mperm *neamhchiontaí* also Clad148; '*n'æ:xl'æxtə* 20M1 *neamhchleachtadh*; *n'i:l'* '*n'æ,ji:n æd er'* Mq *níl neamhdhéanamh a'd air*; *hug m'e* '*n'æ,ji:n er'* M *thug mé neamhdhéanamh air*; '*n'a,ji:nə* *neamh-ionadh* FFG; '*n'æ,hi:m'u:l'* S *neamhshuim-iúil*; '*n'æ,hil'əmi*: M84, '*n'æ,himl'i*: S84 *neamhthuilleamaí*.

'_: '*n'i:l' fə* '*n'æ'ji:nt æd* Mq *níl sé neamhdhéanta a'd*.

'_: '*n'æ:mi:x* [?] M, '*n'æ:wi:x* [?] S *neamhbhuíoch*; cp. '*n'æ:mu:x* S *neamúch*;

n'æxumə S *neamhchuma*; '*n'æhuər'əm* S *neamhthuairim*.

'_, '_: '*n'e,hi:m'* '*n'æhi:m'* S *neamhshuim*; also *neashuimiúil* 869PCAR.

'_: '*n'ā:v,n'i*: 881J *neamhní*.

neamh- ≈ meath- ≈ leath-

There is an example of *neamhthinn* in *bhí a fear nea'thínn ar feadh tamall* (sic) 869P4. This meaning occurs more commonly as *meath-thinn*. Examples of *neamhdhéan-* cited above were produced by Máire when questioned about '*n'a,ji:nə* *neamh-ionadh* FFG, and explained as approximating '*l'æ'ji:ntə* Mq *leathdhéanta*.

3.134 óg-

Stress '_, (Type II). Forms: *o:g*, *o:g'*.

'*o:g,vrə*: **ógmhna* (no actual example of *ógmhna* was noted but compare '*o:g,vnī*: !11C *ógmhnaoi*).

From '*o:g',v'æn* *óigbhean* and possibly '*o:g',ær* *óigfhear*, palatalised *óg-* is used before nonpalatalised consonants in '*o:g',vnā*: !11C *ógmhna*; *óigchailín* !894C9; '*o:g',vni*: !11C *ógmhnaoi* also '*o:g',vni*: !11C *ógmhnaoi*.

3.135 ré-

Stress '_, ' (Type II). *ré-* is associated with the adjective *réidh*.

'_: '*re;əxər* S *ré-achar*; '*re;xa:ɾə* M *réchaite*; '*re;xa:hə* M *réchaitheamh*; '*re;æ:ti*: S *réfhataí*; '*re;hæ:k'ed* S *résheicéad*; '*re;holəs* M *résholas*. Also (in FFG) *rébhrúíos*, *ré-obair*, *réshiúl*. It is obvious that Máire associates '*re;ɣorəxə* *rédhórcha* with this prefix (and not historically, as a compound of *ré* 'moon' + *dórcha*) given her explanation: *oíche dheas chiuín agus í dórcha* M. Contrast '*re;əxər* S *ré-achar* with '*re;əxər'* 27Mdq *ré achair*.

'_: '*re:wad'ə kun* (Ascn)04B *rémhaidhe con*.

'_: '*re:xu:f(əx)* *réchúis(each)*.

3.136 rí-

Stress '_, (Type II 'main, top'), ' (Type III intensifier).

Intensifier

'_ : 'ri:wā: M *rímhaith*; 'ri:wo:r S *rímhór*. Examples in context:

nax wil'əs æd gə d'aultə 'ri:wā: nax ... M

nach bhfuil fhios a'd go deabhalta rímhaith nach ... ;

əs mo:r ə na:r'ə əgəs əs 'ri:wo:r ə na:r'ə əgəs əxil'ə ho:rt ən wail' ə tɑ:
a:kəb er' ə ɲe:lg' ə S

*is mór an náire agus is rímhór an náire agus achuile shórt an bhail atá acub
ar an nGaeilge* [speakers abandoning Irish].

With verbal noun:

gə jæ:rə əs gə 'ri:jæ:rə Mq *chuaigh sé dhá ghearradh is dhá rígearradh*;

v'i fe gə wa:n't' əs gə 'ri:wa:n't' Mq *bhí sé dhá bhaint is dhá ríbhaint*.

Cp. gə rə mah æd ogəs gə rə 'ri:wah æd Mperm

go raibh maith a'd agus go raibh rímhaith a'd.

'Main, top'

'_ : 'ri:ɣa:rtə M *ríchárta*; 'ri:fotə S *ríphota*; cp. 'ri:ɣin'ə M *rídhuine*, e.g.

'ri:ɣin' e jin' | din'ə ma: M *rídhuine é sin, duine maith*.

3.137 ro-

Stress '_ , '_ , '_ , '_ (Type D).

'_ is the general stress pattern: rə'wo:r *ro-mhór*; ən æ'n'əm' nə tr'i:no:d'ə
rə'ni:fə (MP)04B *in ainm na Tríonóide Ro-naofa*.

Before vowels the schwa is mostly retained, e.g. rə'æ:də St *ro-fhada*;
r'ʉ:skə:lt'ə S *ro-oscailte*; r'ʉ:æ:də M *ro-fhada*; but it may be lost, e.g. tɑ fe
ræ:də ba:n't'ə M *tá sé ro-fhada bainte*. Sometimes unstressed *ro-* contains a
clear vowel (most likely through vowel harmony), e.g. ro'wo:r SM *ro-mhór*,
ro'o:g S *ro-óg*. See stressed variants: a, u, o, i, ə.

'_ : An bhfuil mé sách gar dhó, nó ro-ghar? 'nū' rə'ɣar | 889P; -... ní ghothaidh
a mbealach, a deir sé, ro-fhada 'ra'ʉ:æ:də choir a bích, agus ní saol an-fhada,
'ā'n'æ:də a deir sé ... 11C3319.

'_ occurs with emphasis on *ro-*: ... 'ru:heh | M ... *ro-the*; fe xi: m'ed fe fo
'ro:xru: æd M *sé an chaoi a mbeadh sé seo ro-chrua a'd; níl siad ro-dheas*
'ri:jæ:s 31M.

'_ , with emphasis on *ro-*: tɑ fe 'rəwa' P *tá sé ro-mhaith*.

ro: ró- (through external influence) is common in more progressive use, e.g.

na: b'i:g'i: ro:æ:də 43M *ná bígí rófhada*.

3.138 sár-

Stress '_ , '_ (Type III).

'_ : 'sɑ:r'v'æn Mq *sárbhean*; 'sɑ:r'æ:ti: Mq *sárfhataí*; 'sɑ:r'æ:r Mq *sárfhear*;

'sɑ:r'v'æ:ŋg'əl's Mq *sármheaingils*; 'sɑ:r'wu:n' Mq *sármhóin*.

'_ : 'sɑ:r'æ:r Mq *sárfhear*.

3.139 scoth-

Stress '_ , '_ (Type II). Forms: sko, sku, before vowels skoh, skuh.

‘Medium’

‘_’ : ‘sku,xar Mq *scothcharr*; ‘sku,hæti’ mahə Mq *scothfhataí maithe*; ‘sko,hra: S *scoth-thrá*; ‘sko,huəl’i:n’ S *scoth-uailín*; ‘sko,huələx S *scoth-ualach* also FFG.

Intensive, ‘best’

‘_’ : ‘sku,v’æ:n Mq *scothbhean*; ‘sku,hær’ Mq *scothfhear*.

‘Medium’ or ‘best’ (both meanings)

‘_’ : ‘ski’v’ori:hə Mq *scothbhioráithe*; ‘sku’wuəlt’ə Mq *scothbhuaile*.

3.140 seacht-

Stress ‘_’, ‘_’ (Type III).

‘_’ : ‘fa:xt’narhi: Mq *seacht-n-athraíthe*; ‘fa:xt’m’og Mq *seachtmbeag*; ta m’ə
‘fa:xt’m’arh æd S tá mé *seachtmbearrtha a’d*; ‘fa:xt’ma’nt’ə Mq *seacht-
mbainte*; ‘fa:xt’gurhə Mq *seachtgcurtha*; ‘fa:xt’v’ausi: Mq *seachtbhfeabhs-
aíthe*; ‘fa:xt’v’ek’i: Mq *seachtbhfeicthí*; ‘fa:xt’g’irtəx æd Mq *seachtngiortach
a’d*; ‘fa:xt’qlantə Mq *seachtnglanta*; ‘fa:xt’N’it’ə Mq *seacht-n-ite*; ‘fa:xt-
’noltə Mq *seacht-n-ólta*.

‘_’ : ‘fəxt’qlantə S *seachtnglanta*.

With verbal noun:

ta tu ga ‘ha:xt’m’æ:rə Mperm tá tú dhá *sheachtmbearradh*;

ta tu ga ‘həxt’mæ’nt’ / ,mæ’nt’ M?perm tá tú dhá *sheachtmbaint*.

Máire added: ta tu na:n fa:xt ə ra: l’ə xul’ə ho:rt Mq tá tú i ndan ‘*seacht-*’ a rá le chuile shórt. The word ‘fa:xt’m’arhə *seachtmbearrtha*, for example, was explained as xə b’arh is gə m’ot fə d’i:ntə fa:xt nuər’ æd chomh bearrtha is dhá mbeadh sé déanta *seacht n-uaire a’d*. Note *tá mé tinn, tá mé *seacht-dtinn* MØperm; contrast *sean-* below. Speakers 20C and 20My claim not to have heard *seachtmbearrtha* and that their corresponding use is *seanbhearrtha*.

seacht- eclipses initial consonants and vowels regularly, but when preceding *ath-*, for example in *seacht-athleasaíthe*, Máire prefers non-eclipsis (3.146 20c).

3.141 sean-

Stress ‘_’, ‘_’, ‘_’ (Types II and III).

‘Old’ (Type II)

‘_’ : ənsə ‘t’ān,æ’mfər’ 11C3003 *insa tseanaimsir*; ‘fa,nar 11Ct, ‘fæ,nar’ M,
‘fa,nar’ 18Bm, ‘fæ,n’ær P *seanfhear*; n’ ‘fæ:n,təgərt M *an seantsagart*,
‘fæ:n’,t’æn P *Sean-tSeán*, ‘fæ:n’,t’æn’i:n’ M *Sean-tSeáinín*, ‘fæ:n’,t’æk’e:d M
seantseaicéad; ən’ ‘fæ:n’,t’ænəxəs 04B *an seantseanchas*.

With double *sean-*, both ‘_’ ‘_’ : æs ə ‘t’æn’t’æn’æmfər’ fa’do: 24N
as an tsean-tseanaimsir fadó;

and ‘_’ ‘_’ : gə nə ‘fæ:n’ ‘t’æn,vra: k’ært M
dhe na sean-tseanmhna ceart.

Ancestors in the male line for four generations are given, by speaker 32J, with double *sean-* as ‘_’ ‘_’ ‘_’ :

‘æhər’ ‘mo:r ... ə ‘hæn,æhər’ ,mo:r ... ə ‘hæn,hæn,æhər’ ,mo:r 32J

a athair mór ... a sheanathair mór ... a shean-sheanathair mór.

Also *seanathair mór* FFG s.v. *seanathair*. In the female line also ' _ , _ , :

mə 'hæ̃n' , fæ̃n , wā : hō̃r' [x2] 852Sb(TS128) *mo shean-seanmháthair*.

' _ , and ' _ : ' fā̃n , dīn' ə *seanduine* but most often fā̃nīn' ə *sean-nduine*, ' fæ̃nīn' ə >> ' fæ̃n , nīn' ə *sean-ndaoine*, cp. younger speaker's ' fā̃n , yīn' i : 54C *sean-dhaoíní*.

With double *sean-* ' _ , _ , : ' fæ̃n' , t' æ̃n , nīn' ə *sean-tsean-ndaoine*.

This evidence of double *sean-* use shows an apparent contrast between unmarked ' _ , _ ~ ' _ , _ , with primary stress on both tokens of *sean-* on the one hand and on the other hand marked ' _ , _ , with primary stress on the initial token only of *sean-*. This latter use ' _ , _ , has the more lexicalised function: the initial *sean-* functions as 'great-' in 'great-grand-', the second *sean-* in the lexemes *seanathair* and *seanmháthair* takes secondary stress and thus forms a closer unit with bases *athair* and *máthair*. One can thus posit a presumably optional opposition in, for example, *sean-tseanathair*:

' fæ̃n' , t' æ̃n , æ̃hər' 'old grandfather' vs. ' fæ̃n' , t' æ̃n , æ̃hər' 'great-grandfather'.

Also *Sean-tSéamas* ABg153. In the meaning 'for a long time previously' *seandíonta*, *seanráite* FFG, related to its use as an intensifier.

Intensifier (Type III)

All examples recorded from conversation with nouns are preceded by possessive pronouns, but constructions without possessives with verbal nouns are apparently also productive.

' _ : rīn' ə fē 'hæ̃m'vri:m' Mq *rinne sé a sheanbhroim*; tū tū ' fæ̃n , x' æ̃rt S *tá tú seancheart*; wuəl' fē gə 'hæ̃n' dāurnə m' e [read perhaps gə] S *bhuail sé dhá sheandorna mé*; d'ith sé a *sheandóthain* 'hā'n' dō:hən' 35E; gə [gə ?] 'hæ̃n' - 'l' aīk' ə S *dhá sheanleithce*.

' _ : tū m' e ' fæ̃n , ard S *tá mé sean-ard*; nə ' fæ̃m , v' e:k' ə ser' M *ina seanbhéice soir*; ə 'hæ̃m' , v' e:k' Mq *a sheanbhéic*; v' i:dər ə ' fæ̃n , vraməni' Mq *bhíodar ag seanbhramannaí*; tū fē ' fæ̃n , xīn' i : n' i:f S *tá sé seanchoinníthe anois*; tū m' e ' fæ̃n , xroxt æd S *tá mé seanchrochta a'd*; tū tū ' fæ̃n , daun' an S *tá tú seandomhain ann*; gə 'hæ̃n' dāurnə dhá *sheandorna*; gə 'hæ̃n' iərə dhá *sheaniarraidh*; xā fē 'hæ̃n' , l' e:m' S *chaith sé a sheanléim*. With *ag* only marginally permissible in *ag seanbhéiceach* Mq. Note:

tū m' e t' i:n' | tū m' e ' fæ̃n' , t' i:n' Mperm *tá mé tinn*, *tá mé seantinn*.

Also: *seanóltach* FFG; *bhain sé a shan-ualach cíbe* 866ESemr86 (i.e. *sean-ualach*); *breith ar a' bhfód 7 a chatha ina shean-urachar in aghaidh na farraige*. 866EOC218 (i.e. *seanurchar*); also Sc62, Sc288.

The older form *sain-* seems to be preserved in *sainnéal*, e.g.

kir' hā m' ə sæ̃n' e:l ort M *cuirthidh mé sainnéal ort*;

hā'n' ək' sæ̃n' e:l er' M *tháinig sainnéal air*.

3.142 síor-

Stress ' _ , ' _ , ' _ (Type III).

' _ : ' fīər' axər M *síorachar*, ' fīər' wā : f' əx S *síorbháisteach*. Also fīn' an gi:hə wārtə gol' er ' fīər' fā:nə xrik' (run) Pt7a *sinneán gaoithe Mháirta ag goil ar síorfána an chnoic*.

With verbal noun: v' i : fē : g' im' əxt l' ef əgəs ə ' fīər' im' əxt 11Cta13 *bhí sé ag imeacht leis agus ag síorimeacht*; *ag síorshiúl* generally ə ' fīər' x' u:l, but ə

'fjər'hui 892M5241 (perhaps in dissimilation); ə 'fjər'ha'fə:d' ə gə'ni Mq *ag síorsheafóid i gcónaí*.

'_ , ' : with borrowings 'fjər'ɣrasa:l' Mperm *síordhrasáil*; 'fjər'fu:ʃa:l' Mperm *síorphúitseáil*.

'_ , ' : ga 'hiər,ra: ~ ga 'hiəra: Mq *dhá shíor-rá*.

Also: *síoraiféala* FFG, *síordhearcadh* FFG, *fearadh na síorfháilte* 03V, *síorghóil* FFG (proverb).

3.143 so-

Stress '_ , (Type II). Forms **su**, **si**, **so**. Morphology: *so-* + (verbal) adjective or genitive.

'su,xə:stə S *so-chasta*; 'so,xu:rl'i:hə 21Ptq *sochomhairlíthe*; 'si,jə:rhə S *soghearrtha*; 'si,l'æ:si: M *soleasaí(the)*; 'sə,ə:l'tə S84 *so-ólta*; 'su,raisa:l't'ə M *so-raidheasáilte* (< rise 'anger'), 'an'su,hr'umi: 892Mg *an-* [hesitation] *sothriomaíthe* (echoing *sothriomaíthe* from a question posed by folklore collector Proinsias de Búrca).

With adjective based on noun *comhairle*: 'su,xu:rl'əx 899D6647 *sochomhairleach*, cf. apparent nonlenition in *fear so-cúirleach go math* 894C3.

With common-case form of the noun: *áit ar bith a raibh clocha fairsing, soláimh, sóC3.159, bheadh siad deas so-láimh le leagan suas* Clad1155.

3.144 tréan-

Stress '_ , (Type II).

Intensifier, 'strong'

'_ , ' : 'tr'e:n'ær 'tr'e:n'ær Mq, 'tr'e:n'ær Mperm *tréanfhear*; 'tr'e:n'jə:rəxt Mq *tréaniarracht*; rin'ə ʃe 'tr'e:n,wu:r Mq *rinne sé tréanmhúr*.

'Fast'

'_ , ' : 'tr'e:n,xə:fi: Mq *tréanchoisí*; 'tr'e:n'x'u:l Mq *tréanshiúl*; but 'tr'e:n,rix' M?perm *tréanrith*.

3.145 trom-

Stress '_ , (Type II 'heavy'), '_ ' (Type III 'dark, deep').

'Heavy'

'tru:m,xolə *tromchodladh*, 'tru:m,xri:x Mq *tromchroíoch*. Other possibilities with *trom-* are not permitted by Máire: **tromluí*, **trombhuaireamh*, **trombhrón*, **tromghortaí(the)*, **trombhaladh* MØperm. Contrast *tromluí* FFG. With this sense it is clearly obsolescent as a prefix.

'Dark, deep'

'tru:m'ɣorəm 889P *tromghorm*. It is this example in particular, implying *trom-* can be used with colours in general, which justifies the classification of *trom-* as a productive prefix. Cp. *trom gorm*, etc., FGB s.v. *trom*³ 20, and *troimeacht* FFG24.

3.146 Combinations of prefixes

Many combinations of two or three prefixes are used. Máire (Mq) was queried as to the possible combinatorial properties of prefixes. All combinations heard and queried are summarised in Table 3.8 (divided into three sections below) and presented in the list following the table. In Table 3.8, reading from left to right, a prefix in the left-hand column (numbered 1–24) is prefixed to one in the top row (a–z), e.g. *an-an-deas* (indicated as 1a in the list of examples), *corr-chorrdhuine* (indicated as 5f). (+ = attested or permissible; Ø = Øperm, i.e. not permitted; ? = uncertainty regarding permissibility; BóC = considered permissible by me; cp. abbreviations for Table 3.11, p. 642.) More than three prefixes were permitted by Máire in emphatic repetition, e.g. *go rí-rí-rí-ro-mhaith*, *rí-rí-rí-rí-chorrdhuine*, *rí-rí-rí-fíor-chorrdhuine* Mperm.

Table 3.8 Prefixes combined, summary; source mainly Mq

	a an-	b ard-	c ath-	d bun-	e comh-	f corr-	g deá-	h dearg-	i do-
1 <i>an-</i>	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
2 <i>ro-</i>				+			+	+	+
3 <i>fíor-</i>	+	+?	+	+		+	+	+	+
4 <i>rí-</i>	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
5 <i>corr-</i>		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
6 <i>deá-</i>			+				+		
7 <i>dearg-</i>	Ø	+	+	Ø		Ø	+?	+	+
8 <i>do-</i>									+
9 <i>droch-</i>		+	+	+		(+)	+	+	
10 <i>dubh-</i>							+	+	+
11 <i>leath-</i>									
12 <i>mí-</i>									
13 <i>mion-</i>				Ø					
14 <i>neamh-</i>									
15 <i>rí-</i>									+
16 <i>ro-</i>									
17 <i>sean-</i>	+	+	+	+		Ø	+	+	+
18 <i>síor-</i>			Ø				+	+	
19 <i>so-</i>			+	+			Ø		
20 <i>seacht-</i>			+	Ø?			+	+	Ø
21 <i>binn-</i>		Ø?				Ø?	+	+	+
22 <i>mór-</i>		Ø							+
23 <i>glan-</i>								+	
24 <i>gear-</i>						+		+	

Table 3.8 Prefixes combined (continued)

	j <i>droch-</i>	k <i>dubh-</i>	l <i>fíor-</i>	m <i>in-</i>	n <i>leath-</i>	o <i>mí-</i>	p <i>mion-</i>	q <i>neamh-</i>	r <i>rí-</i>
1 <i>an-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2 <i>ro-</i>	+	+	+	Ø	(+)	+		+	+
3 <i>fíor-</i>	+	+	+	Ø	+	+	+	+	+
4 <i>rí-</i>	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+
5 <i>corr-</i>	+	+	+		+	+	+		+
6 <i>deá-</i>			Ø						
7 <i>dearg-</i>	+	+	+		+	+	Ø	+	+
8 <i>do-</i>									
9 <i>droch-</i>	+	+	+		+	+	+		+
10 <i>dubh-</i>	+	+	+		+	+			+
11 <i>leath-</i>									
12 <i>mí-</i>						+		???	
13 <i>mion-</i>							Ø		
14 <i>neamh-</i>									
15 <i>rí-</i>									
16 <i>ro-</i>									
17 <i>sean-</i>	+	+	+	+	(+ BóC)	+	+	+	+
18 <i>síor-</i>	+	k	Ø			+	+	+	
19 <i>so-</i>									
20 <i>seacht-</i>									+
21 <i>binn-</i>	Ø?					+			+
22 <i>mór-</i>	+					+			+
23 <i>glan-</i>	(+ BóC)								+
24 <i>géar-</i>	+								+

	s <i>ro-</i>	t <i>sean-</i>	u <i>síor-</i>	v <i>so-</i>	w <i>binn-</i>	x <i>mór-</i>	y <i>glan-</i>	z <i>géar-</i>	Also
1 <i>an-</i>		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	<i>meán-</i>
2 <i>ro-</i>	+	+		+		+			
3 <i>fíor-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
4 <i>rí-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
5 <i>corr-</i>		+			+	+			
6 <i>deá-</i>		+				+			
7 <i>dearg-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
8 <i>do-</i>									
9 <i>droch-</i>		+	+			(+ BóC)		+	<i>fíod-</i>
10 <i>dubh-</i>	Ø	+	+	+		+			
11 <i>leath-</i>									
12 <i>mí-</i>							+		
13 <i>mion-</i>			+						
14 <i>neamh-</i>									
15 <i>rí-</i>									
16 <i>ro-</i>									
17 <i>sean-</i>	+	+	+	Ø					
18 <i>síor-</i>			+			+			
19 <i>so-</i>				Ø		+			
20 <i>seacht-</i>		Ø		+					
21 <i>binn-</i>	+			+	+			+	
22 <i>mór-</i>	+		+					+	
23 <i>glan-</i>						+	+		
24 <i>géar-</i>					+			+	

Most of the examples corresponding to the summary in Table 3.8 are given here, as well as some additional combinations and prefixes (the summary table can show combinations of only two prefixes). The less commonly heard examples are all from Mq unless otherwise indicated (M = Máire's conversation).

<i>an- +</i>		
1a	-an-	'æ:n'æ:n' d'æ:s <i>an-an-deas</i>
1b	-ard-	'a:n'ɑ:rd'i:hə <i>an-ardoiche</i>
1+1b	-an-ard-	'a:n'a:n'ɑ:rd'i:hə <i>an-an-ardoiche</i>
1c	-ath-	'a:n'æ:həs <i>an-athfhás</i>
1d	-bhun-	'a:m'wun,xɑ:t'ə <i>an-bhunchaite</i>
1f	-chorr-	'a:n'xaur'uər' <i>an-chorruair</i> 'a:n'xaur'ɑ:t' <i>an-chorrait</i>
1g	-deá-	'a:n'd'ɑ:'hu:n' <i>an-deá-thóin</i> f'ær 'a:n' d'ɑ:ji:ntə v'i: an M fear an-deá-dhéanta a bhí ann
1h	-dearg-	'a:n'd'æ:ræg'ɣɑ:ltə <i>an-deargdhallta</i>
1i	-do-	'a:n'du,wɑ:n't'ə <i>an-do-bhainte</i>
1j	-droch-	'a:n'drox'iərə <i>an-drochiarraidh</i> 'a:n'drox'v'if'ə <i>an-drochbhitse</i> 'a:n'droxu:n't'ə <i>an-drochmhúinte</i>
1j + o	-droch-mhí-	'a:n'drox'v'i:v'æ:s æd'ər' (tá) <i>an-droch-mhímheas a'd air</i>
1k	-dubh-	'a:n'du'wuər <i>an-dubhfhuar</i>
1l	-fhíor-	'æ'n' iər'æ:m'fər' <i>an-fhíoraímsir</i>
1l + l	-fhíor-fhíor-	'æ'n' iər' iər'wɑ: <i>an-fhíor-fhíormhaith</i>
1m	-in-	'a:nən'v'ɑ:r'hə <i>an-inbhearrtha</i> others not permitted, e.g. *an-inráite MØperm
1n	-leath-	cp. 'æ'n' l'eff' iən' <i>an-leithbhliain</i>
1o	-mhí-	'a:n'v' i:ɑ: <i>an-mhí-ád</i> 'a:n'v' i:lɑ:xtwər <i>an-mhíshlachtmhar</i>
1o + o	-mhí-mhí-	'a:n'v' i:v' i:u:n't'ə <i>an-mhí-mhímhúinte</i>
1q	-neamh-	'a:n' n'ahi:m' <i>an-neamhshuim</i>
1r	-rí-	'a:n'ri:xɑ:m'ə'l'e:rə <i>an-ríchaimiléara</i> 'a:n'ri:ɣunə <i>an-rídhona</i>
1t	-sean-	'æ:n' t'æ'm' v'æ:n <i>an-tseanbhean</i>
1u	-síor-	'a:n' t' iər,wɑ:ft'əx <i>an-tsíorbháisteach</i> ən 'ta:n' t' iər,wɑ:ft'əx <i>an t-an-tsíorbháisteach</i>
1v	-so-	'a:n'si,fl'e:sɑ:l't'ə <i>an-sophléasáilte</i> note *an-tso-phléasáilte MØperm
1w	-bhinn-	'a:n'v' i:n' iər'əxt <i>an-bhinnarracht</i>
1x	-mhór-	'a:n'wɔ:r,xu:ʃ <i>an-mhórchúis</i> 'a:n'wɔ:r'xosu:l' l'if <i>an-mhórchosúil leis</i> 'a:n'wɔ:r,v'æ:su:l' ɑ:n he:n' <i>an-mhórmheasúil ann héin</i> dín' 'a:n'wɔ:r,hɑ:x ə v'i: ɑ:n duine <i>an-mhórshách a bhí ann</i>
1y	-ghlan-	'a:ŋ'ɣlɑ:n' x' u:rɑ:l't'ə <i>an-ghlanshiúráilte</i>
1z	-ghéar-	'æ'n' 'je:r'xɑ:l <i>an-ghéarchall</i> f'ær 'a:n'je:r,waski' M <i>fear an-ghéarbhascthaí</i>
Also	-mheán-	'æ'n' v' ɑ:n' t' e:gər'əx <i>an-mheántéagarach</i>
<i>ro- +</i>		
2d	-bhun-	rə'wun,xɑ:t'ə <i>ro-bhunchaite</i>
2g	-dheá-	rə'jɑ:xri:hu:l' <i>ro-dheá-chroíthiúil</i>
2h	-dhearg-	rə'jæ:ræg'ɣɑ:ltə <i>ro-dheargdhallta</i>
2i	-dho-	rə'ɣu,fl'e:sɑ:l't'ə <i>ro-dhophléasáilte</i>
2j	-dhroch-	rə'ɣrox,vr'æ:nhiəx <i>ro-dhrochbhreathnaíoch</i>
2k	-dhubh-	rə'ɣu'wuər <i>ro-dhubhfhuar</i>

2l	-fhíor-	rə'íər'xruə	ro-fhíorchrua
2n	-leath-	cp. rə'l'ɛsk'ɛ:ləx	ro-leithscéalach
2o	-mhí-	rə'v'í:u:nt'ə	ro-mhímhúinte
2q	-neamh-	rə'n'aw,ɑ:rd'ələx	ro-neamhairdeallach
2r	-rí-	rə'ri:'wa:	ro-rímhaith
2s	-ro-	,rə,rə'wɔ:r	ro-ro-mhór
		,rə,rə'v'og	ro-ro-bheag
2t	-shean-	rə'hæ:n,daun'	ro-sheandomhain
2v	-sho-	rə'hʉ,raisɑ:lt'ə	ro-sho-raidheasáilte
2x	-mhór-	'rə'wɔ:r'wa:	ro-mhórmhaith
<hr/>			
<i>fíor- +</i>			
3a	-an-	'f'íər'æ:n'd'æ:s	fíor-an-deas
		'f'íər'aŋ'ɣrɑ:nə	fíor-an-ghrána
3b	-ard-	'f'íər'ɑ:rd'i:hə	fíor-ardoíche
3c	-ath-	'f'íər'æhɑ:s	fíor-athfhás
3d	-bhun-	'f'íər'wun,xɑ't'ə	fíor-bhunchaite
3f	-chorr-	'f'íər'xaur'uər'	fíor-chorruair
3g	-dheá-	'f'íər'jɑ:xri:hu:l'	fíor-dheá-chroithiúil
		'f'íər'jɑ:ji:ntə M fíor-dheá-dhéanta; 'f'íər'jɑ:hru:n M fíor-dheá-shrón;	
		'f'íər'jɑ:xlog'ən M fíor-dheá-chloigeann	
3h	-dhearg-	'f'íər'jæ:ræg'ɣɑ:ltə	fíor-dheargdhallta
3i	-dho-	'f'íər'ɣi:l'æ:si:hə	fíor-dholeasáithe
3j	-dhroch-	'f'íər'ɣrox'lɑ:	fíor-dhrochlá
		'f'íər'ɣrox'i:hə	fíor-dhrochoíche
3k	-dho-	'f'íər'ɣu:fl'ɛ:sa:lt'ə	fíor-dhophléasáilte
3l	-fíor-	'f'íər'f'íər'æ:ft'əx	fíor-fíoraisteach
		'f'íər'f'íər'wa: fíor-fíormhaith; fíor-fíordheacair FFG, fíor-fíor-thráthiúil FFG, note *f'íər'íər- MØperm fíor-fhíor-	
3n	-leath-	'f'íər'l'æ:haməda:n	fíor-leathamadán
3o	-mhí-	'f'íər'v'í:u:nt'ə	fíor-mhímhúinte
3p	-mhíon-	'f'íər'v'in,æ:ti:	fíor-mhíonfhataí
3q	-neamh-	'f'íər'n'æ:hi:m'	fíor-neamhshuim
3r	-rí-	'f'íər'ri:'æ:ft'əx	fíor-rí-aisteach
3r + f	-rí-chorr-	'f'íər'ri:'xaur'ɣin'ə	fíor-rí-chorrdhuine
3s	-ro-	'f'íər,rə'wa:	fíor-ro-mhaith
3t	-shean-	'f'íər'hæ:ni:n'i:	fíor-shean-ndaoíní
		Sa bhfíor-sheanaimsir FFG	
3u	-shíor-	'f'íər'híər,wɑ:ft'əx	fíor-shíorbháisteach
3v	-sho-	'f'íər'hʉ,raisɑ:lt'ə	fíor-sho-raidheasáilte
3w	-bhinn-	'f'íər'v'í:n'íərəxt	fíor-bhinniarracht
3x	-mhór-	'f'íər'wɔ:r'hɑ:x	fíor-mhórshách
3y	-ghlan-	'f'íər'ɣlan'x'w:ra:lt'ə	fíor-ghlanshiúráilte
<hr/>			
<i>rí- +</i>			
4a	-an-	'ri:'æ:n'd'æ:s	rí-an-deas
4b	-ard-	'ri:'ɑ:rd'ju:mər	rí-ardghíúmar
4c	-ath-	'ri:'æhɑ:s	rí-athfhás
4d	-bhun-	'ri:'wun,xɑ't'ə	rí-bhunchaite
4f	-chorr-	'ri:'xaur'uər'	rí-chorruair
4g	-deá-	'ri:'d'ɑ:laurhə	rí-deá-labhartha
4h	-dhearg-	'ri:'jæ:ræg'skuʈ	rí-dheargscuit
4i	-dho-	'ri:'ɣu,hɔ:k'i:	rí-dhothóigthí
4j	-dhroch-	'ri:'ɣrox'wɑ:l'hə	rí-dhrochbhaladh
		'ri:'ɣrox'íərə	rí-dhrochiarraidh
4k	-dhubh-	'ri:'ɣu'v'igə	rí-dhubh-bhitse

4l	-fhíor-	'ri:yu'xra:k'ɑ:l'ə 'ri:íər'wa:stərd 'ri:íər'xruə	rí-dhubhchraiceáilte rí-fhíorbhastard rí-fhíorchrua
4m	-in-	'ri:ən'v'ɑ:rhə	rí-inbhearrrha
4n	-leath-	'ri:l'æ:lə:v'	rí-leathláimh
4o	-mhí-	'ri:v'i:u:n't'ə	rí-mhímhúinte
4p	-mhion-	'ri:v'in.æ:ti:	rí-mhionfhataí
4q	-neamh-	'ri:n'æhi:m'	rí-neamhsheim
4r	-rí-	'ri:ri:ɑ:lən'	rí-rí-álainn rí-ríbheagán FFG s.v. rí- rí-ríchaimiléara tá sé go rí-rímhaith
4r + s	-rí-ro-	'ri:ri:'xam'əf'e:rə tə fə gə 'ri:ri:'wa:	rí-ro-mhaith
4s	-ro-	tə:s æd gə 'ri:ri:'rəwā: tá fhios a'd go rí-rí-ro-mhaith	
4t	-shean-	'ri:rə'wā: 'ri:'hæm'v'e:k' 'ri:'hæm'vri:m'	rí-ro-mhaith rí-sheanbhéic rí-sheanbhroim
4u	-shíor-	'ri:'hiər'wə:f't'əx	rí-shíorbháisteach
4v	-sho-	'ri:'hi:l'æ:si:hə	rí-sholeasaithe
4w	-bhinn-	'ri:v'i:n'd'ehəl	rí-bhinndeicheall
4x	-mhór-	'ri:wə:r'wa:	rí-mhórmhaith
4y	-ghlan-	'ri:'ylæn'x'ɑ:rɑ:l't'ə	rí-ghlanshiúráilte
4z	-ghéar-	'ri:'je:r'yɑ:	rí-ghéarghá
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<i>corr- +</i>			
5b	-ard-	'kaur'ɑ:rd.ær	corr-ardfhear
5c	-ath-	'kaur'æ:l'e:m'	corr-athléim
5d	-bhun-	'kaur'wun.xokə	corr-bhunchoca
5e	-chomh-	'kaur'xuhi:f	corr-chomhaois
5f	-chorr-	'kaur'xaur'yin'ə	corr-chorrdhuine
5g	-dheá-	'kaur'jə:yin'ə	corr-dheá-dhuine
5h	-dhearg-	'kaur'jæ:ræg'v'ifə	corr-dheargbhitse
5j	-dhroch-	'kaur'γrox'la:	corr-dhrochlá
5k	-d(h)ubh-	'kaur'd / yuw'a:mədɑ:n	corr-d(h)ubhamadán
5l	-fíor- ¹	'kaur'f'íər'xant'ə:r' f'in' ,ē māfō ,bil' 'kaur'f'íər'wā:hōr' ā'n St sin é mara bfhuil corr-fiormháthair ann	corr-fíorchainteoir
5n	-leath-	'kaur'l'æhuər'	corr-leathuair
5o	-mhí-	'kaur'v'i:u:nə	corr-mhímhúnadh
5p	-mhion-	'kaur'v'in.ætə	corr-mhionfhata
5r	-rí-	'kaur'ri:'a:mədɑ:n 'kaur'ri:'x'ɑ:n SM 'kaur'ri:'æ:tə tɑ: ɑ:n SM	corr-rí-amadán corr-rí-cheann corr-rífhata atá ann
5t	-shean-	'kaur'ha:n.wuəxəl'	corr-sheanbhuachaill
5w	-bhinn-	'kaur'v'i:n'íərəxt	corr-bhinniarracht
5x	-mhór-	'kaur'wə:r'yɑ:'fk'íəx	corr-mhórghaiscíoch
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<i>deá- +</i>			
6c	-ath-	'd'ɑ:'æhɑ:s	deá-athfhás

¹ The semantic qualification in a series of prefixes usually corresponds to the sequential order of prefixes. There are, however, instances where *corr-* is qualified by a subsequent intensifying prefix: *corr-fíor-* can mean 'very rare', as noted in *tá corr-fiordhuine acub 21Pt* meaning logically *fíor-chorrdhuine*, i.e. 'very rare person' rather than 'rare true person'. Contrast the example (from conversation) cited in 5l of *corr-fiormháthair* meaning 'rare true mother', the logical sequence. Similarly, *corr-rí-* in 5r can mean 'rare fine' (logical sequence) but in the examples from conversation it means 'very rare' (*corr-rícheann*, *corr-rífhata*) actually corresponding to the logical meaning of the sequence in *rí-chorr-* 4f.

6g	-deá-	'd'ɑ:'d'ɑ:'xumə do dheá-dheá-mhéinn !894C9	deá-deá-chuma
6t	-shean-	'd'ɑ:'hæN'ær 'd'ɑ:'hæŋ,yu:nə	deá-sheanfhear deá-sheanghúna
6x	-mhór-	'd'ɑ:'wɔ:r,hu:n'	deá-mhóorthóin
<hr/>			
<i>dearg- +</i>			
7b	-ard-	'd'æ:ræg'ɑ:rd,ɑ:məðɑ:n	dearg-ardamadán
7c	-ath-	'd'æ:ræg'æ',L'e:m'	dearg-athléim
7g	-dheá-	'd'æ:ræg'jɑ:xumə	dearg-dheá-chuma
contrast *dearg-dheá-thóin MØperm			
7h	-d(h)earg-	'd'æ:ræg'j/ d'æ:ræg'xæ:k'ɑ:lt'ə dearg-d(h)earg-chraiceáilte	
7i	-dho-	'd'æ:ræg'yi,fl'e:sɑ:lt'ə	dearg-dhophléasáilte
7j	-dhroch-	'd'æ:ræg'ɣrox,yin'ə	dearg-dhrochdhuine
7k	-dhubh-	'd'æ:ræg'ɣuw,aməðɑ:n	dearg-dhubhamadán
7l	-fhíor-	'd'æ:ræg'iər'ɑ:məðɑ:n	dearg-fhíoramadán
7n	-leath-	'd'æ:ræg'l'æh,aməðɑ:n	dearg-leathamadán
7o	-mhí-	'd'æ:ræg'v'i:u:nə	dearg-mhímhúnadh
7p		note *dearg-mhionfhataí MØperm	
7q	-neamh-	'd'æ:ræg'N'æhi:m'	dearg-neamhshuim
7r	-rí-	'd'æ:ræg'ri:'xɑ:m'əl'e:rə dearg-rí-amadán, dearg-rí-óinseach M?perm	dearg-richaimiléara
7s	-ro-	'd'æ:ræg,rə'v'i:lt'ə	dearg-ro-mhillte
7t	-shean-	'd'æ:ræg'hæN'ær	dearg-sheanfhear
7u	-shíor-	'd'æ:ræg'hiər'wɑ:ft'əx ə d'æ:ræg'hiər'jura'n	dearg-shíorbháisteach ag dearg-shíorghearán
7v	-sho-	'd'æ:ræg'hi,vr'ift'ə	dearg-shobhriste
7w	-bhinn-	'd'æ:ræg'v'i:N'jərəxt 'd'æ:ræg'v'i:N'johəl	dearg-bhinniarracht dearg-bhinn dhícheall
7x	-mhór-	'd'æ:ræg'wɔ:r,v'æsu:l'	dearg-mhórmheasúil
7z	-ghéar-	'd'æ:ræg'wɔ:r,hu:n'	dearg-mhóorthóin M?perm
<hr/>			
<i>do- +</i>			
8i	-do-	'du'di,fl'e:sɑ:lt'ə	do-dophléasáilte
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<i>droch- +</i>			
9b	-ard-	'drox'ɑ:rd,æ:spæk but *droch-ardamadán, *droch-ardóinseach MØperm	droch-ardeaspag
9c	-ath-	'drox'æ',L'e:m'	droch-athléim
9d	-bhun-	'drox'wun,xokə	droch-bhunchoca
9f	-chorr-	'drox'xaur,v'e:r'	droch-chormhéir
9g	-dheá-	'drox'jɑ:xɑ'nt'	droch-dheá-chaint
9h	-dhearg-	'drox'jæ:ræg'v'ift'ə	droch-dheargbhitse
9j	-dhroch-	'drox'ɣrox,yin'ə	droch-dhrochdhuine
9k	-dhubh-	'drox'ɣuw'ɑ:məðɑ:n	droch-dhubhamadán
9l	-fhíor-	'drox'iər'wɑ'stərd	droch-fhíorbhastard
9n	-leath-	'drox'l'æh,aməðɑ:n	droch-leathamadán
9o	-mhí-	'drox'v'i:u:nə	droch-mhímhúnadh
9p	-mhion-	'drox'v'in,æti:	droch-mhionfhataí
9r	-rí-	'drox'ri:'aməðɑ:n	droch-rí-amadán
9t	-shean-	'drox'hæ'm,wɔ:	droch-sheanbhó
9u	-shíor-	'drox'hiər'wɑ:ft'əx	droch-shíorbháisteach
9z	-ghéar-	'drox'je:r,hnu:	droch-ghéarshnua
Also	-fhíod-	'drox'ud,wɑ:ft'əx	droch-fhíodbháisteach

<i>dubh- +</i>			
10g	-dheá-	'di'ja:xa:nt'	<i>dubh-dheá-chaint</i>
10h	-dhearg-	'di'jæræg'v'itʃə	<i>dubh-dheargbhitse</i>
10i	-dho-	'du'yi'fl'eisə:l'tə	<i>dubh-dhophléasáilte</i>
10j	-dhroch-	'du'ɣrox'ɣin'ə	<i>dubh-dhrochdhuine</i>
10k	-dhubh-	'du'ɣu'xræk'ɑ:l'	<i>dubh-dhubhchraiceáil</i>
10l	-fhíor-	'du'iar'wa'stərd	<i>dubh-fhíorbhastard</i>
10n	-leath-	'du'l'æh,u:nʃəx	<i>dubh-leathóinseach</i>
10o	-mhí-	'du'v'i:u:nə	<i>dubh-mhímhúnadh</i>
gə d'iv'ən' v'i' fíad 'di,v'i:u:n'tə M go deimhin bhí siad dubh-mhímhúinte!			
10r	-rí-	'du'ri:'a:məda:n	<i>dubh-rí-amadán</i>
10t	-shean-	'du'hæm,v'itʃə	<i>dubh-sheanbhitse</i>
10u	-shíor-	'du'híər'wə:f'təx	<i>dubh-shíorbháisteach</i>
10v	-su-	'du'su,vr'itʃə	<i>dubh-sobhriste</i>
10x	-mhór-	'du'wər'hə:x	<i>dubh-mhórshách</i>
Cp. * <i>dubh-fhiodbháisteach</i> MØperm			
<i>mí- +</i>			
12o	-mhí-	'm'i:v'i:u:n'tə	<i>mí-mhímhúinte</i>
12q		* <i>mí-neamhshuim</i> M???perm	
12y	-ghlan-	'm'i:'ɣla:n'həstə	<i>mí-ghlanshásta</i>
<i>mion- +</i>			
13u	-shíor-	'm'in'híər'wə:f'təx	<i>mion-shíorbháisteach</i>
<i>sean- +</i>			
17a	-an-	'fæ:n'æn:'ɑ:rdi: 'fæ:n'æn:v'ɑ:rhə	<i>sean-an-ardaíthe</i> <i>sean-an-bhearrtha</i>
17b	-ard-	'fæ:n'ɑ:rd'æ:spæk	<i>sean-ardeaspag</i>
17c	-ath-	'fæ:n'æ:l'æ:su: 'fæ:n'æ:l'æ:si:	<i>sean-athleasú</i> <i>sean-athleasaíthe</i>
17d	-bhun-	'fæ:n'wun,xokə	<i>sean-bhunchoca</i>
17g	-deá-	'fæ:n'd'ɑ:hʌmplə	<i>sean-deášhompla</i>
17h	-dearg-	'fæ:n'd'æ:ræg'vr'e:gədo:r'	<i>sean-deargbhréagadóir</i>
17i	-do-	'fæ:n'du,wə:nt'ə	<i>sean-dobhainte</i>
17j	-droch-	'fæ:n'drox'v'æ:su:l'	<i>sean-drochmheasúil</i>
17k	-dubh-	'fæ:n'du'xə:t'ə	<i>sean-dubhchaite</i>
but * <i>sean-dubhfhuar</i> MØperm			
17l	-fhíor-	'fæ:n'íər'xa:nt'ə:r'	<i>sean-fhíorchainteoir</i>
but * <i>sean-fhíorbhréagach</i> MØperm			
17m	-in-	'fæ:n'ən'd'ɪ:ntə	<i>sean-in-déanta</i>
but * <i>sean-intruist</i> MØperm			
17o	-mhí-	'fæ:m'v'i:u:nə	<i>sean-mhímhúnadh</i>
17p	-mhion-	'fæ:m'v'in'æ:ti:	<i>sean-mhionfhataí</i>
17q	-neamh-	'fæ:n'æhi:m'	<i>sean-neamhshuim</i>
17r	-rí-	'fæ:n'ri:'ftr'ɪ:pəx	<i>sean-rístríopach</i>
17s	-ro-	'fæ:n'rə'ɑ:f'k'i:	<i>sean-ro-fháiscthí</i>
17t	-sean-	'fæ:n't'æ:ni:n'ə	<i>sean-tsean-ndaoine</i> , cf. 3.141
17u	-síor-	'fæ:n't'íər'əbər'	<i>sean-tsíorobair</i>
(17v)		* <i>sean-so-phléasáilte</i> , * <i>sean-sobhriste</i> MØperm	
<i>síor- +</i>			
(18c)		* <i>ag síor-athleasú</i> MØperm	
18g	-dheá-	'fíər'ja:hʌmplə	<i>síor-dheášhompla</i>
18h	-dhearg-	'fíər'jæræg'hæ:fə:d'	<i>síor-dheargsheafóid</i>
18j	-dhroch-	'fíər'ɣroxu:nə	<i>síor-dhrochmhúnadh</i>
in ə d'roxu:nə ogəs ə 'fíər'ɣroxu:nə			

<i>ag drochmhúnadh agus ag síor-dhrochmhúnadh</i>		
18k	-dhubh-	'fjær' yu' xahə síor-dhubhchaitheamh
(18l)		* <i>ag síor-fhíorsheafóid</i> MØperm
18o	-mhí-	'fjær' v' i:u:nə síor-mhímhúnadh
18p	-mhion-	'fjær' v' in,wə:ft' əx síor-mhionbháisteach
18q	-neamh-	'fjær' n' əhi:m' síor-neamhshuim
18u	-shíor-	'fjær' hiər' obər' síor-shíorobair (noun)
18x	-mhór-	'fjær' wər' wə:ft' əx síor-mhórbháisteach
<i>so- +</i>		
19c	-ath-	'su' æ: l' æs:ihə so-athleasaíthe
19d	-bhun-	'su' wun, xat' ə so-bhunchaite
(19g)		* <i>so-dhéa-dhéanta</i> MØperm
(19v)		* <i>so-shobhainte</i> MØperm
19x	-mhór-	'su' wər' fl' e:sə:l't' ə so-mhórophléasáilte
<i>seacht- +</i>		
20c	-ath-	'fa' xt' æ: l' æs:i' seacht-athleasaíthe
		'fa' xt' næ: l' æs:i' Mperm seacht-n-athleasaíthe (uneclipsed form preferred)
(20d)		* <i>seacht-mbunchaite</i> makes no sense Mq
20g	-deá-	'fa' xt' n' a: ji:ntə seacht-ndéa-dhéanta
20h	-dearg-	'fa' xt' n' æ:ræg' yə:l'tə seacht-ndeargdhallta
(20i)		* <i>seacht-ndo-bhainte</i> MØperm
20r	-rí-	'fa' xt' ri: v' a:r'hə seacht-ríbhearrtha
(20t)		* <i>seacht-seanchurtha</i> MØperm
20v	-so-	'fa' xt' su' fl' e:sə:l't' ə seacht-sophléasáilte
<i>binn- +</i>		
(21f)		* <i>binn-chorrdhuine</i> MØ?perm
21g	-deá-	'b' i:n' d' a:jumərəx binn-deá-ghiúmarach
21h	-dearg-	'b' i:n' d' æ:ræg' iərəxt binn-deargiarracht
21i	-do-	'b' i:n' du' fl' e:sə:l't' ə binn-dophléasáilte
(21j)		* <i>binn-droch-lá</i> MØ?perm
21o	-mhí-	'b' i:n' v' i:aid' əx binn-mhífhoighdeach
21r	-rí-	'b' i:n' ri: jehəl binn-rídheicheall
21s	-ro-	'b' i:n' rə' wə: binn-ro-mhaith
21v	-so-	'b' i:n' su' hək' i:hə binn-sothóigthíthe
21w	-bhinn-	mə' v' i:n' v' i:n' iərəxt mo bhinn-bhinniarracht
21z	-ghéar-	'b' i:n' je: r' iərəxt binn-ghéariarracht
<i>mór- +</i>		
(22b)		* <i>mór-ard-teaidhm</i> MØperm
22i	-dho-	'mər' yi' fl' e:sə:l't' ə mór-dhophléasáilte
22j	-dhroch-	'mər' yrox, wə:stərd mór-dhrochbhastard
22o	-mhí-	'mər' v' i: hə:stə mór-mhíshásta
22r	-rí-	'mər' ri: wə: mór-rímhaith
22s	-ro-	'mər' rə' wə: mór-ro-mhaith
22u	-shíor-	'mər' hiər' wə:ft' əx mór-shíorbháisteach
22x	-mhór-	'mər' wər' x' u:rə:l't' ə mór-mhórsuíráilte
22z	-ghéar-	'mər' je: r' yə: mór-ghéarghá
<i>glan- +</i>		
23h	-dearg-	'glə: n' d' æ:ræg' x' u:rə:l't' ə glan-deargshuíráilte
23r	-rí-	'glə: n' ri: x' u:rə:l't' ə glan-ríshuíráilte
23x	-mhór-	'glə: n' wər' hə: x glan-mhórschách
23y	-ghlan-	'glə: n' ylə: n' x' u:rə:l't' ə glan-ghlanshuíráilte
<i>gear- +</i>		
24f	-chorr-	'g' e: r' xaur' a:məda:n géar-chorramadán

24h	-dhearg-	'g'e:r'jæræg'a:məda:n	géar-dheargamadán
24j	-dhroch-	'g'e:r'γrox'hæ:ns	géar-dhrochsheans
24r	-rí-	'g'e:r'ri:a:məda:n	géar-rí-amadán
24w	-bhinn-	'g'e:r'v'i:n'iarəxt	géar-bhinniaracht
24z	-ghéar-	'g'e:r'je:r'u:nfəx	géar-ghéaróinseach
		'g'e:r'je:r'aməda:n	géar-ghéaramadán
		mə'je:r'je:r'xi:vr'ə	mo ghéar-ghéarchuimhne

Suffixes

3.147 Adjectival suffixes

The semantic connection of derived adjectives to the 'base' from which they derive is not always transparent. For example, adjectival and nominal *bacach* are semantically closer to *bacail* than to *bac*. The main adjectival suffix is (1) *-ach*. The other adjectival suffixes are (2) *-mhar*, (3) *-úil*, (4) *-áilte* and, related to the verbal adjective, (5) *-tha(i)* and *-íte*. Anomalous nasalisation is caused (optionally) by *-mhar* and *-úil* in *lū:fər lúthmhar* and *dāhu:l' dathúil*.

3.148 1. *-ach*

(More rarely also functions as a nominal suffix.) The root final quality is generally retained, i.e. *-C' > -C'əx* and *-C' > -C'əx*. In adjective (without syncope):

abhcoídeach; aimsireach (e.g. FFG); *airdeallach; aireach; āntrax*
antráthach; breithiúnasach; bricíneach; cainteach; caiteogach;
clamhsánach; cleiteach; coirnéalach; daimhséarach; deabhalach; fleascach;
foighdeánach; gláiféisceach; gliondarach (e.g. *glionndarach* Clad1151);
láibeach; míisceach; nádúrach; ollmhaireach; pisreogach; práinneach;
rachmallach; réasúnach; scéalach; sciobalach; siúlach; solasach; t'e:γərəx
téagarach (e.g. Clad1189); *teanntásach; teirigéiseach; timpeallach* Clad57;
tíofasach, tíobhasach, tíobhaíosaich; tola:nəx tulánach. Cp. *sí(óg), síoch*. In compounds, e.g. *corrchnámhach; nua-aoiseach; tromchroíoch*. Elision of final syllable in *ámhaillí, ámhailleach; ramallae, ramallach; faltanas* (also *faltanacht*), *faltanach*.

With borrowing 'action' > *aicsean, aicseanach ækfənəx*, comparative *N'is ækfəni: M níos aicseanaí*.

In noun: *bacach, foighideach* 869PDT42, *Grialaiseach* 894C9.

Gréig > gréigeach generally, but a by-form (perhaps with copied *r*) occurs in *spuir dheilgneacha ghréigreacha ghreannta* (run) 864MLL152.

Depalatalisation, i.e. *-C' > -C'əx* :

In adjective: *plait, platach; iargúil* (related to *cúl*), *iargúlach; fadteangain* (*teanga > gen teangan*), *fadteanganach; gualainn* (gen *gualann*), **guələnəx** (Sdás) 04B *gualannach; meabhair, meabhrach; seanóir, seanórach* (or *seanórdhach*).

Cp. nominal type in surnames, e.g. *Ó Súilleabháin, Súilleabhánach*.

Verbal nouns in unstressed *-int > -(ea)nach*: *tuisint, tuisceanach; feiliúint, f'e:l'u:nəx* 899D, 04B *feiliúnach*. Cp. *an-fheiliúnach 'ā:n'e:l'u:rəx* 21Pg4400 (perhaps influenced by *cóiriúil*). Similarly *feiceá(i)l(t) > feiceálach*.

Optional depalatalisation, i.e. *-C' > -C'əx ~ -C'əx* :

aduain FGB, *adúineach*, also *adúnach* FFG; *barúil, barúlach* also *barail*,

baraileach FFG, cp. *dhá bharúilí* implying **barúileach* (3.64); *cruit*, *crutach* FFG, *cruiteach*.

Syncope (optional) with palatalisation, i.e. -C' - > -C'-:

láthar 'strength', **l̪a:həɾəx** Mq *látharach* (also **866ESc39**, cp. *láthrach* **864MDT3**) but **l̪a:r'həx** **43Mq** *láithreach*; cp. nonsyncope in *láthair* 'presence', **l̪a:həɾ'əx** **!05M** *láthaireach*; base *leiceann*, *fadleicneach*; **uəwəɾ** *uabhar*, **uəvr'əx** *uaibhreach*. Coalescence in *maidin*, *go moch maidneach* [**maɲ'əx**] Clad122.

The common adjective **ku:l** *cúthal* is given with a variant **ku:l'əx** *cúthaileach* in 46.982, cp. abstract **ku:l'əxt** *cúthaileacht*.

-t(e)ach (optional) t-extension:

V(h) + t'əx *aimhréidh* (final -e ~ -ə), *aimhréiteach* **ævr'e:t'əx**; *anó*, *anóiteach*; *anró*, *anróiteach*; *caitheamh* (vadj *caite*), *caiteach*; *imní*, **i:mr'i:t'əx** S *imníteach*;
l' l' (n') + t'əx *cailleadh*, *caillteach*; *toil*, *toilteach* **!ZCP155**;
 cp. *ceilt*, *ceilteach*; *fóint*, *fóinteach*;
l + təx *deabhal*, *deabhaltach*; *feall*, *fealltach*; *gaol*, *gaoltach*;
l' + təx *iargúil*, *iargúltach*;
l' + t'ənəx *toil*, *toilteanach* (e.g. **864MDT3**).

-thach in *sciorradh*, **ʃk'urhəx** **894C** *sciorrach*.

-thach with depalatalisation in *spéir* (plural *spéartha*), *ceannspéarthach*.

Note also *caitheamh*, *caifeach*; *cara(id)*, **karhənəx** *carthanach* (cp. *carthanas*); *céad*, *céadtach* **k'e:təx**; *féithe*, *féithleach* Clad73.

-neach with base *léim* (VN *léimneach*), **'fa:d' l' e:mn'əx** *faidléimneach*; with palatalisation in *dealg* (pl *deilgne*), **d'el'əgn'əx** *deilgneach*.

-annach with depalatalisation in base *droim* (gsg *drama*): **'fad,ɣra:mənəx** **'fa'dra:mənəx** M *fad-d(h)ramannach*; *lagdhroim*, **'la:g,ɣra:mənəx** *lagdhramannach*.

-(r)ach: *fios*, *fiosrach*, also *fiosarach* **21J**; place-name *An tÁth Leacach* ~ *An Áithe Leacrach*.

Irregular *faitíos* > *faiteach*; **ku:ntənəs** *cuntanas* > **ku:ntənəsəx** S *cuntanasach*, with loss of -an- in **'g'ar,xū:ntəsəx** **10Bq** *gearrchuntasach*, also (unattested base by-form **cuntanás* >) *gearrchuntanásach* FFG; *eolas* > *eolach*, *eolasach*, *eolgach* **06C**; **m'i:ɑ:** *mí-ád* > **m'i:ɑ:səx** *mí-ásach*.

-aíoch (with 2 Conjugation verbal stems, other adjectives):

fiathraigh, **f'ia:rhiax** *fiathraíoch*; *masla(igh)*, *maslaíoch*; cp. *truaiillíoch*; *truaiíoch* **truəix**; in compounds: **'fad,vr' ænhiax** *fadbhreathnaíoch*, *fuairbhreathnaíoch*; *an-mhairíoch*. Cp. *beatha*, *beithíoch*; *coimhthíos*, *coimhthíoch* with three main by-forms **kohiax**, **kuhiax**, less often **kof'iax**, and **köf't'iax** 46.937 (as intensifier 'great' only **ko/uhiax** was heard).

-úch (~ -óch ~ -mhach):

cead, **k'æ:du:x** **04B** *ceadúch*, also *bhfuil sé ceadúch agam* **869P4**; cp. **dusku:x** **04B** *doscúch*. Cp. **tæn'hu:** *taitneamh* > **tæn'hu:x** **18J** *taitneamhach*.

-úch ~ -ach in *easpúch* Semr64, *easpadhach* **864MDT51**, *easpach*.

-úch ~ -mhach, etc., in *seasmhach* **ʃæsu:x**, also **ʃæ'swəx** **ʃæ'swu:x** M

-úch ~ -óch ~ -ach in **a:mplu:x** *amplúch*, (perhaps most) often **a:mpləx** for Máire but also **a:mplo:x** (cp. Máire's -o:xi: nominal plurals (4.168) for more conservative -u:xi:).

Cp. **maru:x** *marəwəx* **maru:əx** *maro:x* *marbhach*.

3.149 2. -mhar -wər (-fər) -u:r -ər

Cp. 1.98; *bríomhar*, *fionnmhar*, *greannmhar*, *gaofar*, *lochtmhar*, **lū:fər** *lúthmhar*, *slachtmhar*.

-mharach: **glō:r wə:rəx** *M glórmharach*.

3.150 3. -úil

bleid, *bleidiúil*; *bród*, *bródiúil*; *coimpléasc*, *coimpléascúil* S; *cóir*, *cóiriúil*; *cuideachta*, *cuideachtúil*; *cumha*, **ku:u:l'** FFG s.v. *cumhúil*; *deis*, *deisiúil* Sc239, **869Pt**; *drochshnú*, *drochshnúil*; *éad*, *éadiúil* S; *gnaí*, *gnaíúil*; *gnótha*, *gnóthúil*; *gréis*, *gréisiúil* M; *gusta*, *gustúil* S; *leisce*, *leisciúil*; *locht* ('cargo' and 'fault'), *lochtúil*; *meas*, *measúil*; *neashuim*, *neashuimiúil*; *pointe*, *pointiúil*; *prae*, *praeúil*; *rath*, *rathúil*; *rún*, *rúniúil* FFG; *sceid*, *sceidiúil*; *síoda*, *síodiúil*; *spioraid*, *spioraidiúil*; *stainc*, *stainciúil*; *toirmeasc*, *toirmeascúil*; *tráth*, *tráthúil*; cp. **san'u:l'** *sainiúil*. Also with phrasal *grá dia*, **grə:d'iəu:l'** *grádaiúil*. Note *brí* > *bríúil*, *bríogiúil*; *mada* (plural *madraí*), *madrúil* DT95. With loss of -ach in *misneach*, *misniúil*; *puiteach*, *puitiúil*; cp. *bitse(ach)*, *bitsiúil*, *bitseachtúil*; *aisteach* (also *aistiúil* Mq) > abstract *aistiúlacht*. Nasalisation in **da(h)** *dath* > **dāhu:l'** *dathúil*. Vowel change in *cion* > *ceanúil*.

Also productive with borrowings, based on the borrowed noun, e.g.

'action' > *aicsean* > *aicseanuil*; 'breeze' > *bruíos* > *brutosúil* M, 'chance' > *seans* > *seansúil* (also *seansáilte* which, however, has a transitive meaning also); 'conceit' > *consaeit* > *consaeitúil*; 'fair play' > *féar-plé* > *féar-pléúil*; 'fame' > *féim* > *féimiúil* S; 'game' > *géim* > *géimiúil*; 'gimp' > *gimp* > *gimpiúil*; 'must' > *muist* > *muistiúil*; 'skill' > *scil* > *sciliúil*; 'time' > *teidhm* > *teidhmiúil*.

-*thúil* following some roots in final vowels (also *dlí(obh)* and optionally *tír*, *tóir*): *ád*, **a:hu:l'** *ádthúil*, also *mí-ád*, *mí-ádthúil*; *croí*, *croíthúil*, also with phrasal *briseadh croí*, *briseadh-croíthúil* M; *dlíobh*, *dlíthiúil* **27Mdq**; *sí*, **ʃi:hu:l'** *M síthiúil*; *tír*, **t'ir'hu:l'** **23B**, **t'ir'u:l'** *M tírthiúil*; depalatalisation in *tóir*, **to:rhū:l'** **899N** *tóirthúil*.

-*túil* following *l*: *feall*, **f'ə:ltu:l'** *M fealltúil*, also *fealltach*.

-*rúil* in *fios*, *fiosrúil*.

3.151 4. -áilte

ór, *óráilte* **866Et** (Sc180); *geata*, *geatáilte*; *scráb*, *scrábáilte*; *steig meig*, *steig-meigéailte*; *stumpa*, *stumpáilte*. Very productive in borrowings (11.136 ff.), e.g. 'sure' > *siuráilte*, 'bellows' > (*beileas* >) *beileasáilte*. Cp. *finéalta* FGB, *finéailte* M; *prionsabálta* FGB, *prionsabáilte* **35E**; *contráilte*; *plánáilte*; *trangáilte*.

3.152 5. -tha(i) and allomorphs

-a: *seanóir*, **ʃæ:no:rə** *seanórdha*.

-aí: *farcthaí*; *crannaí*; *Críostaí*; *stóraí*; cp. *anabaí*, *tanaí*.

- aí(the) *beachtaíthe; bústaíthe; clúmhscaí(the); cnádaí(the); prímlaíthe; sceabhdaí(the); sclutaíthe; slabhcaí(the); splancaí(the) or splancthaí(-the); sliobaraí(the).*
- tha: *cladhaire > cladhartha* **866E**Sc56.17. Cp. *tórtha* or *tabhartha*.
- ta: *i:f aois > i:stə aosta* **892M**2464; *múinte; réasún, réasúnta*. Cp. *fiáin* and less common *fiánta*.
- ta -taí: *bodhránta* M; *deabhalta, deabhaltaí; diachta* CAR, *diachtaí* **894C**2.
- da: *gallda*.
- tha ~ -thaí ~ -aíthe, etc.; adjectives unrelated to verbs but formally similar to verbal adjectives may end in ə, i:, i:hə, etc., (5.178 ff.):
- beadaí* often *b'adi:* but also *'æ:m'v'æ:di:hə* M *an-bheadaíthe*;
céillí often *k'e:l'i:* but *go chórá chéillíthe* **!894C**9, *k'e:l'i:* >> *k'e:l'i:hə* Mq,
 cp. -i: only in *'d'i:k'e:l'i:* *dícéillí*;
maortha, maordha FGB: *maoraíthe* **!894C**9, *maorthaí mucánta* **!894C**9;
séimhí generally *ʃe:v'i:(hə)*, e.g. *dín'ə (d'æ:s) ʃe:v'i:hə* M *duine (deas)* *séimhíthe*, also *séimh*.
- Cp. -ardha, -artha, -ara in *alp, alpardha* Clad146; *corp, corpartha* **!(MP)894C**9, *corpara* **!894C**9.
- Cp. -anta in *mu(i)c, muiceanta; -únta* in *las, lasúnta*. Note also *treisiúnta* **869P**-CAR (*treise, treisiúil* FGB) and *paisiúnta*.

3.153 Adjectival roots with alternant suffixes

- a, -ach, (Ø)
- gruaim, gru:mə gruama, gru:məx gruamach;*
na:du:r nádúr (noun and adjective), *na:du:rə nádúrtha, na:du:rəx nádúrach;*
ʃano:rə seanórdha, ʃano:rəx seanórach.
- ach, -íoch
- masla, maslach* (perhaps most common), *maslaíoch; cleas, cleasach* commonly (including **892M**tn) but (rather uncertainly) *cleasaíoch* **892M**tn (perhaps influenced by *cleasaíocht* which occurs in the same tale **892M**tn). Cp. *lag, lagraíoch; -C'íəx, -C'əx* in *an-mhairíoch, an-mharach* FFG.
- ach, -úil
- ardintinn, ardintinneach, ardintinniúil; gnotha, gnothach, gnothúil;*
 with stem extension *fios, fiosrúil, fiosrach*, also *fiosarach* [x4] **21J**.
852SbTS has *Chaith sé ... an oíche sin go rícuimpoirtíúil* [sic] 125, as well as *chaith sé héin ... an oíche sin go rícuimpoirtíoch* 129, *chua sé ... go rícuimpoirtíoch abhaile* 146 (the general form). It seems likely the token in -úil was influenced by other adjectives used in the same phrase: *Chaitheadar an oíche sin go ríspóirtíúil* is *go ríchuideachtúil* 121, *Chaitheadar an oíche sin ... go ríspóirtíúil* 123.
- sach, -thúil
- mí-ádth, m'ia:səx mí-ásach* (most common), *m'ia:hu:l* **17Mp** *mí-ádththúil*. Contrast *ádth > ádhthúil* only.
- ach, -áilte: see under -áilte below.
- ach, -áilte, -úil
- Borrowing 'action' > *aicsean, aicseanach* SM, *aicseanúil* S, **18Bm**, *aicseanáilte* M?perm.
- ach, -tach, -ta
- iargúil* (noun and adjective), *iargúlach, iargúltach, iargúlta*. As adjective, in one noted discourse, Seán had *iargúil* more often than *iargúlach*. Cp. *iargúlta* FFG, *iargúil* (adjective) FFG20.

- teach*, -*teanach*
toil, *toilteach* !ZCP155, *toilteanach* (e.g. **864MDT3**).
- ach*, -*tach*, -*ta*, -*taí*, -*aí*
deabhal, *deabhalach* **20C**, *deabhaltach*, *deabhalta*, *deabhaltaí*, *deabhalaí* (apparently also *deabhala*, see 14).
- tach*, -*mhar*, -*ta*
gaol, *gaoltach*, *gaolmhar*, *gaolta*.
- tha*, -*thúil*
tóir, *tórtha*, *tórtúil*.
- tach*, -*túil*
feall, *fealltach*, *fealltúil*.
- íoch*, -*ítheach*, -*íteach*
fiathraigh, **f'íarhiəx** *fiathraíoch* generally, but also **f'íarhi:təx** M *fiathraíteach*, **f'íarhi:həx** M *fiathraítheach*.
- úch*, -*ach*, -*mhach*, -*óch*, see -*úch* above (3.148).
- úil*, -*gúil*, -*mhar*
brí, *bríúil*, *bríogúil*, *bríomhar* SM; *slacht*, *slachtmhar* **slaxtwər** ~ **slaxtu:r**, *slachtúil* **21Pt**.
- ach*, -*gach*
eolas, *eolach*, *eolasach*, *eolgach* **06C**.
- úil*, -*thúil*
tír, *tíriúil*, *tírthiúil*.
- (*th*)*úil*, -(*th*)*úlach*, -*ach*
sí(óg), *síúil*, *síthiúil*, *síthiúlach* [?] M, *fear síoch* **869P2**.
- áilte*, -*ach*
feidheastar, *feidheastaráilte*, *feidheastarach*; *scead*, *sceadáilte*, *sceadach* M; cp. *giodam*, *giodamach*, *giodar*, *giodaramáilte*.
- áilte*, -*úil*
gréis, *gréiseáilte*, *gréisiúil*; *pointe*, *pointeáilte*, *pointiúil* (Máire also remembers possible *púintiúil* Mq). Borrowing 'breeze' > *bruíos*, *bruíosáilte* S, **49M**, *bruíosúil*.

Other alternants

ceannmann, *ceannúil*.
ceannleathan M, FFG20, *ceannleathnaíoch* FFG.
Nouns *éad*, *éadús* also *éadúchas* **875PCAR**, have adjectives *éadúil*, *éadúsach* S.
eirigiúis = *eirigéis*, *eirigiúisiúil*, *eirigéiseach*.
fuair, *fuairleáilte*, *fuairleáilteach* (preferred by Mq), *fuairleáilteach*, *fuairleáilteach*.
Nouns *gaoth*, *gaotalach*, *gítealach*, *gíteach*, *gítiúlacht* have related adjectives
gaofar, *gaotalach*, *gaoitealach*, *gítiúil*, *gítiúlach*.
mu(i)c, *mucúil*, *muiciúil*, *muiceanta*, *mucúiseach*.
síbhéalta most common, also *síbhéalach* **00C**.

3.154 Agentive and personal suffixes

The agentive suffixes (1–5 below) are -*í*, -*éara*, -*óir* (also -*tóir*), -*adóir*, -*ire*. The personal (sometimes also agentive) suffixes (6, 7 below) are -*ach*, -*achán*, -*íneach*, -*óg*. For diminutive -*ín*, occasionally personal, see 3.171.

The lack of an agentive noun based on the verb *snáimh* and (verbal) noun *snámh* 'swim' may be an apparent 'gap' in the derivational lexicon (for certain speakers). In the following citation, the lack of an agentive seems to cause the speaker to switch from nominal use to a more vague descriptive phrase with the verb *snáimh*:

snáimh [past], *Seáinín* ... *snáimh* [past] *sé* ... *bhí sé ina, fíor-, snáimh, shnáimhead sé an fharraige mhór*. **23Mst**.¹

Speaker **22Mt**, however, uses agentive *snáimhéara* and *snáimheadóir* in close sequence in Wigger (2000: 2–10–01).

1. -í

Added to noun, e.g. *co(i)s*, *coisí*; *fátall*, *fátallaí*; *gnotha*, *gnothaí*; *saothar*, *saothraí*; *sciolladh*, *sciollaí*; cp. *mu(i)c*, *Muicí na Muc* LL21; *brútaí*.

Exceptional depalatalisation in:

cluain, *cluanaí*; *cruit*, *crotaí* **894C9**; *glic*, *gleacaí*; similarly *foilint* (< *foilinn*) > *folannaí* FFG; *ceardaí* (< *ceird*, obsolete *ceárd* **852SbTS133**; e.g. *ceárdaí* **852SbTS132–3**), is more commonly *fear ceirde*.

Often added to nouns in -áil > -álaí, e.g.

crágáil, *crágálaí*; *lótáil*, *lótálaí*; *lotaíli*: M *lótálaí*; *prácamáil*, *prácamálaí*; *scrábáil*, *scrábálaí*; *spúnáil*, *spúnálaí*; *súmáil*, *súmálaí*; with many borrowings, e.g. ‘box’ > *bacsáil*, *bacsálaí*; ‘feed’ > *fídeáil*, *fídeálaí* M; ‘pouch’ > *púitseáil*, *púitseálaí*; also ‘trust’ > *trust*, *trustaí*. Cf. *ginearálaí*; *admaráilaidhe* Cladl-199.

With *l* extension in *gabha*, *gabhlaí* FFG.

2. -éara

The root consonant is palatalised, i.e. -C` > -C', e.g. *bácáil*, *báicéara*; *clab*, *claibéara*; *feilm*, *feilméara*; *gluta*, *gluitéara*; *sábh*, *sáibhéara*; *scláta*, *scláitéara*.

Note the following, all from the same tale or motif:

(*cois*) *coiséara* **875T1**, **11C**, **35E** (compare vernacular *coist*), (*tóin*) *túinéara* **875T1** (= *fear briste* [perhaps *bhriste*] *na gcloch lena leatúin* **11C**), (*cluais*) *cluaiséara* **875T1**, **11C**, **35E**, (*gunna*) *gin'éra* **11C** *guinnéara*, (*séid*) *séidéara* **875T1**, **11C**.

Exception nonpalatal final, i.e. -C`, in *ka:r carr*, *ka:re:rə carraera*.

In many English borrowings, e.g.

‘sailor’ > *saeiléara*; ‘cyclist’ (< ‘cyclist’) > *saidhcléara*, ‘scamp’ > *sceaimpéara*; similarly *ko:ste:rə* **30P** *cóstaera* ‘coaster’. Cp. earlier borrowing ‘partner’ > *páirtnéara* in *páirtnéar a'am* **894C9**. For -éar, see 1.54.

3. -óir

báire, *báireoir*; *bara*, *baróir*; *Béarla*, *Béarlóir*; *scaradh*, *scaróir*. Cp. *cósta*, *cóstóir*. Generally added to the root, e.g. -ach is deleted in *cladach*, *cladóir*; *criathrach*, *criathróir*; but retained in *ceannach*, *ceannachóir* usually, also *ceannaitheoir* **21Pt**, **24Mt** (perhaps influenced by external standard use); *corach*, *corachóir* **898P**; -ín is deleted in borrowed *lóistín*, *lóisteoir* (e.g. LL174) ‘lodger’. Cf. *ábhairseoir*. With borrowings, e.g. ‘murder’ > *mordar*, *mordaróir*.

Exception: optional palatalisation in:

doras, *doirseoir* *do:ʃo:r* **11Ct**, *do:ʃo:r* M, *do:ʃo:r* SM. Note also *muileann*, *mil'o:r* *muilleoir* but also *mil'n'o:r* **18J** *muilneoir*, *muilinneoir* FFG, *mil'ənt'o:r* **18J** *muilinnnteoir*.

¹ Cp. *snámhaí* ‘creeper’ LFRM s.v. *snámh*; *snámhaireacht* ‘creeping’; note *snámhadóir* ‘swimmer’ Dinn, *snámhóir* FGB ‘swimmer’, e.g. *An-snámhóir a bhí ann* (Risteárd Ó Dúgáin, Mionlach, Paróiste an Chaisleáin Ghearr, Co. na Gaillimhe; Ó Broin 1955–7: 20).

Cp. *trumpóireacht* (implying *trumpóir* < *trumpa*) **869PB**l6.117; *póirteoir* Sc190-20 (FGB *póirtéir*).

With *t* extension following *l*, *n*, or vowel, e.g.

ceol, *ceoltóir*; *seol*, *seoltóir*; *buail*, *buailteoir*; *coill*, **kailt'or'** *coillteoir*; *caoin*, *caointeoir*; *cúnamh*, *cúntóir*, *sáigh*, *sáiteoir* Clad229; cp. *baint*, *bainteoir* **16C**; *caint*, *cainteoir*; *fuint*, *fuinteoir*; by-form *muilinniteoir* above.

Also *-ntóir* (~ *-adóir*) in *feall*, *feallantóir*; *garraí*, **gar:rintor'** M *garraíontóir*, with abstract noun **gar:rintor'æxt** M *garraíontóireacht*. When asked to produce an agentive of *croisínteacht*, Máire offered *croisíontóir* Mq.

With (optional) *th* extension (and depalatalisation) in *stiúir*, **st'uro:or'** S *stiúróir*, and derived abstract **st'urho:or'æxt** **872P** *stiúirthóireacht*; cp. *impearthóir* **864MD**T51-2.

With palatal *n* extension and loss of *bh* in *scríbhneoir* **skr'i:n'or'**; *bh* is restored in some speakers **skr'i:vn'or'**.

With *l* extension and loss of *d* in *orlóir* FFG < *ord-* + *-l-óir*.

4. *-adóir*

Regular with 1 Conjugation stems and many nouns, e.g. **a:l'** *aill*, **æ:l'ædo:or'** *ailleadóir*; *ceilp*, *ceilpeadóir*; *cliabh*, *cliabhadóir*; *croisín*, *croisíneadóir* Clad215 (not known to M); *cuir*, *cuireadóir*; *fán*, *fánadóir*; *feann*, **f'æ:nædo:or'** *feannadóir*; *feamainn*, *feamainneadóir* Clad249 (not known to M); *fuin*, *fuineadóir*; *muirín*, *muiríneadóir* Clad72, 75; *pioc*, *piocadóir*; *righín*, **rain'ædo:or'** *righneadóir*; *rop*, *ropadóir*; *sclaib*, *sclaibeadóir*; *scar*, *scaradóir* **16C**; *sleán*, *sleánadóir* (only agentive form, according to SM); *speal*, *spealadóir*; *spioch*, *spiochadóir*; cp. *tóg* > *tógadóir* Clad212 implying vernacular **tóigeadóir*. Cf. *leathadóir*, *slíomadóir*. Exception: (optional) depalatalisation in *glic*, *gliceadóir*, *gleacadóir*; *loic* (*loc* in secondary sources), *locadóir* FFG.

In borrowings, e.g.

'drain' > *draein*, *draeineadóir*; 'trick' > *truic*, *truiceadóir*; 'plan' > *pleain*, *pleaineadóir*; 'slate' > *sléiteáil*, *sléiteadóir*.

Loss of *-ch* in *caolach*, *caoladóir*; *gliomach*, *gliomadóir*; optional in **ex** *éitheach*, **exædo:or'** SID.46 (s.v.) *éitheachadóir*, **ed:or'** M *éitheadóir*; retained in *corach*, *corachadóir*.

Inhabitants of **in'əf l'æ:kən'** *Innis Leacain* are known as *Sleacadóirí* **sl'æ:kædo:or'i:**.

Cp. *ina cheoladóir* ... *cheoltóir* **881Nt** (the latter being the regular form).

Also *-theadóir* following some roots in (final) *-V:*, e.g.

dlíobh, *dlíthiúil*, **dl'i:hædo:or'** **01J** *dlítheadóir*; *draoi*, *draíocht*, **dri:hædo:or'** *draítheadóir*.

-aíodóir in 2 Conjugation stems:

mallaigh, *mallaíodóir*; *slánaigh*, *Slánaíodóir*; queried for other possible forms, Máire permitted *maslaíodóir* M?perm, but noted she had not heard it used; cp. **beannaíodóir* MØperm. There is variation in *dathaigh*, *dathadóir* M, FFG, also LFRM, and probably less common *dathaíodóir* FFG (cp. *dathadóireacht* FFG), semantically similar to *leathadóir* (Cp. *nathaí*, *nathaíodóir* FGB).

5. -ire

cab, cabaire; muc, mucaire. Cf. *alpaire, bolscaire, falmaire, grabaire, slíomaire, súmaire*. In borrowings, e.g. ‘rogue’ > *rógair*; ‘jobber’ > *jabaire*. Cp. -ir noted only in *ag ministir a bhí i Muighros* 894C9, generally *ministéara*.

6. -ach

-ach: *Cúlán, Cúlánach; Bleá Cliath, Bleá Cliach; Frainc, Francach; Máille, Máilleach*.

Often added to nouns in -áil > -álach, e.g. *crúbálach, púitseálach, scrábálach*.

-each: *ciotóig, ciotóigeach í* 52J ‘she is left-handed’, i.e. a left-handed person; *Grialais, Grialaiseach; Árainn, Árainneach*.

-ach ~ -each: *Éirinn, Éireannach* generally, but *Éirinneach* 79A.

-íoch: *Conra, Conraíoch* (cf. 12.12).

-teach following a vowel in *caith* (vadj *caite*), *caiteach* FFG; *comhrá* (cp. plural *comhráit*), *comhráiteach*.

-achán:

bromach, bromachán; buinneach, buinneachán; smaois, smaoiseachán; striall, striallachán.

With *t*-extension *caill* (vadj *caillte*, adj *caillteach*), *caillteachán*.

-íneach:

ceiríneach; Cláiríneach; glibíneach, glibsíneach; máirtíneach; múidíneach; ruifíneach; scairthíneach; scráibíneach; scrathíneach.

-anach, cp. *puic, puiceanach* and *puicneach* (latter also in CAR).

7. -óg

flapa, flapóg; planda, plandóg; Máire, Máireog. Non-agentive, e.g. *gleoite, gleoiteog; maoil, maológ*. Added to borrowings, e.g. ‘John’-óg **ʤa:nɔ:g** explained by Seán as **nax a:nən ʤa:nɔ:g əgəs ʃa:nɔ:g** S *nach ionann Janóg agus Seánóg*.

3.155 Agentive and personal nouns with alternant suffixes

-í, -ach	<i>fátallaí, fátallach; gnothaí, gnothach; triopallaí, triopallach</i> . Cf. <i>Giúdaí, Giúdach; rálaí</i> m., <i>rálach</i> f., <i>ráilidhe</i> CAR, cp. <i>ráilleog</i> CAR; note -álaí, -álach below.
-í, -achán	<i>crotaí</i> 894C9, <i>cruiteachán; cluanáí</i> S, <i>cluanachán</i> 27Md.
-í, -achán, -ánach	<i>géagaí, géagachán</i> S, <i>géagánach</i> M.
-í, -íoch	<i>oibrí, oibríoch; gaiscí ~ gaiscíoch</i> , e.g. eg' e:n ya:ʃk'i 04B1 <i>ag aon ghaiscí</i> .
-í, -íoch, -ach(t)	<i>deoraí, deoraíoch</i> , e.g. din'ə na d'ɔ:riəx 04B <i>duine ná deoraíoch, deorach</i> , also din'ə na: d'ɔ:rəxt 48M <i>duine ná deoracht</i> .
-í, -adóir	<i>gleacaí, gliceadóir, gleacadóir; sciollaí, sciolladóir</i> .
-í, -éara	<i>faighlí, faighléara</i> . Cf. -álaí, -éara below.
-each, -íoch	cp. <i>Caitligeach, Caitileach, Caitleach, Caitlíoch, Caitlíoch</i> .
-e, -í	<i>file ~ filí</i> ; this alternation leads to homophony of singular and plural in <i>filí</i> (rarely also in <i>file</i>). Table 3.9 contains the various paradigms noted from certain speakers.

Speaker 11C has plural *file* in:

déarthainn gur i gCúige Mumhan is fearr a bhí file uilig. ARN5567,

i dtaobh cainteoirí agus file. [sic recte for *i dtaobh cainteoirí.*] ARN5639.

Table 3.9 Singular *file* ~ *filí*, and plurals of various speakers

Singular	<i>file</i>	with plural	Singular <i>filí</i>	with plurals
Speaker			<i>filí</i>	<i>filíthe</i> <i>file</i> [sic] <i>fileachaí</i>
869P2–5	+			
894C6.9	+		+	+
11C	+	+	+	+
S	+			
M				
P	+			+

The analogy for plural *file* seems to be:

filí (sg) : *filí* (pl) ⇒ *file* (sg) : x (pl).

This speaker also has unhistorical singular **gr'e:sə** (perhaps modelled on *file*), for common **gr'e:si** *gréasaí*, noted in:

gr'e:sə brɔ:g ə dʊgəx mid' gr'æ:d er' 11C
gréasaí bróg a dtugadh muid Greadadh air.

He has an instance of *aicearra*, possibly plural (given his *file*, *gréasa(i)*):

mar bhí an t-an-eolas acub agus dhíonaidís aicearra go leor. 11C.

Cp. *taisi* (most common) ~ *taise*, e.g.

tæ:fə jr'ihær' 04B1 *taise a dhreatháir,*
tæ:fi ən d'er'æg' wɔ:r' 04B1 *taisi an Deirg Mhoir.*

Also *fianaise* **f'i:n'əfə 896P**, **f'i:n'əfi** Sq, Mq; *mochóirí* (perhaps generally), but **21Ptq** has *mochóire* with plural *mochóirí*.

-álaí, -éara *bacsálaí* Sq, *bacsiera* S; **saikl'əli** S *saidhcléalaí*, **saikl'e:rə 69S** *saidhcléara.*

-álaí, -ire; -í *mucálaí*, *mucaire*. Cp. *Muicí na Muc* LL21.

-álaí, -álach *crúbálaí* FFG, *crúbálach* S; *púitseálaí*, *púitseálach*; *rubálaí* ~ *rubálach* M; *rúfálaí* S, *rúfálach* M, *rúpálaí* ~ *rúpálach* SM; *scrábálaí*, *scrábálach*.

Cp. -éara, -ir *ministéara*, *ag ministir a bhí i Muighros 894C9*.

-éara, -óir *sláitéara*, *sláiteoir*; *pailicéara* ~ *pailitéara*, in *pailiteoir(eacht)* **21Jq** perhaps influenced by modern *polaiteoir*.

-éara, -adóir *snáimhéara* ~ *snáimheadóir 22Mt* (Wigger 2000: 2–10–01).

-óir, -adóir *scaróir* << *scaradóir* (frequency according to Seán).

-adóir, -ntóir *garraíodóir*, *garraíontóir*. Cp. *croisíneadóir*, *croisíontóir* Mq.

-adóir, -ntóir, -ire *fealladóir*, *feallantóir*, *feallaire*.

-ire, -éara *stiocaire* FGB, cp. *sticardach* DIL, **f'ukər'ə f'ik'e:rə S**.

-ire, -anns *bramaire*, *bramans*.

-ire, -úlach, -thóir *impire 49J*, *impiriúlach 49J*, *impearthóir 864MDT52*.

Ø, -lach *rap*, *raip*, *raplach* CAR (cp. *raicleach*).

3.156 Abstract suffixes

The abstract suffixes are 1. -e (including -chte, -cha); 2. suffixes in -s (-as, -adas, -achas, -amas, -anas); 3. suffixes in -acht, -ach; 4. suffixes in -n (-án, -achan, -achán, -theachan, -thean, -tan); and the (verbal noun) suffixes 5. -áil; 6. -íl; 7. -irt. There are also some less common suffixes. As well as abstract nominal suffixes many are commonly used as verbal nouns or in verbal noun syntax following progressive *ag*, especially the following: (-achas), -amas, -ach, -acht (especially in combinations -adóireacht, -ireacht, -éarach, -óireacht, -úireacht,

-íocht, -ínteacht), *-achan*, and of course all three verbal noun suffixes *-áil, -íl, -irt*. Endings can be classified according to degree of productivity: (A) most productive, (B) limited productivity, (C) nonproductive.

(A) The three most productive suffixes are:

-adas; -acht; -áil; -acht includes the alternants *-t(e)acht, -íocht, -ireacht, -ad)óireacht, -éaracht, -úlacht, -ínteacht*.

(B) Less productive suffixes or those of more limited scope are:

-chte, -cha; -as, -achas, -achadas, -anas, (-antas), -amas; -chteacht, -ántacht; -achtáil, -amáil, -amasáil; -íl.

(C) Many others are not productive:

-e; -seacht, -ineacht, -anach, -úch(t); -achan, -achán; -s(e)áil; -irt.

Suffixes which take mainly adjectival bases are: *-e; -adas, -antas*.

Those which take mainly nominal bases are: *-anas, -áil*.

Those which take both are: *-as, -achas, -amas; -acht, -íocht*, suffixes in *-n; -íl; (-acht, -n; -íl; also verbs)*.

There are cases where it is not clear whether the actual base might be an adjective, a related noun or even a verb, e.g. *sásta, sásamh, sástacht, sástaíocht, sásaíocht; lofa, lobh(adh), lofacht; maith, maitheamh, maiteanas*. Note that *-adas* is the only fully productive suffix which is not also a prevalent verbal noun suffix. Some suffixes have distinctive semantics. The ending *-amas* is found suffixed to adjectives and nouns denoting filth and can have generally negative connotation when suffixed to other base nominal elements. Verbal noun ending *-íl* is found mostly in lexemes denoting a noise, noisy activity or similar action. The suffix *-ínteacht* contains diminutive *-ín* and generally has pejorative (diminutive) connotations.

3.157 1. -e

Added to adjectives, with palatalisation: *ard, aird'ə ʔrd'ə airde; cruinn, cruinne; domhain* (adjective and noun), *doimhne* Clad127; *gar, goire* (in compound preposition *i ngoire*); *uasal, uaisle*.

-se with palatalisation in *trom, tri:mʃə troimse* (cp. other abstract derivative *tromas*).

-chte following long stressed vowels (BREÁ class):

beo, b'ə:xt'ə beoichte; breá, br'ə:xt'ə breáichte; L'ia liath, L'iaxt'ə M liaichte (also FFG); *réidh, re:xt'ə réichte; rua, ruəxt'ə ruaichte*.

-cha following long stressed vowels (BREÁ class):

beo, beocha Mq; *breá, breácha*.

Cf. *-achadas, -chteas* (3.158), *-chteacht* (3.159).

3.158 2. -as

Added to adjectives and nouns: (i) *aoibhinn, aoibhneas; beo, beos; ciúin, ciúineas; caoilteanach, caoilteanas* (cp. *-(te)anas* further below); *gairid, gairideas* Mq; *meirbh, meirbheas* 27Mdq; *suaire, suaireas* !00M CABI §5 v. 3; *tinn, tinneas; trom, tromas*; (ii) *muintir, muintireas* Semr94.

With palatalisation in:

bodhar, bodhaireas 27Mdq; *garbh, gor'əv'əs* 27Mdq *goirbheas*.

With depalatalisation in:

(i) *glic*, *gliocas* **852S2**; (ii) *leanúint*, *leanúntas*; cp. *námha(i)d*, *námhadas* **852S2**.

With extension *t* following *l*, *n*, *r*:

(i) *folláin*, *follántas*; *mór*, *mórtas*; *ramhar*, *ramhartas* **21Ptq**; (ii) *áibhéal(ta)*, *áibhéaltas* **894C9** (*áidhmhéaltas* MS); *cóir*, *córtas* **869P4**; *déanamh*, *déantas* in **d'i:ntəs mahəsə** M, FFG *déantas maitheasa*, *déantas gnotha* SÓC2.283; *díol*, *díoltas* 'payment' (also 'revenge'); *righin*, **raintəs 00C** *righeantas*. Optional in (a) *fionnuar*, *fionnuaras* Clad166, Mperm, e.g. **ta f'inuəəs br'a: ər:n tá fionnuaras breá ann**, also *fionnuartas* SM; in (b) *díomhaoín*, *díomhaoineas* **!894C9**, generally **d'i:wi:ntəs díomhaontas**.

With optional *r* extension in (i) *fraighfhliuchras* Clad84, Mperm (changed from *fraigh-fhliuchas* Clad177), *froighfhliuchas* SM. Cp. *díocas* ~ *díocras*.

With loss of (optional) *-bh* in **t'u(w) tiubh**, **t'is tiubhas**.

Adjectival *-ch* corresponds to abstract *-s* in: noun *deireadh*, adjective *deireanach*, abstract *deireanas*; adjective **grā:x 11C** *gnách*, noun **grā:s gnā:s** *gnás*.

-adas added to adjectives

Mostly takes palatalisation, i.e. (a) *-C' > -C'-*: *binn*, **b'ín'ədəs binneadas**; *ciúin*, *ciúineadas*; *cóir*, *cóireadas* S; *cruinn*, **krín'ədəs cruinneadas**; *glic*, *gliceadas*; *grinn*, *grinneadas*, e.g. **ə to:rt' əŋ gr'ín'ədəs S** *ag tabhairt un grinneadas*; *mín*, *míneadas*; *righin*, **rain'ədəs S** *righineadas*;

(b) *-C' > -C'-*: *bodhar*, *bodhaireadas*; *bréan*, *bréineadas* Mq; *buan*, **bu:n'ədəs M** *buaineadas*; **ku:l cúthal**, **ku:l'ədəs cúthaileadas**; *garbh*, **gor'əv'ədəs S** *gairbheadas*; *géar*, **g'e:r'ədəs M** *géireadas*; *úr*, **ur'ədəs S** *úireadas*.

Nonpalatal final is retained, i.e. (c) *-C' > -C'-* in:

bréan, *bréanadas* S, Mq; *froighfhliuch*, **frail'əxədəs M** *froighfhliuchadas*; *searbh*, *searbhadas* Mq; *tréan*, *tréanadas* Mq, FFG.

Added to unstressed vowel in *dorcha*, *dorchadas*.

With deletion of *-ach* in the adjective: *díreach*, *díreadas*.

Note apparently once-off formation with a noun base in *Bhfuil tú a'... a' goil un ... féireadas*, *a Mhaidhcil?* S 'are you going hay-making ... ?'

-achadas with adjectives in long stressed final vowels (BREÁ class):

Mq: *beo*, *beochadas* (also **21Ptq**); *breá*, *breáchadas*; *buí*, *buíochadas*; *liath*, *liachadas*.

-achtas **21Ptq**: *beo*, *beochtas*; *buí*, *buíochtas*; *liath*, *liachtas*. Cp. *Dia*, *diachtas* (Aif)**05M**.

-achas

Added to adjectives, nouns or verbs: (i) *beo*, *beochas* Sc268; *gorta(ch)*, *gortachas* S; (ii) *aire*, *aireachas*; *cat*, *catachas*; *cladháire*, *claidhreachas* **894C9**; *cléireach*, *cléireachas* FFG; (iii) *sú* and *súigh*, *súchas*.

With the borrowing *bitse(ach)*, *bitseachas*.

With syncope *aistir* (*aistear*), *aistreachas* Sc161.26 more usually **eftr'a:n aistreán**.

Cf. *-asach*: *cat*, **katəsəx catasach**; and cp. **rætəsəx S** *ratasach*, **rætəməs SM** *ratamas*, also *ratasacht* Mq, *ratachas* Mq, also *gratamas* **875PCAR**, *graitim-éarach* CAR.

With *t* extension following *r* or vowel, *-(e)achas*:

mór, mórtachas SM; *maith, maiteachas* 866ESemr41, Bl6.114, 20C. Cp. verb *meath, meatach* FFG20.

Cp. *tréithleachas* (in genitive *tréithleachais* Clad209) var. of *tréithe* FGB < *tréith*, cp. *féithe* > *féithleach* Clad73 (adj).

-amas

Often associated with filth or with generally derogatory or negative meaning. Added to adjectives and nouns: (i) *beadaí, beadamas* M, FFG19; *goirt, ǫ gort' aməs* M *an goirteamas*; (ii) *cac, cacamas; gla(i)c, l' e gla:k aməs lā:w* 04Bl *le glacamas lámh; muc, mucamas* S; with borrowing: 'shit', *ʃi:t aməs* M *síteamas*. With deletion of adjectival *-ach* in *brocach, brocamas* (cp. nouns *broc, brocach*). Following vowel or *-n* > *-tamas*: (i) *bréan, bréantamas*; (ii) *sú, sútamas*; e.g. *br'ent aməs əs su:t aməs* M *bréantamas is sútamas*.

Following a vowel > *-teamas*: (ii) *brath, braiteamas* FFG; *sú, súiteamas* Mq.

Following *caill(eadh)* or *caillte* > *-(te)amas*: *caillteamas*.

-anas added mainly to nouns

Palatalises final consonant in *bocht, boichteanas*.

Following *r*, *-thanas* in *karhənəs* S, *karənəs* SID.46.I *carthanas* can be related to *cara(id)*.

Following *l*, *n* or vowel > *-(t)eanas*: *maith(eamh), maiteanas* S; *bronn(adh), bronnšanas; mill(eadh), m' i:l t' ənəs* 23B *millteanas; feall, feallšanas; geall(adh), g' a:l tənəs* S *geallšanas*.

Cp. *mak to:rtiʃ* 46 s.v. *mac tabhartais*, and *mac tabhartanais* 864MDT3.

Also *-túnas* in *gealltúnas*.

Cp. *breith, breithiúnas; clé, cléithiúnas, cleithiúnas*.

-antas

With palatalisation of root final, Mq: *bodhar, bodhaireantas* (also 21Ptq); *gairbheantas; meirbheantas, raimhreantas*. Cp. *aithne, aitheantas*.

Without palatalisation: *bodhrantas* 27Mdq, *searbhanas* Mq.

Added to vowels, *fiú* and *fiúntach, fiúntas*; also *beo, beontas* Mq ('rare' 21Ptq); *crua, cruantas* Mq, 21Ptq. Also *garbh, garu:ntəs* 21Ptq *garbhantas* (a form which I prompted in query).

-chteas with adjectives in long stressed final vowels and diphthongs (BREÁ class):

Mq: *beo, beoichteas; breá, breáichteas; cruu, cruuichteas; luath, luaichteas*.

(*-áltas, -áilteas* have been heard, in response to query, from Máire only, for more common *-áilteacht*, e.g. *féaráilteacht* but also *féaráilteas ~ féaráltas* Mq, as well as *féaráltacht* Mq. Cp. her other forms in query, Table 3.11 p. 642.)

3.159 3. -ach(t)

-acht

Added to adjectives, nouns and verbs.

With palatalisation of final in monosyllabic roots: (i) (a) *bodhar, bodhaireacht; caol, caoileacht; ku:l cúthal, ku:l' əxt cúthaileacht; deas, deiseacht; glán, glin' əxt glaineacht* (glin' əxt 66N); and in epenthetic clusters: *garbh, gor' əv' əxt gairbheacht*. (b) Also with (irregular) adjectives in *-a*: *fada, foideacht; gránna,*

gráinneacht Mq. (c) Disyllabic *ramhar*, **rivr'əxt** 27Mdq, **ri:v'ər'əxt** ~ **ri:v'r'əxt** Mq *raimhreacht*; (ii) *dindiúirí*, *dindiúireacht* 27Mdq. (iii) Nonpalatalisation in 2 Conjugation verbs, e.g. *beannaigh*, *beannacht*; *mallaigh*, *mallacht*. (iv) Palatalised base *mín*, *mineacht* Clad215.

Exceptions: (i) *dona*, *donacht*; *fuar*, *fuacht*; *garbh*, *gairbheacht* (regular), but (of weather) also *goirmeacht* and *goirmneacht*; (ii) *tiscint*, *tisceanacht* S.

Optional palatalisation in (i) *dall*, *dailleacht*, *dallacht* Mq; *tréan*, *tréineacht*, *tréanacht* Mq. Also *lom*, *lomacht* 18J7800.

With syncope: (i) *deacair*, *deacracht*; *leathan*, *leithneacht* (e.g. *an-leithneacht* Clad164); *uasal*, *uaisleacht*; and coalescence (i) *álainn*, **al'əxt** *áilleacht*.

With other polysyllables: (i) *áiféalta*, *áiféaltacht*; *lofa*, *lofacht*; (ii) *abhcóid(e)*, *abhcóideacht*; *comharsa* (*comharsain*), *comharsaineacht*; *dochtúr*, *dochtúrach*; *lufáire*, *lufáireacht*; *séideog*, *séideogacht* Clad110 (in progressive with *ag*); *timpeall*, *timpeallacht* Clad193 (edited from *timcheallach* Clad1177).

With extension *s* and palatalisation following *r* in *saor*, *saoirseacht*; *maor*, *maoirseacht*.

Cf. *cnámh*, *cnámhlacht*; *smúsach*, *smúslach*, *smúslacht*; *trom*, *tromlacht*; cp. *brúslacht*; *diúgnacht*; *éileacht* < ... *a shliocht*; *fiodarnacht*, *fiodarnach* 875PCAR, *fiodarach* 869PCAR (cp. the prefix *fiod-*, 3.110); *piusarnacht*.

Added to borrowing 'blackguard' > *bligeáird*, **bl'ig'ardəxt** M *bligeáirdeacht*.

-ach:

cnead, *cneadach* (verbal noun); *tirim*, **tr'uməx** M, 20My *triomach* 'drying, dryness, drought'. Cp. *bólach(t)*, *bréinleach*, *múnlach* Sc228. Also *-nach*: *sodar*, *sodarnach*.

For *-asach*, see *-achas* above (3.158).

-acht is added to agent suffixes *-adóir*, *-ire*, *-éara*, *-óir*, *-úr*, and to agentive *-í* > **-iəxt** *-íocht*.

-adóireacht

cliabhadóir, *cliabhadóireacht*; *corachadóir*, *corachadóireacht*; *dlítheadóir*, *dlítheadóireacht*; *draítheadóir*, *draítheadóireacht*; *gliceadóir*, *gliceadóireacht* S; *moilleadóir*, **mail'ədo:r'əxt** *moilleadóireacht*; *scaradóir*, *scaradóireacht*; also *garraíodóireacht*, *siopadóireacht*; *sleánadóireacht*. No *-adóir* base was noted for *foghladóireacht* 898P; *guibheadóireacht* 881J (VN *guibhe*); *maladóireacht*; *ag plánadóireacht* 17Mp (also *plánáil*, both from base *plána*). Máire pronounced the apparently borrowed *ealaíontóireacht* as **a'li:ndo:r'əxt**; speaker 35E has (with slight hesitation) **a'li:nto:r'** ARN7581 *ealaíontóir* 'artist, trickster'.

-ireacht

alpaire, *alpaireacht*; *mucaire*, *mucaireacht*; *sucaire*, *sucaireacht*; *teachtair*, *teachtairacht*.

Also added to bases without *-ire* (or forms with *-ire* were not recorded): *bodaireacht* M, FFG; *cocaireacht*; *croch*, *crochaireacht*; *gibireacht*; *gigireacht*; *pusaireacht*.

With borrowing 'jobber' > *jabaire*, *jabaireacht*.

-éarach

caibiléara, caibiléarach; *claimhséara, claimhséarach*; *cuisliméara, cuisliméarach*; *leiciméara, leiciméarach*; *pailicéara, pailicéarach*; *pláibistéara, pláibistéarach*; *seilbhéara, seilbhéarach*; *siúinéara, siúinéarach*. With borrowing ‘sailor’ > *saeiléara, saeiléarach* S.

Also without the *-éara* base: *badhbhaiséarach*; *ríste, rístéarach*.

Also *-éarach, -éarach*: ‘fiddle’ > *fidléara, f’idl̪eːrəx* S, more often *f’idl̪eːrəxt* *fidléarach*.

-óireacht

baróir, baróireacht; *dóiteoir, dóiteoireacht* (Clad203–4); *moltóir, moltóireacht*; *ucastóir, ucastóireacht*.

Also added to base without *-óir* noun: *aithriseoireacht*; **balhoːr̪əxt** *balóireacht*; *bóthróireacht*; *braiteoireacht*; *dántóireacht* **21Pt**; *lámhscríbhneoireacht*; *leádóireacht*; *mallóireacht* FFG; *páidreoireacht*; *reastóireacht*; *sirtheoireacht*; *taeróireacht* **864MDT3**. Cp. *foighdeoireacht* **06C**; *deas, deis, deismeoireacht* **869PCAR**; *sábh, sábhóireacht* **66N**.

With borrowing ‘trick(ster)’ > *truiceadóir, truiceadóireacht*. Also ‘bull’ > *bullóireacht* M (perhaps also connected by Máire to ‘bullshit’, which she often uses together with, and in similar contexts to *bullóireacht*), cp. *bullaireacht* FFG.

-úireacht

dochtúr, dochtúireacht; *saighdiúr, saighdiúireacht*; *táilliúr, táilliúireacht*. Perhaps also *-úracht* in *táilliúracht* **11Ct**.

-íoch(t)

Combined with agentive in *-í* (i.e. *-í+acht*): *coisí, coisíocht*; *faighlí, faighlíocht*; *gadaí, gadaíocht*; *leadaí, leadaíocht*; *piolóití, píolóitíocht*. With borrowing ‘bully’ > *bulaí, bulaíocht*.

Added to other agentives: *cladhaire, claidhríocht*; *deabhal, deabhlaíocht*; *giolla, giollaíocht*; *liúiste, liúistíocht*; *naomh, naomhaíocht*. Note *gabha* (plural *gaibhne*), *gaibhníocht*. Cf. *leointíocht*.

Added to adjective in *-í(the)* or 2Conj verb (i.e. *-í(the)+acht*): *beadaí, beadaíocht*; *beannaíthe, beannaíocht*; *fáilí, fáilíocht*; *malláithe, malláíocht* **866ESc80.32**; *síoraí, síoraíocht*; *tanaí, tanaíocht* Mq.

Also other adjectives and nouns: (i) *bodhar, bodhraíocht*; *cúthal, kuːliəxt* **66N** *cúthalaíocht*; *fuair, fuaraíocht*; *lách* (comp *láí*), *láíocht* **869P2**; *mícheart, mícheartaíocht* ARN8952; *sásamh, sásaíocht*, and *sásta, sástaíocht*; cf. *stalcánta, stulcaíocht*; *tirim, tr’umiəx* **01P** *triomaíoch* (only; otherwise **tr’uməx** *triomach*); *umhal, umhlaíocht* **05M**; (ii) *bealadh, bealaíocht*; *comhartha, comharthaíocht*, **kohəriəx** | **31P** *comharthaíoch*; *cuir, cuiríocht*; *cur, curaíocht*; *flaisc, flaiscíocht*; *gaisce, gaiscíocht* **866ESc128, 136**; *iarr(aidh), iarraíocht*; *scioll(aí), sciollaíocht*; *sclab, sclabaíocht*; *seal, sealaíocht*; *toil, toilíocht*.

Added to noun, with depalatalisation: *cuairt, cuartaíoch(t)*, **kuərtiəx** **25M**; *meabhair, meabhraíocht* **21Pt**.

Optional palatalisation: *spalla, spallaíocht* generally, but *spailíocht* **892M5612, -7**.

-ach(t) can take many other suffixes as base.

-áilteach(t), -áltacht, -álacht

With older borrowings: *finéáilte, finéáilteacht; plánáilte, plánáilteacht*.

With modern borrowings: *féaráilte, féaráilteacht; haindeáilte, haindeáilteacht; siúráilte, siúráilteacht*.

Also *-áilteach* ~ *-áilteacht* (with borrowing) *fabhláilte, fabhláilteacht* FFG, *fabhláilteacht*.

-áltacht: far less common than *-áilteacht*. Noted only in the borrowing *smeairteáilte, sm'ærta:ltəxt* Mq *smeairteáltacht* (the point of the query was not the form of the abstract noun ending, and so this is a reasonably spontaneous production); also *féaráilte, féaráltacht* Mperm.

-álacht: *pleidhce, pleidhceálacht* 66N.

-ántacht

amadán, amadántacht; crosán, crosántacht; galánta, galántacht; macánta, macántacht; marbhán(ta), marbhántacht; scafánta, scafántacht; tíoránta (cp. *tíoránach*), *tíorántacht*. Also *deabhal, deabhlántacht*.

-íleacht

bruthaíl, bruthaíleacht.

-ínteacht, -íneacht

With base in *-ín*: *cipín, cipínteacht; croisín, croisínteacht; (fidín* FFG20), *fidínteacht; maistín, maistínteacht; muirín, muirínteacht; páidirín, páidirínteacht; tráithnín, tráithnínteacht* FFG.

With borrowing in *jaicín, jaicínteacht* FFG.

Where *-ín* is not lexicalised in the base: *dris, drisínteacht; droim, droimínteacht; ladhar, laidhrínteacht; méar ~ méir, méirínteacht; pricedáil, pricínteacht* S; *sceid, sceidínteacht; reithe, rohi:ntəxt* S *reithínteacht; sop, soipínteacht; cf. céisínteacht; fidínteacht; flaipínteacht; peitínteacht; sceaimhínteacht*. Note *sclamh, sclafraínteacht* (also *sclafairt*).

-íneacht: *lóistín, lóistíneacht* FFG (not known to Mq).

-úlacht, -últacht

Críostúil !11C, *ən xr'istu:ləxt* 04B *an Chríostúlacht* 'Christianity'; *crothiúil, crothiúlacht; cóiriúil, cóiriúlacht; cosúil, cosúlacht; dathúil, dathúlacht; drúisiúil, drúisiúlacht* (e.g. 852SDT9); *fíriúil, fíriúlacht; gáirsiúil, gáirsiúlacht; gnaíúil, gnaíúlacht; pointiúil, pointiúlacht; síthiúil, síthiúlacht*.

With borrowing 'game' > *géim, géimiúil, géimiúlacht*.

The corresponding adjective has not been noted in conversation for:

aistiúlacht (*aistiúil* Mq states is a genuine adjective, e.g. *v'i: ʃe br'æhu æ:ʃt u:l' du:n'* Mq *bhí sé ag breathnú aistiúil dúinn*; cp. *aistiúil* (> *aistiúlacht*) LFRM);

bacúlacht (*bacúil* not noted in conversation but from Mq);

ríthiúlacht (with frequent *th* extension following the vowel) from *rí, ri:hu:ləxt* M, also *rúilacht* FFG, SeolG60.

-últacht: *fearúil, fearúltacht*.

Other -ch(t)

-úch, -úcht: *búirthiúch* P, *búirthiúcht* S.

-úcht, -úchtacht: *amplúch*, *amplúcht*, *amplúchtacht*.

-úntacht: *feiliúnach*, *feiliúntacht* **866E**Sc108.10.

-ineacht, -anacht, -antacht:

comharsa (*comharsain*, *comharsan*), *comharsaineacht* S;

sə 'gu:ɾsənəxt 46.494 *sa gcomharsanacht*; also **889P**, S;

bhí bean ina chúirseantacht **869P**2, ə gu:ɾfəntəxt ə x'e:l'ə (Scbér)**04B** *i gcomharsantacht a chéile*, also **889P**.

-ineacht: *bocht*, *boichtineacht* **boxt'ən'əxt** **11C**, S, cp. *comharsaineacht*.

-theanach: *dubh*, *duifeanach* (*duifean*, 3.160).

-chteacht with adjectives in long stressed final vowels or diphthongs (BREÁ class):

Mq: *breá*, *breáichteacht*; *buí*, *buíchteacht*; *réidh*, *réichteacht*;

also, with comparative base *teocha*, Mq: *te*, *teoichteacht*.

3.160 4. -n

Added to adjectives, nouns and verbs.

-án in *measc*, *meascán* also *mioscán*; *snámh*, *snámhán* **866E**Semr104.

-achan: (i) *dubh*, *dúchan*, (with palatalisation) *duibheachan* Semr56; *liath*, *liachan* **27Mdq**; (ii) *maidin*, **ma:n'əxən** 46.906 *maidneachan*.

-achán: (i) *dubh*, (with palatalisation) *duibheachán*; (ii) *giolla*, *giollachán*; *togh*, **tau.əxən** **869P**tn *toghachán*.

-theachan: *dubh*, *duifeachan*.

-thean: *dubh*, *duifean*, e.g. *go ru an duifean a' tíocht* **894C**2 'darkness'; *garbh*, *gairfean* SM, *goirfean* S; *meirbh*, *meirfean*.

-tan: *crua*, *cruatan*.

-an and -in in verbal noun *daoirsean* (< verb *daoirsigh*) and **o:n di:ɾfən'** (Aif)**05M** *ón daoirsín* 'from servitude', similarly spelt in *mar gheáll ar a' díoltas* 7 a' *daoirsín a bhí'dur* 'íoc ar a gcuid talthúna' **869P**5.246.

-int: *garbh*, *garmaint* Clad221 in *dídean ó gharmaint na toinne*, cp. *gargaint na toinne* Clad167, *goirbhneacht* **gor'əm'(n')əxt**.

3.161 5. -áil

Added to nouns to form verbal noun, noun and abstract noun: *clabhta*, *clabhtáil*; *corc*, *corcáil*; *cúinne*, *cúinneáil*; *droim*, *droimeáil*; *feidheastar*, *feidheastaráil*; *flaisc*, *flaisceáil*; *gligear*, *gligearáil*; *glór*, *glóráil* **875PCAR** s.v. *gliúdán*; *luainn*, *luainneáil*; *maing*, *maingearáil*; *paidir*, *paidreáil*; *stropa*, *stropáil*; *teara*, *tearáil*; *vót*, *vótáil*; frequent with modern borrowings, e.g. 'guilt' *gilteáil* ('finding guilty'); 'meaning' *míneáil*; 'room' *rúmáil*. Cf. 'drizzle' *drasáil*; *droigstí*, *droigseáil*. With deletion of -ae in *mangarae*, *mangaráil* S; -ach elided in *cladach*, *cladáil*.

With extensions -s(e)áil: cp. *plubsáil*, *plupsáil* LFRM; *rampáil*, *rampúch*, *ram-sáil* S; *clagsáil* ICF;

sclaib, *sclaibeáil*, *sclaibseáil* FFG, also *sclaibéarach* FFG20 (*sclaibéara* FFG19, 20);

-neáil: cp. *broc*, **brekn'a:l'** *broicneáil*.

-achtáil:

bail, baileachtáil; caith(eamh), caitheachtáil.

-amáil:

brocamas, brocamáil; cacamas, cacamáil; cruatamas, cruatamáil; sútamás, sútamáil; súiteamas, súiteamáil, also súmáil, súmaráil, and súchas. Cp. práca and prácamáil.

-amasáil: *brocamas, brocamasáil* **21Ptq**; *cacamas, cacamasáil* S, **27Mdq**.

3.162 6. -íl

Added to adjectives (in *-ach*) and nouns.

Replaces adjectival *-ach*, e.g. (i) *aerach, aeraíl; (bac, bacaíl); bradach, bradaíl; catach, catail; tútach, tútaíl*. With other adjective: *bodhar, bodhraíl*.

Many nouns denoting sounds, or actions that often involve a sound, e.g. (ii) *brúcht, brúchtaíl; brúscadh, brúscáil; cáith(eadh), cáithíl; coch, cochaíl; fead, feadaíl; gusta, gustaíl; puf, pufaíl; puth, puthaíl; racht, rachtaíl; sciotar, sciotaíl; scréach, scréachaíl; slug, slugaíl; smaois, smaoisíl; smeach, smeachaíl; snag, snagaíl; straint, straintíl; straois, straoisíl*. Cf. *brágaíl, meámhaíl, piusarnaíl, sciotaíl, smagaíl, tutaíl*. Depalatalisation in *gráig, grágaíl; geoin, geonaíl*.

Also (ii) *bruth, bruthaíl; ceobarnach, ceobarnaíl; crann, crannaíl*.

-thíl: *gáir, gáirthíl*.

-m(a)íl: *giota, giotaimíl, giotamaíl, cp. giodam*.

-naíl following *r* in: *cogar, cogarnaíl; plubar, plubarnaíl*.

-arnaíl: *lúb, lúbadh, lúbarnaíl*.

3.163 7. -irt, -thairt, -f(a)irt

cú (coin, con), confairt ~ coinfirt, e.g. **kinf' ert' 869P, 04B coinfirt** (note the non-assimilation of place of articulation between *n'* and *f'* in juncture);

glamh, glafairt, glamfairt, glanfirt (1.92).

uail, uailfirt (cp. *uailfeirt 866ESemr.66*), *uallfirt*. Cp. *sclamh, sclafairt; sraoth, sraofairt* (5.223).

3.164 Abstract nouns with alternant suffixes

There is often no discernible semantic distinction between nouns formed with alternant suffixes, e.g. *bodhraíl, bodhaireadas, bodhraíocht*. Quite often, however, there are semantic, collocational, or other differences between such words. Alternate verbal nouns can be lexicalised. The verb *lúb*, for example, has *lúbadh* as its verbal noun, with separate *lúbarnaíl* 'writhing, wriggling'. (Cp. unmarked *-t* vs. marked *-teoireacht* in *roinnt* vs. *roinnteoireacht* 'rannadh go mion' FFG24. The contrasts between *casadh* and *castáil*, *ceannacht* and *ceannachtáil* are discussed in 5.204.) For further alternations in final syllables, see 'Historical Phonology' (1.56 ff.).

abstract base in *-C, -ús*

éad, éadús Mq.

abstract base in *-C, -achas*

seafóid, seafóideachas M.

abstract base in *-C, -adas, -tas*

cóir, cóireadas S, *córtas 869P4*, Mq.

- abstract base in -C, -adas, -acht
moill, mail'ədəs Mq *moilleadas*, *mail'əxt* Mq *moilleacht*.
- abstract base in -C, -e, -acht, -adas
domhain, doimhne Clad127, *doimhneacht* Mq, *doimhneadas* Mq.
- abstract base in -e, -achas
aire, aireachas.
- abstract base in -e, -achas, -as
feisteas (commonly), *ní ru sé i bhfeisteachas math le éadach* 869P5, cp. *feiste*.
- abstract base in -e, -tas
mífholláine P, *mífhullántas* FFG.
- abstract base in -e, -tas, -te
aithne, aitheantas; cp. (s) *frust æ'nt ə* (is) *frusta a aithnte*.
- abstract base in -a, -acht
dána (in *bhí an oireadána a'm ar ...* 894Ct), *dánacht* generally; *ísle, ísleacht*.
- abstract base in -a, -úcht, -úchtacht
amplə *ampla*; (*amplúch* >) *amplúcht, amplu:xtəxt* S *amplúchtacht*.
- abstract base in -e or -aidh, -íocht
iarr, iarraidh, iarraíocht 866ESemr54; *náire, náiríocht* S.
- abstract base in -í, -íocht
 Cp. *'N'æhil'əmi*: 21Pt, *-hil'əmi*: M84, *-himl'i*: S84 *neamhthuilleamaí, tuilleamaí*
tel'əm'i: 27Mdq, cp. *tilleamaíocht* FFG.
- adh, -achas
rilleadh cainte, roilleachas cainte CAR s.v. *roilleachas* (i.e. *rilleachas*).
- adh, -úint, -tanás, -túnas
geall, gealladh, geallúint, g'altənəs S *gealltanás*, also *g'altu:nəs* M *gealltúnas*.
- adh, -íl, -áil
puth, puthadh, puthaíl, putháil.
- teadh, -áil, -teáil, -óireacht, -teoireacht
saibhseáil, saibhsteáil, saibhseoireacht, saibhsteoireacht, saidhfsteadh, saidhfsteáil
 SM.
- adas, -tas
righin, rain'ədəs S *righineadas, raintəs* 00C *righeantas*.
- adas, -tas, -tanás, -tamas
bréan, bréanadas S, *bréineadas, bréantas* SM, *bréantamas, bréantanás* M.
- adas, -acht
cam, kə:m'ədəs Mq *caimeadas, kə:m'əxt kim'əxt* Mq *caimeacht*; *crom, croimeadas* Mq, *croimeacht* Mq; *cung, cuingeadas* Mq, *cuingeacht* Mq; *dall, dalladas ~ dallacht ~ dailleadas ~ dailleacht* Mq; etc., see 3.167 and Table 3.11 p. 642.
- adas, -íocht
breac, breacadas ~ breacaíocht Mq.
- adas, -íocht, -as
glic, gliceadas ... gliceas 35E, *gliocas* 852S2, *glicíocht* Mq. Cp. *gliceadóireacht*.
- adas, -acht, -íocht
ku:l cúthal, ku:l'ədəs cúthaileadas, ku:l'əxt cúthaileacht, cúthalacht 894C2, *ku:l'əxt* 66N *cúthalaíocht*.
- adas, -as, -acht, -íocht, -acht, -íl, -antas
bodhar, baur'ədəs SM *bodhaireadas, bodhaireas, bodhaireacht, bauriəxt* S
bodhraíocht, bodhaireacht Mq, *bodhrail, bodhaireantas* Mq, *bodhrantas* 27Mdq.
- adas, -as
ciúin, ciúineas, ciúineadas; dorchas, dorchadas generally, but *dorchas* (Asls) 03V.
- adas, -(t)eacht, -tas, -as
díomhaoín, díomhaoineadas, díomhaoineacht, díomhaontacht, díomhaontas, díomhaoineas.

- adas, -acht, -antas
ramhar, raimhreacht, raimhreadas, raimhreantas Mq.
- adas, -tacht, -tanas, -antas
feall, fealladas Mq, fealltacht, fealltanas, feallantas Mq.
- adas, -acht, -as, -thean, -antas, -theantas
meirbh, meirbheadas, meirbheacht, meirbheas **27Mdq**, meirfean, meirbheantas Mq, meirfeantas Mq.
- tas, -tacht
fearúil, fearúltas Mq, fearúltacht.
- amas, -focht
beadaí, beadamas, beadaíocht.
- amas, -amáil, -amasáil
broc(ach), brocamas, brocamáil Mq, brocamasáil **21Ptq**; cac, cacamas, cacamáil Mq, cacamasáil S; see -amáil (3.161).
- teamas, -teanas, -teoireacht
brath or braith, braiteamas, braiteanas, braiteoireacht.
- teamas, -teanas, -teacht
caill, caillteamas, caillteanas, caillteacht.
- tanas, -tan
gann, ganntanas, ganntan.
- ineacht, -anas
bocht, boichtineacht, boichteanas.
- as, -anas
cp. mac tabhartais, mac tabhartanais.
- acht, -as
áiféalta, áiféaltacht S, áiféaltas **889P**, FFG, (LFRM); deireadh, adjective deireanach, deireanas, but deireanacht **23Jt**; gairid, gairideacht Mq, gairideas Mq; marbh, marbhán and marbhánta, marbhántacht, marbhántas Mq.
- a(dh), -acht
bogadúradh **875PCAR**, bogadúracht **869PCAR**, cp. bodaireacht; gearr, giorracht (commonly), giorra (in go dtíurtha tú giorra shaoil do na fathachaí Semr124, cp. 'g'uruna:lə giorra-anála).
- e, -adas, -acht, -antas, -thean, (-m(n)eacht), -maint
garbh, gír'əv'ə gairbhe, gír'əv'ədəs gairbheadas, gír'əv'əxt gairbheacht, gír'əv'əntəs gairbheantas, gír'əf'ən gír'əf'ən gairfean, also goirmeacht, goirmneacht, and garmaint Clad221, cf. gargaint Clad167.
- as, -adas, -acht, -se
trom, tromas, troimeadas Mq, troimeacht Mq, troimse.
- tas, -tachas, -tanas
mór, mórtas, mórtachas, mórtanas **27Mdq**.
- t(e)achas, -t(e)anas
maith, maiteachas **866ESemr41**, **866EB16.114**, **20C**, maiteanas S.
- achas, -asach
cat, catachas, catasach.
- Cp. -amas, -asach(t), -éaracht
ratamas, ratasach, also ratasacht Mq, ratachas Mq, also gratamas **875PCAR**, graitiméaracht CAR.
- acan, -acán
e.g. t'ínləkən tionlacan, t'ínləka:n M tionlacán (similarly -achan, -achán, 1.56).
- teán, -teachán
dó, dóiteán **27Mdq**, dóiteachán **27Mdq**, **47Ps**.
- chan, -chtas, -chadas, -chte
liath, liachan, liachtas, liachadas, liaichte.
- achan, -achán, -theachan, -th(e)an, -theanach, -acht, -adas
dubh, dúchan, duibheachan, duibheachán, duifeachan, duifean, duifeanach, dufan **11C** 'blight', duibheacht Mq, duibheadas Mq.

- achán*, -*acán*, -*aíocht*
giolla, *é héin a ghiollachán* SM, *giollachán (abhaile)* M, *giollacán (na húinst)* M, *é héin a ghiollaíocht* M.
- achas*, -*anas*
loigh, *vadj* **lot'ə** *loite*, **lot'əxəs** M *loiteachas* and **lot'ənəs** M *loiteanas*, both in the meaning 'fondness', cp. the adjectives **lot'əx** S *loiteach* and **lot'ənəx** SM *loiteanach*.
- achas*, -*acht*, -*íocht*
cladhaire, *claidhreachas* **894C9**, *claidhreacht* **866E**Sc60, *claidhríocht*.
- achas*, -*íocht*, -*áil*
bitse(ach), *bitseachas*, *bitsíocht* (least common), *bitseáil*.
- acht*, -*achas*
ósta, *óstacht* **866E**Sc38.8, S, *óstachas*.
- acht*, -*íocht*
amhrán, **o:ra:nəxt** **49M** *amhránacht*, generally **o:ra:níəxt** *amhránaíocht*; *cliste*, *clisteacht* (also FFG), *clistíocht* Sq (also FFG); cp. *cuideachta* generally, but *dhe chuidíocht a bhí i dteach* **875P**DT53 (perhaps for *dhe *chuidíochta*); *deacair*, *deacracht*, also *deacraíocht* **32J**; *sástacht* SM, *sástaíocht* S (M claims not to use this variant), *sásaíocht* **03S**. Cp. *gealdaidhríocht* 'g'æl'dair'íəxt **21Jq**, *gealdaidhreacht* 'g'æl'dair'əxt **63S** (**21J**'s son).
- íocht*, -*ínteacht*
reithe, *reithíocht* FFG s.v. *rothaíocht*, *reithínteacht* S.
- acht*, -*ínteacht*, -*óireacht*, -*áil*
paidir, *paidireacht* S, *paidireoireacht* S, *paidirínteacht* FFG, *páidreoireacht* M, *páidreáil* M.
- ireacht*, -*irt*, -*thairt*, -*thraínteacht*, -*adh*
sclamh, *sclamhaireacht*, *sclamhairt*, *sclafairt*, *sclafraínteacht*, *sclamhadh*.
- íocht*, -*óireacht*, -*ireacht*
bulai, *bulaíocht*, *bullóireacht*, cp. *bullaireacht* FFG, (*bulláil* ?), *bolaíocht* **875P**CAR.
- íocht*, -*éaracht*, -*eáil*, -*seáil*
sclab, *sclabaíocht*, *sclaibéaracht* (*sclaibéara*), *sclaibeáil*, *sclaibseáil* FFG.
- éaracht*, -*íocht*
faighléaracht, *faighlíocht*; *liúistéaracht*, *liúistíocht*.
- éaracht*, -*óireacht*
sábh, *sáibhéaracht* generally, but young speaker's *sábhóireacht* **66N**; *sáitéaracht* S, *sáiteoireacht* FFG s.v. *cleith* 1.
- éaracht*, -*óireacht*, -*ínteacht*, -*áil*
piceáil, *picéaracht*, *piceoireacht*, *picínteacht* S.
- ínteacht*, -*áil*
sceid, *sceidínteacht*, *sceideáil*; *streillínteacht*, *streilleáil*.
- ínteacht*, -*éaracht*, -*áil*
pleib, *pleibínteacht*, *pleibéaracht*, *pleibeáil*.
- ireacht*, -*óireacht*
súdaire, *súdaireacht*, *súdóireacht*.
- ireacht*, -*taireacht*, -*tóireacht*
(geab FGB), *geabsaireacht*, *geabstaireacht*, *geabstóireacht*.
- ireacht*, -*adóireacht*, -*óireacht*
slíomadóir and *slíomaire*, *slíomaireacht*, *slíomadóireacht*, *slíomóireacht*.
- adóireacht*, -*óireacht*
malach, *maladóireacht*, *mallóireacht* FFG.
- acht*, -*nach*
sodar, *sodaireacht*, *sodarnach* 46.175.
- ireacht*, -*íl*
cab(aire), *cabaireacht*, *cabaíl*.

- éaracht, -earacht, -reacht, -eoireacht, -leáil
cp. *slibéaracht, slíbearacht, slíbreacht, slíbeoireacht, slíbleáil*.
- áil, -úch, (-sáil)
rampáil, rampúch, ramsáil S.
- áil, -íl
smagáil, smagaíl; tutáil, tutaíl.
- áil, -íl, -óireacht
smaoiseáil, smaoisíl, smaoiseoireacht.
- íl, -inn
bac, bacaíl, bacainn.
- íl, -ach
cnead, cneadaíl, cneadach M.
- íl, -ach, -úch, -adh
scread, screadaíl, screadach, screadúch, screadadh.
- aíl, -arnach
bíog, bíogaíl M ‘chirping’, *bíogarnach* M ‘inarticulate, slow speech’ also **869P** and **875PCAR**.

3.165 -íl, -íleachai

The suffix **-i:l** *-íl* can function as a marker for abstract nouns (feminine), verbal nouns, and nominal plurals; in the plural it may further be suffixed by the plural marker **-əxi:**, giving various functional and formal possibilities for specific lexemes. The commonest noun with *-íl* is *múr*, which has the highest amount of combinations (note also reduction of this morpheme, *-íol-*, in **mu:rələxi:** **64Mq** *múraíolachai*). Table 3.10 contains a summary of the various nouns and their forms and uses.

Table 3.10 Abstract and plural *-íl*, *-íleachai*; M, Mq

	-i:l			-i:l əxi:	
	ən an	nə na	ə ag (VN)	nə na	ə ag (VN)
mur <i>múr</i>	+	+	+	+	+
loxt <i>locht</i>	+	+	+	+	
kox <i>coch</i>	+		+		
tum <i>tom</i>		+		+	

Examples

múr: **ən wu:ri:l** *an mhúraíl*, **nə mu:ri:l** *na múraíl*, **ə mu:ri:l** *ag múraíl*, **nə mu:ri:l əxi:** *na múraíleachai*, **ə mu:ri:l əxi:** *ag múraíleachai*.

locht: **nə loxti:l** *worə na lochtaíl mhóra*, **nə loxti:l əxi:** *na lochtaíleachai* (Mq only). Some speakers have alternate plural *lochtaí*.

coch: **əɣ xoxi:l** *an chochaíl*, **b'ín' fə koxi:l** *bíonn sé ag cochaíl*.

tom: **tə fə lən l'ə tumi:l vrov'** *tá sé lán le tomaíl bhroibh*, **tumi:l worə** (*brev'*) *tomaíl mhóra (broibh)*, **nə tumi:l** *na tomaíl*, **nə tumi:l əxi:** *brev' na tomaíleachai broibh*.

(Source M, Mq)

Some words may not function as plural nouns, as can be seen from the table: ***nə koxi:l** MØperm (but 4.65), with **koxəni:** *cochannaí* as plural only (***b'ín' fə koxəni:** MØperm). Rare *speachaíl* was heard as plural only: *ag gabháil dhe speachaíl air* **04B**. The development of plural meaning in *-íl* was presumably

influenced by the phonological similarity of *-íl* with the plural suffix *-í*. Note, for example, *locht* > *lochtaíl* and *lochtaí*. Cp. *muineál* > *muiníl*. For further examples of plural *-íl*, see 4.65. With *-íl(-)* one can compare the element *-ál-* (classified as a plural extension found in plurals in *-álachaí*) which is similar to the verbal noun suffix *-áil*.

3.166 Further irregular abstract alternants

-C, -C', -e

gar, goir, goire.

-fas, -achas, -bhaíos

teach (genitive *tí*, plural *tíofa*, *tí(thea)bhaí*), *í:fəs* *tíofas* commonly, also *í:wəs* 63S *tíobhas*, *í:wí:s* 21Jq, *tíobhaíos* FFG, but also *-xəs* indicated in the compound *aon-tigheachas* 894C9 (⇒ **e:N'í:xəs*) although in this speaker's recording I hear *'e:N'í:r(h)əs* (1.252).

-áil, -nach

ceáfarnach, ceáfráil M.

-án, -nán, -naíl, -nach

ceobarnaíl, ceobarnach, ceobrán, ceobarnán; also *ceobán*.

-acht, -ar

lofach, lofar; lomacht, lomfar.

-arnacht, -ínteacht

diúgarnacht M, *diúigínteacht* 889P.

-adas, -antas, -ántas

The adjective *marbh* 'dead' is the semantic base for *marbhánta* 'lifeless' (cp. *marbhán*). The latter is the base for Mq's abstract noun of *marbh*, i.e. *marbhántas*.

This in turn is the model for her *searbhántas*, giving three endings for base *searbh*:

searbhadas, seirbhheadas, searbhantas Mq, *searbhántas* Mq.

-áil, -am in *prioncam* ~ *prioncáil* S;

-adh, -am: *tachtam* FFG related to verb *tacht*, VN *tachtadh*.

Also *-acht, -amas, -as, -amáil, -am* in Mq, *-achas*:

súiteacht, sú(i)t(e)amas, súiteas, sú(i)t(e)amáil, sútam, súchas.

-adh, -éis in *tornadh* 866E Sc 56.40, *toirnéis*.

-í, -ach in *rámhailtí* M, *rámhailteach* M, contrast *brionglóidí* only.

3.167 Vowel length in DALL class

In the DALL class of adjectives there is vowel alternation before suffixed vowels. Both short (historical) and long (analogical from unsuffixed base) alternants are common with the more productive abstract suffixes. Most abstract suffixes, however, being nonproductive, take the historical short vowel. A short list of the limited amount of collated forms is given here. The adjective *cung* (historically *cumhang* > FGB *cúng*) also belongs in this class.

Short vowel only

binn: **b'ín'ədəs** *binneadas*.

crom: **krim'əxt, krim'ədəs** Mq *croimeacht, croimeadas*.

cruinn: **kriN'ədəs** *cruinneadas*.

cung: **kiŋg'əxt, kiŋg'ədəs** Mq *cuingeacht, cuingeadas*.

droim: **drim'í:nt'əxt** 35E *droimínteacht*.

gann: **giN'əxt, giN'ədəs** S *gainneacht, gainneadas*.

grinn: **gr'ín'ədəs** S *grinneadas*.

mall: **mil'əxt** Mq *moilleacht*.

tinn: **t'ín'əs** *tinneas*.

trom: **trim'əxt**, **trim'ədəs** Mq *troimeacht*, *troimeadas*.

Cp. *tom:* **tu(ɪ)m** > plural **tumi:l'**.

Note irregular **ɑ:** > **u** in **g'ɑ:r** *gearr*: **g'urə** *giorra*, **g'urəxt** *giorracht*.

Both long and short vowels

cam: **kim'əxt** ~ **kɑ:m'əxt**, **kɑ:m'ədəs** Mq.

dall: **deɪ'əxt**, **deɪ'ədəs** ~ **dɑ:ləxt**, **dɑ:lədəs** (least
(preferred) appropriate) Mq.

feall: **f'æ:ləntəs** ~ **f'ɑ:ləntəs**, **f'ɑ:lədəs** Mq.

Long only

fionn: **f'i:niəxt** Mq *fionnaíocht*.

moill: **mail'əxt**, **mail'ədəs** Mq *moilleacht*, *moilleadas*.

teann: **t'ɑ:n'əxt** Mq *teáineacht*.

3.168 Abstract suffixes, Máire Chúláin

Given the variety of suffixes used in abstract nouns and abstract comparatives (the latter are also termed abstract nouns of degree), Máire was queried as to her use and range of suffixes (Mq). Her responses are summarised in Table 3.11 with relevant examples and discussion in notes 1–10 following the table. Not all possibilities were queried, e.g. **ruəxt'ə** *S ruaichte*. The key to abbreviations and symbols used in the table is as follows:

no abbreviation = abstract noun also produced by M;

blank = not queried;

+ = produced when requested for an abstract noun or abstract comparative based on a prompted adjective;

✓	= fully permitted;	∅	= not permitted;
✓?	= permitted;	∅?	= not permitted, perhaps possible;
(?)	= slightly doubtful;	∅??	= not permitted, but possible;
?	= doubtful;	C	= abstract comparative;
??	= more doubtful;	1 st , 2 nd	= order of production in query;
???	= very doubtful;	(Source Mq <i>meirbh</i> , Mq9.94.)	

Table 3.11 Abstract suffixes, Mq

in -úil	-u:lə C	-u:ləxt	-u:ɫ'əxt	-u:ɫəxt	-u:ɫtəs
<i>barrúil</i>				✓	+
<i>croíthiúil</i>			✓; and C		+
<i>fearúil</i>					f'æ:ru:ɫtəs +
<i>friúil</i>	+				+
<i>géimíúil</i>		+	✓		+
<i>gnáúil</i>	+	+; and C	✓; and C	∅?; and C	✓
<i>peacúil</i>					✓; vs. C ∅
<i>piocúil</i>	+				C ∅
<i>socúlacht</i> also		+	✓	✓	

Root	-əxt	-ədəs	-ənəs	-əməs	-əs	-əntəs	-C'ə	Other
<i>bodhar</i>	baur'əxt f. +	baur'ədəs				baur'əntəs		
<i>breac</i>		br'æ'kədəs						br'æ'kiəxt f. (?) +
<i>brocach</i>				brokəməs +				brokəma:l'
<i>cam</i>	kɑ:m'əxt f. + kim'əxt f. +	kɑ:m'ədəs						
<i>catach</i>								kati:l' f. +
<i>crom</i>	krim'əxt	krim'ədəs						
<i>cung</i> ku:ŋg	kingg'əxt f. +	kingg'ədəs					C xingg'ə +	
<i>dall</i> ¹ dɑ:l	dɑ:l'əxt + dɛɪ'əxt +	dɑ:l'ədəs ¹ dɛɪ'ədəs						
<i>dearg</i>	d'ər'əg'əxt +	d'ər'əg'ədəs						
<i>díreach</i>		d'i:r'ədəs ?						
<i>domhain</i>	daivN'əxt +	daivN'ədəs m.						
<i>dubh</i>	div'əxt +	div'ədəs +						
<i>fionn</i>								f'i:niəxt (?) +
<i>gairid</i>	ga:r'əd'əxt				ga:r'əd'əs +			
<i>gann</i>	gin'əxt f. +	gin'ədəs						
<i>garbh</i>	gor'əv'əxt	gor'əv'ədəs m. f. +, C				gor'əv'əntəs +	gir'əv'ə ✓ C yor'əv'ə +	ga:r'əf'ən
<i>gear</i>		g'e:r'ədəs + f.						
<i>glas</i>	glɔf'əxt f. +	Ø??						
<i>glic</i>		gl'ik'ədəs +						gl'ik'iaxt f. +
<i>gorm</i>	gor'am'əxt f. +							
<i>gránna</i>	gra:N'əxt f. +							
<i>lofa</i>	lof'əxt +							lofər
<i>mall</i> ^{2,3}	mil'əxt f. +	Ø²	Ø³					
<i>meirbh</i> ⁴	✓	✓, C				m'er'əv'əntəs , C ⁴ Ø, m'er'əf'əntəs	m'er'əv'ə C +	m'er'əf'ən

Root	-əxt	-ədəs	-ənəs	-əməs	-əs	-əntəs	-C'ə	Other
<i>moill</i>	mail'əxt	mail'ədəs						
<i>ramhar</i>	ri:vr'əxt +	ri:vr'ədəs				ri:vr'əntəs		
<i>searbh</i>		fa:rəvədəs 1 st + fer'əv'ədəs 2 nd +				fa'rəwəntəs + x2		fa'rəwə:ntəs + x3
<i>sleamhain</i>	ʃl'æ:v-n'əxt +	Ø						
<i>suaite</i>	suə't'əxt +	Ø	Ø	Ø				
<i>tanaí</i>	ta'niəxt +							
<i>teann</i>	t'a:n'əxt +							
<i>tinn</i>					t'in'əs +			
<i>tréan</i>	tr'e:n'əxt, C+ tr'e:nəxt +	tr'e:nədəs +	Ø?	Ø				
<i>trom</i>	trim'əxt +	trim'ədəs						
with t(')								
<i>bra(i)th</i>	cp. bræf o:r'əxt		bræf'ənəs	bræf'əməs ✓?				
<i>bréan</i> ⁵	Ø ⁵	br'e:n'ədəs br'e:nədəs +	br'e:ntənəs	br'e:ntəməs +	br'e:ntəs +			
<i>caill</i> ⁶	kə:l't'əxt	Ø ⁶	kə:l't'ənəs	kə:l't'əməs +		Ø		
<i>cóir</i>		kə:r'ədəs			kə:rtəs f. +			
<i>feall</i>	f'ə:ltəxt	f'ə:lədəs	f'ə:ltənəs			f'æ:ləntəs + f'ə:ləntəs +		
<i>díomhain</i>	-ntəxt ✓ -nt'əxt ✓?	<i>díomhaoineadas</i> Ø ✓			-əs, -təs ✓ -t'əs ?? <i>follántas</i> +			
<i>folláin</i>								
<i>fóinteach</i>	fə:nt'əxt ? +							
<i>marbh</i>					marəwə:ntəs +			
<i>marbhánta</i>	-ə:ntəxt ✓ -ə:nt'əxt ?				-ə:ntəs ✓ -ə:nt'əs ?			
<i>sú</i> ⁷	su:t'əxt +	Ø ⁷	su:tənəs ???	su:təməs	su:t'əs +			su:təma:l'

Root	-əxt	-ədəs	-ənəs	-əməs	-əs	-əntəs	-C'ə	Other		
			su:t'əməs					su:t'əma:l' su:təm		
in -áilte	-a:lt'əxt	-a:ltəxt		-a:ltəs	-a:lt'əs					
féaráilte ⁸	+ ⁸ , C +	✓		✓	✓					
with -x-	-xt'ə	-xə	-xt'əxt	-(x)ədəs	-xt'əs	-tənəs	-təməs	-(x)əs	-əntəs	Other
beo	b'oi:xt'ə	b'oi:xə	✓	b'oi:xədəs + b'oi:ədəs x2 b'oi:dəs	b'oi:xt'əs; and C			b'oi:s +	b'oi:əntəs x4, m.	
breá	+, ✓, C +		br'a:xt'əxt +, ✓	br'a:xədəs, C	br'a:xt'əs f.					br'a:həxt
buí	✓		bi:xt'əxt f. +, ✓	bi:xədəs				bi:xəs +		
crua ⁹	✓	*cruacha Ø C xruəxə C also xruəi	✓	kruədəs ⁹ + kruəxədəs ???	C kruəxt'əs	kruətənəs +	kruətəməs +, C	kruəs m. +	kruəntəs	kruətən + kruətəma:l' f. +
liath	✓		+, ✓	l'íədəs l'íəxədəs						liachtas, liachan
luath	✓		✓		luəxt'əs; and C			luəs + cp. re:t'əs		
réidh	re:xt'ə ✓		re:xt'əxt ✓							re:t'əxt +
rua ¹⁰		C ruəxə C also ruəi	ruəxt'əxt + ¹⁰	Ø				Ø?		
te	Ø but C x'oi:xt'ə	Ø but C x'oi:xə	t'oi:xt'əxt f.; and C					t'oi:s m.; vs. C Ø; t'as; vs. C Ø	t'oi:əntəs ? m.	

3.169 Notes to Table 3.11

- ¹ *de:l'ədəs* viewed as *an rud ceart* in comparison with perfectly permissible *da:lədəs*.
- ² *mall* > *mi:l'ədəs* MØperm *moilleadas*. Contrast *moill*.
- ³ *mall* > *mai:l'ənəs* MØperm *moillteanas*. Contrast *moill*.
- ⁴ This abstract comparative (*v'er'əv'əntəs*) was produced following a query as to whether a similar form to *yor'əv'ədəs*, which Mq had just produced, was possible with the base *meirbh*. Abstract nouns *m'er'əv'əntəs* and *m'er'əf'əntəs* were produced on another occasion.
- ⁵ Neither **bréineacht*, **bréantacht* nor **bréinteacht* are permitted. (These three alternants are also absent from FGB, but *bréineacht* is found in FFG20, 24.)
- ⁶ Neither **ka:l'ədəs* **cailleadas* nor **ka:l'ədəs* **cailleadas* are permitted.
- ⁷ **su:l'ədəs* **súiteadas* is not permitted.
- ⁸ *f'e:ra:l'əxt féarúilteacht* is the preferred form, *an rud ceart* M.
- ⁹ When queried immediately following permitted *cruatamas* (i.e. *crua* with *-amas*), Máire did not permit a combination of *crua* with *-adas*. Later, she produced *kruədəs* (meaning both 'parsimony' and 'coldness') immediately following *b'oxədəs b'ox(ə)dəs beo(cha)dəs*. (Note **kruəxədəs* ??? **cruachadas*.) Perhaps, in the first instance, when she had produced *cruatamas*, it caused her (when asked for a form in *-adas*) to derive mentally the impermissible **cruatadas*, whereby her own actual *cruadas* was blocked or temporarily forgotten.
- All four *kruəs kruətəməs kruətənəs kruətən* were used meaning 'parsimony', e.g. as verbal noun *ag cruatan* 'being niggardly'. Note further that all six forms *kruəxt'ə kruəxt'əxt kruəs kruətəməs kruətənəs kruətən* are permissible as verbal nouns.
- ¹⁰ Including *'f'in:ruəxt'əxt + fionnruaichteacht* (and *'f'in:ruəxt'ə ? fionnruaichte*) from base *'f'in:ruə fionnrua*.

3.170 Examples

Examples of use from Mq are listed here (as well as some from conversation, = M).

Abstract noun

beocha: ta b'oxə wə:r ə ba:n'ɪ ɪ'ef tá beocha mhór ag baint leis.

beochadas: n'i:l' en v'oxədəs a:n níl aon bheochadas ann.

beontas: b'oxəntəs mə:r beontas mór.

caillteamas: ri:n'ə m'e 'æ:ŋ'xə:l'əməs ɪ'ef rinne mé an-chailteamas leis.

cruaichteas: kruəxt'əs ə də xid' ka:n't'ə Mperm cruaichteas i do chuid cainte.

doimhneadas: daiv'n'ədəs mə:r sə baul'fin' (tá) doimhneadas mór sa bpoll sin.

duibheadas: div'ədəs nə hi:hə M duibheadas na hoíche.

gann: ʃe: ə loxt ə ɣi:n'əxt sé a locht a ghainneacht, cp. a ghainneacht is atá sí Clad219.

géireadas: g'e:r'ədəs wə:r a:n M géireadas mhór ann.

luaichteas: luaichteas i do chuid siúil.

meirbheantas: m'er'əv'əntəs mör ə'n'u'w a:n [also] m'er'əf'əntəs ... meirbheantas / meirfeantas mór inniu ann.

réiteas: ri:n'ə m'e re:t'əs ed'ər' iəd rinne mé réiteas eidir iad.

socúltacht: er' mə hukul'təxt ən'fo ar mo shocúltacht anseo.

teoichteacht: ta t'ox't'əxt wə:r er' tá teoichteacht mhór air.

teontas: t'oxəntəs mah er' (tá) teontas maith air.

teos: ta t'ox:s mə:r er' tá teos mór air.

tréineacht: tr'e:n'əxt ə di:v aibr'ə tréineacht i dtaobh oibre.

Abstract comparative

breáchadas: **ga vr'axədəs** completely permissible, although Mq produced *dhá bhreáichte* herself and commented about the latter: *is deise tá ag loighe leis an gcaint*.

croíthiúilteacht: **ga xri:u:l-t'əxt ga: m'eha:** *dhá chroíthiúilteacht dhá mbeitheá*.

cruacha: **ga xruəxə ga: m'et fe dhá chruacha dhá mbeadh sé.**

cruaichteas: **fə: ta kruəxt'əs a:n, kruəxt'əs ga: m'e tu**

Sea tá 'cruaichteas' ann: 'cruaichteas dhá mbeidh tú.'

féarúilteacht: **ga e:ra:lt'əxt ə d'e:rhəx mid'ə** '*dhá fhéarúilteacht*' a déarthadh muide.

gnaíúilteacht: **ga ɣri:u:lt'əxt ga: wil tu dhá ghnaiúilteacht dhá bhfuil tú**.

luaichteas: **ga luəxt'əs ga: wil' tu dhá luaichteas dhá bhfuil tú**.

tréineacht: **ga hr'e:n'əxt ga: N'i:nhə tu: dhá thréineacht dhá ndéanthaidh tú ...**

It is clear that in Mq's use, *-acht* and *-adas* are the most productive abstract noun suffixes. It is noteworthy that *-íocht* occurs in *breacaíocht* and *fionnaíocht*, and that although produced when prompted with the base adjectives, the speaker was not completely happy with them. The ending *-antas* is well attested here (and from other speakers in query) yet the closest example of *-antas* recorded from conversation is the abstract *fiúntas* which, however, corresponds to the adjective *fiúntach*. Similarly well attested here, yet unattested elsewhere are *-á(i)lt(e)as* and *-últas*. Three further endings are attested in query only: *-chteas* Mq, *-chteacht* Mq, *-achadas* Mq, **21Ptq**.

The range of productive suffixes used with adjectives with stressed long radical final vowels (i.e. BREÁ class) is remarkable: with *-chteacht*, *-adas*, *-chadas* corresponding to the *-acht* and *-adas* of other adjectives, but also *-chte*, *-chteas*, *-as*, as well as less productive *-achas*, *-thacht*, *-teacht*, *-anas*, *-amas*, *-antas*, *-an*, *-amáil*. The adjective *crua* has the most forms in query: ten nouns, twelve alternants in all when the abstract comparatives are included:

cruaichte, *cruaichteacht*, *cruadas*, *cruatanas*, *cruatamas*, *cruas*,

cruantas, *cruatan*, *cruatamáil*, *cruaichteas* (*cruacha*, *cruaí*).

Another ending, *-chtas*, was attested only in query, from **21Ptq**, and belongs with this category of adjective roots (BREÁ class), i.e. **21Ptq**: *beochtas*; *buíochtas*; *liachtas*. (On this model it is likely that we can add **cruachtas* for **21Ptq** to the ten attested nouns derived from *crua*.)

3.171 Diminutive -ín

The diminutive suffix *-ín* is the most productive nominal suffix.¹ It may be used as a personal suffix, without (strictly) diminutive connotations, e.g.

kir'hə f'iaso:g'i:n' er' mə hi:w m'e S

cuirthidh 'féasóigín' ar mo thaobh mé.

Borrowed *bleaic* (< black) may become *bleaicín* 'black person', e.g.

b'æn ə vl'æk'i:n' M bean an bhleaicín;

fin' e m' bl'æk'i:n' ə v'i: ... M sin é an bleaicín a bhí ...;

(in both cases referring to a tall man). Cp. English 'blackie', 'darkie'. Note the possibly derogatory connotations in this use. Cp. lexicalised *spailpín*, *cantailín* FFG, *seafóidín*, *sleabín*, *Cláiríneach*, etc.

With personal names *-ín* is sometimes used to facilitate plural production. For example, *na Beairtlíní* (e.g. **ta: nə b'æ:rl'i:n'i: ba'nt' æ:ti: tá na Beairtlíní ag baint fhataí**), is used of a family whose father is most often referred to as *Beairtle*

¹ Cf. GCF §§436–48; de Bhaldraithe (1990b: 85–95). Cp. *binse* + *-án* > *binseán* FFG.

(our **19B**). In contrast, a plural based on *Beairtle* (e.g. *na Beairtléachaí*) has not been heard in reference to this family. Similarly, *na Taidhgí* **77C** refers to the family of *Tadhg Jó Bhairbre* (**25T**, e.g. his son *Seán Thaidhg* **69S**).

Suffixation to nouns is most common, e.g.

ta kol'i:n' ort M *tá coidlín ort*; **go:l'i:n' (e:r')** P *gabháilín (fhéir)*;
ta kor'i:m' b'og fuar a'n P *tá coirín beag fuar ann*;
land'e:r'i:m' b'og **892M** *laideirín beag*; *scaitheamh > scaithín*;
p'i:n't'i:n' a'wá:n' ba:n' a M *pintín amháin bainne*;
ka:l' mæ f'i:p'i:n' S *cá bhfuil mo phípín?*; **strip'i:n'** P *struipín*;
tū:ji:n'i: **04Br** *tomhaisín*.

Use with noncount nouns is common, e.g. *féirín íseal atá sa méid atá fanta* M.

Suffixation to the nominal element of a compound preposition is rare; it has been noted in:

gə k' a:n' i:n' skahə S *go ceainnín scaitheamh*,
 more commonly *go ceann scaithín*.

Diminutive *-ín* may be used profusely in the context of babies, young children and young animals, e.g.

ta: m' a:xə:n' i:n' a t' a:xt i:n't' a M *tá meáchainín ag teacht inti*;
mə:r a spə:r't'i:n' i: **43M** *mór an spóirtín í*;
nach mór an spóirtín é! **43M**;
v'i: okrə:ji:n' ort, v'i: okrəs mə:r m'i:lt' əxi:n' m'i:lt' əxi:n' m'i:lt' əxi:n'
ort, v'i: okrə:ji:n' mə:r m'i:lt' əxi:n' ort M
bhí ocráisín ort, bhí ocras mór, millteachaín, ...

Use with adjectives is less common than with nouns but does nevertheless occur, especially in infantile contexts, as in the final citation above. E.g.

álainn **ta fe a:lə:n' i:n' 43M** *tá sé álainnín* (referring to baby).
beag *Nach beigin b'eg'i:n' é* [of pup] / *iad* [of potatoes] S.
bréan **kak ka:k br'e:n' i:n'** S *cac cac bréinín!*
 (addressing a child 'Don't touch! Dirty!').
bídeach **a yahi:n' b'i:d' əxi:n'** M *a dhaitín bídeachaín* (of milk).
v'i: ru:n' i:m' b'og b'i:d' əxi:n' b'i:d' əxi:n' a'n umərkə sp'i:ð ek' a
 M *bhí ruainnín beag, bídeachaín, bídeachaín an iomarca spíd*
 [speed] *aici* (of car driver).
dána **ta fe da:n' i:n' 54C** *tá sé dáinín* (of child).
dathúil **ta ji xə dahu:l' ta ji: xə dahu:l' i:n' S**
tá sí chomh dathúil, tá sí chomh dathúilín (of child).
deas **ta fe gə d' ə:ji:n' 43M** *tá sé go deaisín*,
ta ji 'æ:n' d' ə:ji:n' 43M *tá sí an-deaisín* (of child);
-k' eŋ xi: wil' a l' e:ði: v'og M *Cén chaoi an bhfuil an léidí bheag?*
-ta ji: gə d' ə:ji:n' 20My *Tá sí go deaisín* (of child).
 Cp. 14 *deaisín*.
millteach **əskil' də v' e:l mə:r m'i:lt' əxi:n' M**
oscail do bhéal mór, millteachaín!
ramhar **... gə ro ji: a:lə:n' s i: xə ra:vər' i:n' 25M**
... go raibh sí álainn is í chomh ramhairín (of child).

Other adjectives with *-ín* are classified below.

Diminutive *-ín* can be used adverbially, commonly in *go fóillín* ~ *go fóilleacháin*, and *ar baillín*, but also:

a chodladh **go** (ə) xol' i:n' M *gabh a choidlín*.
mall **ta** fe fu:l 'a:n'wæl' i:n', fu:l mæl' i:n' Mq
tá sé ag siúl an-mhaillín, ag siúl maillín.
anois **Tor** 'um do láimhín anisín [ʔ] **52Cr**
 (perhaps misheard; note MØperm).

As in the examples with *deas* and *mall* cited above and *siúráilte* below, the adjective may have a prefix. Further examples are:

an-chríonna **ta** fe 'æ:n'xr' i:n' i:n' Mq *tá sé an-chrínnín*.
an-dearg **ta** ən g'æ:r' i:n' fin' 'æ:n'd'æ:ræg' i:n' ə xr'e:tu:r' i:n' Mq
tá an geairrín sin an-deargín, a chréatúirín.

However, *-ín* is not permitted on prefixes, e.g. *droch-*:

**drocháin-shlaghdáinín* MØperm.

The suffix *-ín* can be added to adjectival suffixes:

-úil **m'**æsu:l' i:n' Mq *measuúilín*;
-mhar **gr'**anu:r' i:n' *greannmhairín*;
-áilte **n'**i:l' fe 'æ:n't' u:ræl't' i:n' sə fu:l fò:s Mq
níl sé an-tsiúráiltín sa siúl fós;
vadj -te **ta** fe br'ift' i:n' æ'd ə stor' i:n' Mq *tá sé bristín a'd a stóirín*.

But verbal adjective *siúilte* + *-ín* is not permitted in:

**Tá píosa mór millteach siúiltín aige* MØperm.

In contrast with *siúilte*, the word *briste* is common as a simple adjective, hence *bristín* Mq. Compare the noun **bru:t' i:n'** *brúitín*, related to the verb **bru:** *brúigh*, *vadj bru:t' ə brúite*.

There is an instance of *-ín* added to the interrogative phrase *cé mhéad / méid* addressed to a small child:

k'e m'e:d' i:n' ə do:l tu **47P** *Cé méidín a d'ól tú?*

A nominal phrase may contain several *-ín* suffixes, e.g.

N+ín Adj₁ Adj₂+ín **ə** yah'i:n' b'og b'i:d'əxi:n' M *a dhaithín beag bídeacháin*.
 (most common) **ta** m'æl' i:m' b'og gra:n' i:n' er' Mq
tá meallín beag gráinnín air.

nə bid'e:l' i:n' i: b'ogə b'i:d'əxi:n' ə fin' M
na buidéilíní beaga bídeacháine sin.
N+ín Adj+ín **ə** yah'i:n' b'i:d'əxi:n' M *a dhaithín bídeacháin*.
 (rare) **ta** kof'i:n' v'eg' i:n' er' Mq *tá coisín bheigín air*.
kə:k' i:n' kruə'i:n' æ'd ə l'æ:n' i:n' Mq
cáicín cruáin a'd, a leainín.

kə:k' i:n' ta'ni:n' Mq *cáicín tanaín* (< *tanaí* + *-ín*).

d'oxi:m' v'eg' i:m' ba:n' ə **66N** *deocháin bheigín bainne*.

In this example speaker **66N** is imitating another speaker (my **53M**) who, **66N** spontaneously and correctly claims, has prevalent use of diminutive *-ín*. It is interesting that **53M** was not noted with this double *-ín* syntax. It is one of only two examples noted from conversation and is probably an example of mimicked exaggeration.

Adj₁+ín Adj₂+ín **ta fe b'eg'i:m' b'i:d'əxi:n'** Mq *tá sé beigín bídeacháin*.
(rare)

Note the logically contradictory possibility of adding *-ín* to *mór*: **mo:r'i:n'** Mq *móirín*; and, of course, common **m'i:l'əxi:n'** *millteacháin*. Máire commented on *tá tú mór millteacháin* as **fin' 'p'æ:swɔɹd ə wil'əs æd** Mq *sin peasvoird an bhfuil fhios a'd*, with 'password' meaning *leathfhocal*. Cp. *móráinín* *mór* cited immediately below.

Double *-ín* occurs in *gach cúilínín óg* **!894C9** (cp. *cúileann*, *cúilín*). Máire does not permit ***d'ul'ək'i:n'i:n'** MØperm ***diúlicínín**. Cp. *-áinín*:

Agus móráinín mór ge na deorachaí a' tuitim liom síos **!894C9**; *coileáinín*;
ə moha:n'i:n' **11Ct** *i mbotháinín*; **ɟ k'l'əwa:n'i:n'** *M an cliabháinín*.

3.172 Phonology and morphology

-in' becomes *-hin'* when added to **tro(h)** *troigh* > *troithín* FFG.

-in' is added to stressed long vowels, e.g.

croí, **mə xri:i:n'** *M mo chroíin*; *dé*, **d'e:i:n'** *M déin*; *crú*, *crúiní beaga* Mq.

There are extensions following *i* and *u* in three words (obligatory with *lao*; obsolescent with *cú* and *dlaoi*):

lao > **li:d'i:n'** *laoidín*;

cú (*coin*) > *cúin* in *Cúin na Coille Glaise* **875TLL182**; also *cúinín*, in a set command in tale: *Cúnamh, cúnamh, a chúinín ó!* **875TLL180**;

dlaoi > **dli:i:n'** *S, dli:n'i:n'* ~ **dli:l'i:n'** ? *S dlaoi-in, dlaoinín, dlaoilín*.

In adjectives, Mq: **br'ɑ:i:n'** *breáin*; **bi:i:n'** *buí-in*; **kruə:i:n'** *cruaín*;

luə:i:n' [x2] **lu:i:n'** [x1] *luaithín*; **ruə:i:n'** *ruaín*.

-in' elides unstressed final schwa and palatalises the final consonant, e.g.

l'æ:bə *leaba*, **l'æ:b'i:n'** **05M** *leabín*.

-in' elides the unstressed long vowel in *díriú* > *dírín* *S*. Note adjective (Mq): *tanaí*, **ta'nin'** (x4) *tanaín*.

In query, Máire retains *-ú* in *díriúin*, *socrúin*, *cruinniúin*, *bailiúin* Mq, although she adds that *díriúin* is rather *aisteach* or 'strange'.

Exception: *sau* *Sadhbh* > **sev'i:n'** **27Md** *Saidhbhín* (**27Md** is a quite literate speaker), also **sau:i:n'** **21Jperm** (but neither form is used according to **21Jq**). Cp. *Séamas* > *Séamaisín* regularly, but also by-form *Séimín*.

The noun *caraid* (rarer nominative *cara*), has diminutive:

a charaidín mo chléibh **!852S**, *a charaidín mo chroí* CABI §70(e) v. 1.

Diminutive *-ín* palatalises immediately preceding consonants. Exception: *-ch* is generally not palatalised before diminutive *-ín*, e.g. **d'oxi:n'** *deochaín*, *pruach* > *pruacháin* FFG, **t'axi:n'** *teacháin*; but the historical palatalised alternant is found alongside the more progressive form in *cloch* ~ *cloich* > **kloh:i:n'** *cloichín*, **kloxi:n'** *clocháin*; *cruach* > **kruəhi:n'** **20My** *cruaichín*, **kruəxi:n'** *cruacháin*; *cuach* > **kuəhi:n'** *cuaichín*, **kuəxi:n'** *cuacháin* (both heard in higher register). Cp. unstressed *-ach* (3.176).

Forms of *seomra*: **ʃu:mrə** > **ʃu:mr' i:n'**, and **ʃu:mrə** > **ʃimr' i:n'** *seoirín* regularly but with optional epenthesis also (**ʃu:mərə** >) **ʃu:mər' i:n'** *m' b'og* P *seom(ai)rín beag* (note nonpalatal **m** in first syllable).

Vowel affection

Regular vocalic alternations occur with palatalisation. Typical nonphonemic changes are:

o / e: **sop** *sop* > **sep' i:n'** *soipín*;

u / i: **uw** *ubh* > **iv' i:n'** *uibhín*; **ʃupə** *siopa* > **ʃip' i:n'** *sipín*. Cp. **l'i/ upə** *liopa*, *lipín* **l'ip' i:n'** 52J.

Note **b'or** *b'or* > **b'ir' i:n'** *birín*.

Occasionally the base vocalism is retained or at least not completely fronted.

o / e -**wil' ə** **kleg' i:n'** **eg' ə** 52J *An bhfuil an cloigín aige?* (< **klog** *clog*)
-**hæ** M *Hea?*

-**wil' ə** **klog' i:n'** **eg' ə** 52J *An bhfuil an cloigín aige?*

In adjective (Mq): **olk** *olc*, **elk' i:n'** **olk' i:n'** *oilcín*.

u / i In the nouns: **buskə** *bosca*, **ə** **muʃk' i:n'** M, P *i mboiscín*;

In adjectives, Mq: **dunə** *dona*, **dun' i:n'** **din' i:n'** *doinín*;

t'i/ uw *tiubh*, **t'iv' in'** **t'uv' i:n'** *tibhín*.

Some nouns in stressed **a** or **iə** have alternatives with either base or affected (palatalised) vowels; others have base only, others have the affected vowel only.

a / e

/a/ only Commonly, e.g. *bean* **b'æ:n** > **b'æ:n' i:n'** *beainín*, *fata* > *faitín*, *fear* > *feairín*, *glac* > **glak' i:n'** *glacín*, *mac* > *maicín*, *spreab* > *spreaibín*. According to Seán (Sq), **e** is not used in diminutives of *alt*, *beart* and *ceap* (in contrast with more conservative GCF §444). In adjectives: *deas* > *deaisín*, *lag* > **læ:g' i:n'** Mq *laigín*; cp. *glas* > **gla:ʃi:n'** Mq *glaisín*.

/a/ ~ /i/ *breac*: *breacín* >> *bricín* Sq;
cearc: *ceaircín* 852SbTS133, 875T1, *circín*;
nead: *neidín* (in rhyme) 894C9, *neaidín*.

iə / e:

iə only Commonly, e.g. **p' iən' i:n'** *piainín*.

iə ~ e: *cliabh* > *cliaibhín*, *cléibhín*; *mias* ~ *méis* > *miaisín*, *méisín*.

Note **ʃk' i:n' i:n'** *sciaínín* but *Loch na Scinín* Rob.96.

Syncope

bóthar: **bo:r' hi:n'** *bóithrín*.

coinneal: **kī:nL' i:n'** 892M, 25M, **kī:nL' i:n'** 892M *coinnlín*, **kī:n' əl' i:n'** 892M *coinneailín*.

Micil: **m' ik' əl' i:n'** >> **m' ik' i:n'** S.

Cp. *leiceann* > *leicníní* (perhaps related to plural *leicne*, see 3.173 below);¹ *Máirtan*, *Máirtín*.

Note the lack of syncope in adjectives:

¹ Heard in 'S óra a mhíle grá (Asóir, cp. CABI §211): *Tá bricíní na muicíní ar leicníní mo ghrá*.

ˠˠəNˈi:nˈ ˠˠlˠinnˈ; and from Mq: dˈæˠkərˈi:nˈ *deacairín*;
 fˠarˠfəNˈi:nˈ *fairsinnín*; Lˈæhənˈi:nˈ *leathainín*; rˠāːvərˈi:nˈ *ramhairín*;
 ʃˠˠˠævənˈi:nˈ *sleamhainín*. Cp. dˠaunˈi:nˈ *domhainín*.

Speaker attitude

There is avoidance of a form which seems to cause a salient or disagreeable change from the base (sk > ʃkˈ) in:

(-An bhfuil tú ag iarraidh tada leis an tae, a Mháire?) 66N

-brˈiʃkˈi:nˈ, brˈiskə bˈog, brˈiskə bˈog M

-Briscín, briosca beag, briosca beag.

-(Ha, ha!) brˈiʃkˈi:nˈ 66N Bricín!

Here Máire corrected herself immediately after pronouncing *briscín*. Speaker 66N found the form amusing.¹ In contrast, during a query session with me, on a later occasion, Máire produced *briosca* > brˈiʃkˈi:nˈ (i:) Mq *briscín(i)* without hesitation or comment. Cf. ʃikˈi:nˈ S *sicín* (< ʃuk *síoc*) which is homophonous with *sicín* ‘chicken’ (cf. 9.10(iv)). Speaker 21J in query found *sicín* (< *síoc*) quite ridiculous. He is on principle opposed to over-use of *-ín*.

Gender

Nouns retain their gender, e.g. ˠˠlohˈi:nˈ *an chloichín* < *an chlo(i)ch*. Lexicalised derivatives in *-ín* can, however, have alternative gender from the base noun, e.g. *carraigín* (an edible seaweed) is often masculine, but *ag baint na carraigín* [x2] ... é ~ í 05M, *an charraigín* 22M (influenced by either *feamainn* or *carraig* or both).

3.173 Plural

Nouns with the diminutive suffix regularly take plural *-i*: *-í*, e.g.

baicíní; mˈˠˠˠˈi:nˈi: bˈogə *meailliní beaga*; *cochainí beaga* Mq.

Exception: *-i:nˈi: -íní* is added, optionally in most instances, to the plural of some nouns.² These have the less common plural suffixes *-ənˈ* *-in*, *-wə* *-bha* and *-fi*: *-faí*. This double plural marking is also usual with the indefinite pronoun *ceann*.

<i>ceann</i>	+pal	kˈi:nˈi:nˈi: M <i>cinníní</i> ‘tiny ones’; kˈi:nˈi:nˈi: bˈog 16St <i>cinníní beag</i> . ³
<i>faocha</i>	+ənˈ	fiːxənˈi:nˈi: bˈogə M <i>faochainíní beaga</i> (often). Cp. singular fiːxi:nˈ vˈog M <i>faochain bheag</i> .
<i>lacha</i>	+ənˈ	<i>lachain bheag</i> ... <i>lachainíní</i> Mq, lˠˠxənˈi:nˈi: ~ lˠˠxi:nˈi: Mperm <i>lachainíní</i> ~ <i>lachainí</i> .

¹ Cp. *briscín* CAR (cf. FGB ~ *briseán*).

² As far as I am aware, this has not been reported for other dialects. With *ceann* > *cinníní* contrast, for example, *ceannín*, *ceáinnín* (singular only cited) GCF §446. Cp. GCD §§864, 187 *poul poll* > *pouˈlˈi:nˈ pollín* [sic], exceptional plural piˈlˈi:nˈi: *poilliní* (where piˈlˈ *poill* is genitive singular and nominative plural); the plural piˈlˈi:nˈi: may represent an instance of *-íní* being added to the inflected nominal plural, given that no instance of singular *piˈlˈi:nˈ is cited. Affixation of diminutive suffixes to plural nominal inflection is not unusual in languages, e.g. Dutch (Donaldson 1987: 34, 43) and Breton (cf. Stump 1990: 104–5).

³ The diminutive of singular *ceann* is kˈˠˠˠˈi:nˈ *ceannín*. Historical singular *cinnín* may have been adapted in the plural *cinníní* (historically *kˈi:nˈi:nˈi:) by analogy with plural kˈi:nˈ *cinn*.

<i>luch</i>	+ən'	loxən'i:n'i: ~ loxi:n'i: Mq and Mperm <i>luchainíní</i> ~ <i>luchaíní</i> .
<i>meach</i>	+ən'	m'æxən'i:n'i: b'ogə Mq <i>meachainíní beaga</i> ; <i>meachaíní</i> Mperm.
<i>gé</i>	+wə	g'e:wi:n'i: b'ogə [initial response] ~ g'e:v'i:n'i: b'ogə ~ g'e:i:n'i: b'ogə Mq and (the last two) Mperm <i>géabhaíní beaga</i> ~ <i>géibhíní beaga</i> ~ <i>géíní beaga</i> .
<i>teach</i>	+fi:	t'i:f'i:n'i: b'ogə ... t'i:fi: ... t'i:fi: ... t'i:hwi: 43M <i>tífiní beaga</i> ... <i>tíofaí</i> ... <i>títheabhaí</i> . When I mentioned this form <i>tífiní</i> to speaker 43M, after she had produced it in conversation, she found it unusual.

Note the selfcorrection in:

<i>teach</i>	+əwi:	at' ə wil' nə t'ihəwi:n'i: b'ogə wil'əs æd nə t'æxi:n'i: b'ogə fin' M áit a bhfuil na titheabhaíní beaga, an bhfuil fhios a'd, na teachaíní beaga sin.
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In query, *teachaíní* Mq is produced and t'uhəwi:n'i: b'ogə Mperm *titheabhaíní beaga* permitted. We can say that for *teach*, at least, this double plural marking is considered marginal or anomalous by Máire and her daughter 43M. Cp. *reithe* > rohi:n'i: b'ogə Mq *reithíní beaga* (plural *reitheabhaí* is not used by M).

A further exception involves the optional use of plural -s/z with personal names, heard in:

nə 'dʒo: ,wa'rkəʃi:n'z 66N na Jó Mharcaisínz.

An inflected plural adjective with -ín was noted in a single example; in -íne:

nə bid'e:l'i:n'i: b'ogə b'id'əxi:n'ə fin' M
na buidélíní beaga bídeacháine sin.

For -ín > abstract -ínteacht, see 3.159.

3.174 ARM class: epenthetic clusters

Palatalisation of clusters separated by the epenthetic vowel is regular:

ba'n'əv'i:n'i: b'ogə 897S *bainbhíní beaga*, bel'əg'i:n' *boilgín, deilgíní* Clad51, ter'əv'i:n' *tairbhín*. Similarly, kel'am'i:n' *Coilimín* generally, but speaker 19B (Doire an Locháin) and his son 60M (Maínis) both have koləm'i:n' *Colaimín*. Note the two forms of *leanabh*: a *leana* > ə l'a'n'i:n' a *leainín* commonly, but also a *linbh* > ə l'in'əv'i:n' Sq, Mq a *linbhín*.

Similarly:

blogam > blogəm'i:n' *blogaimín* ~ bleg'am'i:n' [blig'am'i:n' ?] *bloigimín*;
tobar (perhaps b' in tob'ər'i:n' b'og St2a *toibirín beag*, cp. rare plural
teb'ər'əxi 05M *toibireachaí*), more commonly tobər'i:n' P *tobairín*;
doras (gen *doiris*) > der'əʃi:n' 21Ptq *doirisín*, dorəʃi:n' 11C *doraisín*.
Cp. *aguísín* SM (FFG20) ~ *aigísín* S, FFG19 (20) related to *agus*.

In adjectives of the DEARG class, only rarely are both consonants palatalised. Table 3.12 presents Máire's responses in query (Mq).

Table 3.12 Adjectives with epenthetic clusters: DEARG + *-ín*, Mq

DEARG class	-CəC'ín'	-CəCi:n'	
	d'æræg'ín' <i>deargín</i> (x2) gorəm'ín' <i>gormín</i> (x3)	dorəxi:n' <i>dorcháin</i>	
GARBH class	-Cəv'ín'	-Cu:i:n'	-C'əv'ín'
	ma'rəv'ín' <i>marbhín</i>	ba'lu'w'ín' <i>balbhaín</i> ʃæ'ru'ín' <i>searbhaín</i>	gor'əv'ín' <i>gairbhín</i> (x2 independently)

3.175 CEANN class

The CEANN class of words, including the adjectival DALL class, which contain long vowels before final consonants which alternate with historically short vowels when their final consonant becomes intervocalic, retain the long vocoid before *-ín*.

Nouns; CEANN

carr, kær'ín' *cairrín*; *ceann*, k'æn'ím' b'og S *ceainnín beag*; *coill*, kail'ín' 35E9366 *coillín*; *crann*, krā'n'ín' 869P, kra'n'ín' 32J *crainnín*; *geall*, g'æl'ín' M *geallín*; *gleann*, gl'æn'ín' 10B *gleainnín*; *greim*, gr'im'ím' b'og M *greimín beag*; *meall*, m'æl'ín' M, FFG *meallín*; *poll*, paul'ín' M *poillín*; *slám*, slām'ín' SM *sláimín*; *streall*, ftr'æl'ín' v'og Mq *streaillín bheag*, cp. (in the same meaning) *steáillín* 852SBTS130 (one should perhaps read st[r]eáillín).

Adjectives; DALL (Mq)

cam, kām'ín' *caimín*; *corr*, kaur'ín' *coirrin*; *cung* (FGB *cúng*), ku:ŋg'ín' *cuíngín*; *gearr*, g'ær'ín' *geairrin*; *lom*, lum'ín' *loimín* (Mq also produced *lim'ín'* but did not permit this form, commenting *níl sé sin ceart*); *mall*, ma:l'ín' *maillín*; *teann*, t'æn'ín' *teainnín*; *tinn*, t'ín'ín' *tinnín*; *trom*, tru:m'ín' *troimín*. Cp. *ard*, ar:d'ín' Mq *airdín*.

Adverb

ar ball er' ba:l'ín' (probably also er' ba:l'ín') *ar baillín*.

Note the unhistorical ʲ in *geallín*, *maillín*, *baillín* (ʲ ~ ʲ'); unhistorical n' in *teainnín*.

3.176 BACACH class

Words in unstressed final *-ach* commonly add *-ín* directly to *-ach* without palatalisation:

d'æt:təxi:n' M *deatachaín*, d'ir'hu:xi:n' M *díthriúchaín*, éadachaín Sc153 (spelt *éadaichín*), *misneachaín* (m'ifn'əxi:n' M), *Murach[a]ín* 866EBI-6.111, tr'uməxi:n' M *triomachaín*. Only *-achaín* is permitted in *bairneach* (Mq), *balach* (Mq), *breallach* (Mq), *creathnach* (Mq), *fíogach* (Mq), *gliomach* (Mq), *lugach* (Mq), *óinseach* (u:nʃəxi:n' M, *óinsín 14MØperm), *ronnach* (Mq); *tamhnach* (*tamhnachaín* 897P); cp. GCF §438. Also, *an Ceallachaín Fíonn* (song title, e.g. SÓC1.83).

Cp. *beithíoch*, *beithíoch[a]ín* LL176, *b'ehiəxi:n' P*; *Corcaíoch*, *korkiəx*, *korkiəxi:n'*, *korkəxi:n' b'og*, *korkiəxi:n' b'og* Mq *Corcaíochain* (*beag*).

Several nouns optionally add *-ín* directly to *-ach* or, in more conservative use, delete *-ach*, i.e.

bacach: *bæk'i:n' S baicín*;

bromach: *broimín*, e.g. *bruimín crosach dubh* 852SbTS130, *bruməxi:n' S bromachain*;

freangach: *freangachain* ~ *freaingín* Mq;

mangach: *mæ:ŋg'i:n' (i)* SM *maingín(i)*, *mangachain* Mperm;

smólach: *smóilín* ! CABI §125(a) v. 2, (b) v. 3, cp. base *smaol* FFG;

soitheach: *soithín* 852Sb6.66;

stócach: *stóicín* 852Sb6.76;

ualach: *uəl'i:m' fri*: 897P *uailín fraoigh*, *'uələxi:m' b'og* M *ualachain beag*.

With adjectives, only *-əxi:n'* *-achain* occurs:

b'i:d'əxi:n' M bídeachain; *m'i:l'əxi:n' M millteachain*; *torfəxi:n' M tuirseachain*. From Mq: *bakəxi:n' bacachain* (adj **baicín* MØperm); *katəxi:n' catachain*; *dorəxi:n' dorchain*; *suəəxi:n' suarachain*. Note *tuirseach* > **tuirsín* MØperm. Similarly, stressed *-ch* is retained: *laxi:n' láchain*; and in Mq: *bi:xi:n' buíochain*; *fl'oxi:n' fliuchain*; *moxi:n' mochain*.

With adverb *go fóilleach*, *gə fə:l'əxi:n' M go fóilleachain* (also *go fóillín* < *go fóill*).

Exception: *coileach*, obsolete *kail'hi:n' coilchín*; *coil'chín* [with note pron[ounced] *coilthín*] 875T1 implies **kol'hi:n'*; now commonly *kol'əxi:n' SM coileachain*. Cp. *buərħəx buarach* which has a diachronic diminutive now lexicalised *buər'hi:n' buairchín*.

3.177 Final and intervocalic *n(n)* and *l(l)*

Nonpalatal *n* can become *n'* (< *n* historically) and *ŋ'* (< *nn* historically) preceding palatalising *-ín*. Similarly, nonpalatal *l* can yield palatal *l'* (< *l*) and *ɫ'* (< *ll*). In most instances the historically correct form is found, which often corresponds to palatalised forms in the vocative, genitive or plural, but there is one unhistorical change of *-na* to *-ŋ'* and of several *-nn(a)* to *-n'* and quite a few unhistorical changes of *-ll(-)* to *-l'* as well as one instance of *-l* > *-ill-*.

-n(n)- + -ín

-nn > *-ŋ'* - *barrann* ~ *barrainn*, *ba:rən'i:n' M barrainnín*; *crann*, *kra:n'i:n' crainnín*; *eascann*, *æ:skən'i:n' Mq eascainnín*; *gleann*, *gl'a:n'i:n' gleainnín*; *muileann*, *mil'ən'i:n' 35E muileainnín*; *punann*, *punən'i:n' M punainnín*; *Réamann*, *re:mən'i:n' M Réamainnín*;

-nn- > *-ŋ'* - *gunna*, *gín'i:n' M guinnín*; cp. *gín'era 11C guinnéara*; cp. *coirnín kaur'n'i:n' 852Sb*;

-nn > *-n'* - *beann* 'respect', *b'a:n'i:n' [x2] Mq beainnín*;

-n- > *-ŋ'* - *gúna*, *gu:n'i:n' M guínín*;

-n > -n' - *pian*, **p'ian'i:n'** v **og** M *piainín bheag*; *scian*, **ʃk'i:n'i:n'** *sciaínín*, also regular -án > -a:n'i:n', e.g. *cliabhán*, **k'l'ia:wa:n'i:n'** *cliabh-áinín*.

In this palatalised environment the -nʃ- cluster in **sə gunʃ-r'i:n'** Mq *sa gcoinrín* is the same as in base **sə gunʃrə** *sa gconra*.

With adjectives (Mq): *críonna*, **kr'i:n'i:n'** *crínnín*; *dona*, **dun'i:n'** *doinín*; *gránna*, **gra:n'i:n'** *gráinnín*. Note *tanaí*, **ta'ni:n'** *tanaín*.

-l(l)- + -ín

-ll(-) > -l' - *meall*, **m'a:l'i:n'** *meaillín*; *poll*, **paul'i:n'** *poillín*; *streall*, **ʃtr'a:l'i:n'** *streaillín*; *úlla* > *úillín* FFG s.v. *úillín* 2.

-ll(-) > -l' - *codladh*, **kol'i:n'** M *coidlín*; *geall*, **g'a:l'i:n'** M *geaillín*; *giolla*, **g'il'i:n'** | *nə mr'e:g* Mq *gillín na mbréag*; *timpeall*, **t'imp'ə:l'i:n'** SM, **21Ptq** *timpillín*. Cp. *eiteal(l)*, **e't'a:l'i:n'** Mq *eiteaillín*.

Adjective -ll(-) > -l' - in *mall*, **ma:l'i:n'** Mq *maillín*.

-l(-) > -l' - *culaith* > *lé cuilthín shuarach* **!894C9**; *coinneal*, **kīn'a:l'i:n'** **892M** *coinneailín*; *mála*, **ma:l'i:n'** **35E** *máilín*.

-l- > -ll- *néal* > *néillín* *codlata* **866E**Sc166.7.

-l- > -(l)l- *cual*, *cuaillín* *crámha* **852Sb**TS147 (perhaps influenced by *cuaille*)¹ but *cuailín* *cnámh* SNG293.

Further notes

3.178 Phrasal nouns

Examples of phrasal nouns, and other phrases functioning as one constituent are:

bail ó Dhia, **n'i xir'hə m'e e:m wal' o ji: ori:** M *ní chuirthidh mé aon bhail-ó-Dhia oraibh*;

béal in airde, **ka'tə b'e:l ən a:rd'ə ən'ʃin'** *caite béal in airde ansin* (adverb);

béal le haer, *Curtaí buicéad*, *a mbíodh an tóin tuitithe as*, *béal-le-haer sa bpoll*, *agus chuireadh sin tarraingt bhreá sa simléar*. SÓC3.159;

cuma liom, **d'i:nə rudi: nus kumə l'um S** *ag déanamh rudaí ar nós cuma liom*; *duird abhaile*, *nuair a bhíos an geimhreadh agus an droch-aimsir ar dhuird abhaile*. Clad14, also Clad192 (glossed *druidim*), 201.

faoi shnámh, *Bíonn faoi shnámh na soithigh ádhmaid clúduighthe le umha le iad a chosaint ar an dream malluighthe sin*. Clad146.

go bord, *Go deimhin, ní raibh go bord féin againn ná ag aon bhád eile ach ag teacht go héadrom isteach ón bhfarraige*. Clad213;

tóin-leis, **ə hu:n' l'ej 50N** *a thóin-leis!* (vocative);

tóin-le-talamh, *níl ann ach tóin-le-talamh tu'n l'e ta'lhə S*.

Cp. (ar) *ardaí orm* (é) (14 *ardaigh* 3); *hóra-mhíle-grá*, *sóra-mhíle-grá* (14). For phrasal nouns in the plural, see 4.32 ff.

Cp. *Dia dhuit*, **ga n'ər'hə d'ia ɣit' l'ə:həb** M *Dhá ndéarthá 'Dia dhuit' leothub*; *Dia linn is Muire*, **gə'n' d'ia l'in' əs mir'ə rə** S *gan 'Dia linn is Muire' a rá*.

¹ For an old pseudo-etymological connection with *cuaille*, see DIL s.v. *cual*.

3.179 Repetition in nominals

Nouns and adjectives can be repeated for emphasis, e.g.

Noun **fə:g ə pɔ:r'hɪ:n' pɔ:r'hɪ:n' er' e:ŋ xi: ɔ:n S**

fág an póirín póirín ar aon chaoi ann

'leave the really small ones (potatoes) behind';

Adjective **- ... gair ... 66N ... gadhar -gair o:g | M Gadhar óg?**

-N'í ro fe 'o:g ,o:g | 66N Ní raibh sé óg óg.

3.180 Genitive of apposition

Examples of the genitive of apposition are:

rud k'e:nə l'ef ə m'ɪfə k'ɪrk'ə S *an rud céanna leis an mbitse circe;*

k'e wuər tu' n ræk'l'əx vrɔ:g'ə fɪn' S

Cé bhfuair tú an raicleach bhróige sin?

Is contúirteach na bitseachaí deabhail málaí iad sin S;

Is gearr le púidl [< poodle] gadhair me M;

ə wastər't' kit' M A bhastaird cait! (voc sg followed by gen);

v'i: b'ehiəx tər'əv' ə n'e:n'əx l'ehə M

bhí beithíoch tairbh in éineacht léithi;

ag breathú ar na bastardaí beithíoch M;

na bastardaí cut M.